

Mierveld pinx.t *A Walker Sculp.t*

Gustavus Adolphus

KING of SWEDEN, &c.

Born Dec.r 9 1594. Killed Nov.r 6. 1632.

5 29

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,

KING of SWEDEN,

Sirnamed, The GREAT.

His Aſhes in a peaceful Urn ſhall reſt;
His Name a great Example ſtands to ſhow,
How ſtrangely high Endeavours may be bleſt,
Where PIETY and VALOUR jointly go.

DRYDEN.

12 C 9

VOLUME I.

By the Reverend WALTER HARTE, M.A.
Canon of WINDSOR.

K

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and Sold by G. HAWKINS, at the Middle Temple-Gate, in Fleet-Street.

M.DCC.LIX.

12

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To the Right Honourable,

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD,

Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, one of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

IT muſt be a peculiar happineſs to every author, (and not the leſs ſo, for being unfrequent,) that choice and judgment ſhould direct him to a Patron, as well as obligation and gratitude. It is moreover an addition to my good fortune, that theſe imperfect labours have been peruſed, protected, and encouraged by One, whoſe ſingle approbation is a ſort of univerſal paſsport throughout all Europe.

With

DEDICATION.

With what pleaſure could I indulge myſelf in painting a character alike *amiable*, as well as *illuſtrious?* But, my LORD, the delicacy of your caſt of mind deters me forcibly. It may ſuffice therefore to remark with brevity, that I have raiſed this little monument, as a teſtimony of my private eſteem and affection; and if the duration of *it* proves ſhort and tranſitory, it is not from want of zeal and ſpirit in the perſon who erecteth it: but from the inability of the artiſt, and the unſubſtantiality of the materials he uſes. I know my bounds;—— and ſhall proceed no farther than to aſſure your LORDSHIP that I am, with the higheſt regard,

Your moſt Obliged,

and moſt Faithful Servant,

W. HARTE.

PREFACE.

MOST perſons of moderate learning and abilities, after finiſhing what is commonly called the tour of travelling into foreign countries, have been induced, either from ſelf-love, or the partial ſolicitations of their friends, to make a preſent to the public of ſome performance, which took its riſe from a cloſer and more intimate acquaintance with diſtant ſtates and kingdoms than uſually falls to the ſhare of ſuch people as make a part of an inſular nation. As the perſon who did me the honour to accept of my poor and imperfect ſervices, exhorted me rather to be profuſe than ſparing in ſuch expences as tended to the acquiſition of knowledge, whether in hiſtory, politics, antiquities, laws of government, manners of courts, &c. I had once thoughts of reducing the obſervations of my travels into form; but upon mature reflection, it appeared to me, that the relative ſituations of kingdoms and ſtates were diſquiſitions merely of a periodical nature; and as to antiquities, buildings, paintings, and ſo forth, they had been deſcribed already, even to tedioufneſs. The inaccuracies

and errors of other travellers ſoon taught me to ſuſpect my own; for many or moſt of them depend principally (not thro' indolence and inattention, but on the contrary from want of time and proper opportunity) upon the relations of natives, which are always partial and inſincere; or on ſuch extracts as they are enabled to compile from books in vogue among the reſpective people thro' whoſe countries they paſs. For theſe reaſons I threw my materials aſide; and after ſuch a frankneſs and generoſity of confeſſion, it is natural to conclude that I ſhall procure my pardon from the public on eaſy terms. Yet the dye was caſt, that I ſhould diſturb the tranquillity of readers by ſome means or other, and enter their cloſets unſought-for with my literary preſent: That I do ſo is certain; but 'tis with reſpect and diffidence, and the little delineation I make them a tender of, carries this ſlight recommendation with it, that it is an original ſketch, and not an imitation.

Now as part of the commiſſion I was entruſted with induced me to renew my acquaintance with the modern hiſtory of other nations, I applied myſelf a ſecond time to an undertaking that had been ſuggeſted to me in the earlier parts of life, by my firſt friend and protector the late EARL of PETERBOROW, and which I then declined, merely thro' deficiency of materials, and from want of that intercourſe with learned hiſtorians of other nations, which it hath ſince

been

been my good fortune to acquire and cultivate. For theſe reaſons I have *reſumed* the hiſtory of Guſtavus Adolphus more properly than *undertaken* it; and ſo much the rather, inaſmuch as co-incidently with that period of narration, opportunities are given me of throwing new lights into the political tranſactions of my own country; and that in the courſe of a reign partially underſtood, but uncommonly important.

At firſt ſight, without reflection, it may appear to ſome, that I have engaged myſelf in an undertaking which ſeems to be foreign from the ſtudies of my own profeſſion, and that the life of a warrior, interſperſed with matters of civil hiſtory, bear no connection with the pen of an eccleſiaſtic: but the life of *that* warrior, which time and accident have reſerved for me the honour of undertaking, happens by a rare and unparalleled felicity to be the life of an hero, who, not contented to perform the greateſt actions in the field and cabinet, ſuperadded to his glory (in order to make the figure of it truly circular and perfect) the grand accompliſhing perfection of an honeſt, a moral, and a religious man; in all which laſt-mentioned lights he appears to me as great and amiable as in the two former. For theſe reaſons, I had ever a ſtrong inclination to make this illuſtrious and extraordinary perſonage better known to poſterity; and if in the execution of ſuch an undertaking I ſhall happen to acquit myſelf without com-

mendation, the fault muſt lie at my own door; for I writ with pleaſure, upon an earneſt deſire of becoming uſeful.

Amongſt other things, it has been my ſingular good fortune to provide and amaſs materials to ſuch an abundance, that I found myſelf plung'd into an ocean of hiſtory, as full and redundant as that of the poet,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque littora Ponto;

ſo that my principal difficulty lay in the grand ſecret of *ſelection* and *rejection*; and what is equally extraordinary (but more to my diſgrace if I ſucceed ill) I have from a ſtrange fatality in mankind, but one competitor, properly ſpeaking as a * biographer, whoſe work is only a ſhort ſuperficial compilement ſqueezed from the droppings of gazettes and courants in thoſe days; ſo that if hiſtorians could be arranged into gradual claſſes of perfection (in the manner Des Piles has made an intellectual barometer, whereby to eſtimate the merit of painters) I ſhould make no ſcruple to place M. de Prade in the very loweſt predicament of excellence ‡. Yet to give him his due, he aims at nothing, and is nothing.

* Hiſtoire de Guſtave Adolphe, dit Le Grand. A Par. 12°. 1695. pagg. 167.

‡ Profeſſor Menke, whoſe collection in hiſtory was well known to all Europe, hath given us a picture of this book to the life: PEU DE CHOSES. *Catalogue des Principaux Hiſtoriens*, p. 413.

Pauper videri vult Cinna, & eſt pauper.

And under this head there appears to me an ulterior circumſtance worthy to be recounted, namely, that the life of Guſtavus could never have made its entrance into the world at a period more intereſting than the preſent, for the counter-part of the *tricennial* war, after a revolution of *one hundred years*, is now rekindled in the ſelf-ſame countries; The two proteſtant heroes bear a great reſemblance each to the other; the motives are ſimilar, and the provocation parallel.

Yet what induced me ſolely to write the life of Guſtavus, was the character he will be found to bear as a man of honeſty, magnanimity, morality, and religion: as to your merely belligerant heroes, I conſign them to other hands. But after having long ſtudied my inimitable example in the various ſituations of piety and honour, and indulged a cloſe examination into all that hath been publiſhed partially or peeviſhly concerning him by the ſeveral writers of the two religions, I find no breach of truſt, no habitual immorality, no infraction of religion, no negative inattention to public virtue or private devotion, which can ſtrictly and with propriety be laid to his charge. I can diſcover but one habitual fault in the whole of his conduct (and that too may be alleviated,

viated, as it ſeems to be a conſtitutional frailty, interwoven with the warmth of his nature) which is, that he was ſubject on certain occaſions to a momentary tranſport of paſſion; which, far from concealing, I have touched upon, not unſparingly, in more places than one. But we never find him in the department of an encroaching or inſolent king; we never diſcover him falſe or diſhonourable in any one of the relative or ſocial duties: he preferred no man, but for merit and probity; he broke his faith neither with potentate nor with ſubject; and as to military and ſtate-favourites, they were a ſort of regal trifles, which paſſed through his mind as tranſiently as they entered accidentally. He had no recourſe to diſſimulation; becauſe as a brave man he deſpiſed it, and as an able man he did not want it: for though it may ſeem a paradox to the generality of readers, yet numberleſs people are diſhoneſt merely for want of courage, or want of parts.

What hath been here ſlightly ſketched out is not intended to paſs upon the public by way of a character, but ſerves only as a plain enumeration of ſome few individuating circumſtances, which induced me as an eccleſiaſtic to write Guſtavus's life preferably to that of moſt other perſons. For were I to delineate him in the other various appearances of the warrior, the politician, and private man of virtue (all which I chuſe hereafter to leave the reader to combine from the

the ſeveral facts of hiſtory) it were impoſſible for me to confine myſelf within the common bounds of a ſlight preparatory introduction; ſince upon the whole he appears to me in every ſhape to be one of thoſe great and fortunate human beings, whoſe reputation is neither to be advanced by encomiums, nor depreciated by obloquy. *Quem vituperare ne inimici quidam poſſunt, niſi ut ſimul laudent.*

My main view, therefore, in compiling this work, is an attempt to enforce the ideas and practice of virtue and religion upon that large body of men called the *military*. The object and moral of my book being only *this*, *That the religious and good man* (all other circumſtances being ſuppoſed equal) *ſtands the beſt chance to be braveſt too.* And if in compoſing the warlike parts of this work I have employed an unuſual degree of exactneſs, attention, and accuracy, 'tis merely from a ſincere and earneſt deſire of conveying *the doctrine of my moral* more dextrouſly into the human mind. Moderation, humanity, decorum, order, and above all the grand efficacy of a good example, are the ſalutary ingredients preſcribed to the warrior; the deſcription of war itſelf being only the vehicle artfully contrived in order to convey down leſs perceptibly the doſe of virtue, which men have perſuaded themſelves to be more unpalatable than it really is, merely from the prevalence of cuſtom and influences of prejudice. But my hope is, that I ſhall preſerve the reader's

attention

attention awake through the whole courſe of my hiſtory; and that the military youth of this kingdom may find the *uſeful* intermingled with the *amuſing*;

——*Interea perpotet amarum*
Abſynthî laticem, deceptaque non capiatur:
Sed tali potius tactu recreata valeſcat.

If, therefore, from the force of an example like that of Guſtavus, I can diſplay in new lights any freſh inducements (tending towards the promotion of virtue and religion) to that valuable part of the human ſpecies, the *brave* and *magnanimous*, I ſhall think my labours repaid to me with an accumulation of intereſt: and with all the fervour which the mind of man is capable of expreſſing towards the ſupreme Being, I ſincerely pray, that my intentions may be anſwered in this important particular! On the king's piety I ground the whole of my undertaking; otherwiſe, *Totum hoc indictum volo.*

The two greateſt heroes* in the courſe of the preſent hiſtory, were the moſt moral and religious perſons in the two reſpective armies. And though it may be objected that many *wicked* and *fiery men* have been *very brave*, (which point I no ways controvert) yet the *former* can never contemplate

* Guſtavus and Pappenheim.

template death ſeriouſly and compoſedly; and it may be doubted of the *latter*, whether they poſſeſs that cool bravery, which preſerves itſelf the ſame without the help of the irraſcible or vain-glorious appetites to goad it on: for, if courage be prompted by paſſion in any degree, and not by principle, it muſt be hurried and agitated more or leſs, which is a misfortune: the fire will be fierce, but not clear; and the tranſport counterworks that preſence of mind which performs ſuch wonders in the moments of danger, and without which, bravery in war (with reſpect to ſuperior commanders) is little more than animal ferocity. All the *great* and *magnificent* that is performed in the field, is effected by that intuitive glance of the judgment, which our neighbours denominate neither inelegantly nor improperly the *coup d' œil*, though that idea falls far beneath the Greek expreſſion Αγχίνοια; and I think 'tis plain to a demonſtration, that the moſt tranquil and compoſed man (the reader will ſoon judge under which predicament ſuch a perſon falls) ſtands always the beſt chance for ſnatching theſe critical and momentary opportunities. Nothing is ſo rapid as the flight of fortune; and if ſhe is not ſeized by the wing, the very inſtant ſhe glances by, the coy and capricious deity returns no more.

It grieves me likewiſe to ſay, that ſome military men, vainly and heedleſly ſuppoſe, that a contempt of religion,

and a virtuous life, argues a certain greatneſs and intrepidity of ſoul. Little, alas! in this reſpect do they know their own hearts, or thoſe of their neighbours! For the preſumption being, that a man of the ſervice is likewiſe a brave man, it is then manifeſt that this ſort of conduct calls the owner's courage into queſtion: for the coward, when danger is remote, is always moſt intrepid in his talk, moſt noiſy, moſt inſolent, and moſt prophane; nor is it an uncommon character to find the ſame man an hypocrite in valour, and an atheiſt in religion. Lord *R.* in the laſt age was an undeniable proof of this aſſertion, and daily obſervation confirms it oftner than one would wiſh to mention. The true hero feels no conſciouſneſs to prompt him to have recourſe to a ſupport ſo mean: any more than a beautiful and virtuous woman wants to enhance her charms by copying the taudry dreſs and illiberal looks of a town-proſtitute.

There is another circumſtance in the life of Guſtavus which deſerves the attention of men of ſervice. It is natural to imagine that the king's high ſpirit and perſonal courage can never be conſidered as points equivocal or problematical, yet he thought it beneath no warrior to decline a duel, and make his applications to the court of honour. He denounced death againſt all deciſions of quarrels ſword in hand; and upon one occaſion ſhewed great preſence of mind and inflexibility towards a couple of officers whom he reſpected

reſpected extremely *. Theſe circumſtances being premiſed, can any perſon be uneaſy concerning a proffered combat, when the great Guſtavus deſpiſed the practice, and conſidered it more as matter of peeviſhneſs, and impotent paſſion, than any true mark of reſolution and fortitude? Was not that prince jealous of the affairs of honour beyond all imagination? And if the rejection of a duel had predicated cowardice upon any human being, no worldly conſideration could ever have replaced that man in the royal favour; but to return from this digreſſion.

It may ſeem to ſome, that during the courſe of this work, I place the elector Palatin in too favourable a light: (not that I have omitted to ſpare him upon many occaſions, and excuſe him no where, but for countervailing reaſons that amount to greater probability;) but be that as it will, if in the train of my narration I appear to ſpeak of this unfortunate perſon with more reſpect and greater compaſſion than the tribe of hiſtorians is apt to do, I may aſſert truly and without vanity, it is becauſe I know him better: nor can I allow a king to be branded with infamy, or hurried unnoticed down the ſtream of hiſtory, who made ſo extraordinary an *effort* in the cauſe of religion and liberty: (upon the *effects* of which effort the political laws of Europe have ſtood confirmed for more than a century) and from whoſe illuſtri-

* See vol. I. p. 103, &c.

ous great-grandſon, our preſent Sovereign, I now enjoy the privilege of imparting my ſentiments to the public with the ſpirit and impartiality of a proteſtant truly-born, and glorioufly protected!

Some people again may think that I have rather been too ſevere upon Charles I. and the miniſters that ſerved him: whereas, if they could but ſee how much I have expunged or paſſed ſlightly by, they would readily accuſe me of inclining to the compaſſionate ſide. To ſay truth, I love to diſturb *no* man's *aſhes*, eſpecially *thoſe* of a king: he had a *better* criterion to appeal to, than the cenſure or praiſes of a modern hiſtorian; and to *that* criterion I ſhall conſign him to *ſtand* or *fall*. Upon this account I have related things ſimply, without deſcanting upon them: nor can I charge my memory with having played the rhetorician upon any fact, or indulged the leaſt acrimony or petulance of ſtyle. Whereas, if I had reaſoned only upon the ſeveral falſe ſteps (to ſay the leaſt of them) then taken with reſpect to the continent, or explained the various circumſtances relative thereto in full detail; I might have ſwelled that ſingle article to half the ſize of the hiſtory before us. It may ſuffice to have cut a ſample off by way of preſent to my readers, and to have kept the remainder of the piece in my own hands.

Enough

Enough however is exhibited to convince the public, how little our hiſtorians know with regard to the affairs of the Palatinate; tho' in truth they were the ſecret ſprings that gave motion and deſtination to all the politics of the latter part of James's reign, and the beginning of his ſon's. Nevertheleſs, the writers of my country merit praiſe, inaſmuch as they applied themſelves to work as long as their materials laſted: Till the better food of bread could be found, mankind was obliged to content itſelf with the ἄλις δρύος: However, it will appear from the courſe of this work, that numberleſs important truths, facts, and anecdotes, may be collected from the archives of foreign courts, from the negociations of miniſters then concerned with England, and from the hiſtorians of various nations who writ upon the memoirs of thoſe very miniſters, or had been allowed acceſs to the reſpective *cancellarias* of their own country. A part of what lay within my power I embraced with thankfulneſs, and might have lived to have ſeen the better portion of the hiſtory of England completed, conformably to this plan, upon my own ſuggeſtion; but the perſon who undertook the taſk, and had made conſiderable extracts from papers in foreign courts (thoſe of Ruſdorf particularly) is unfortunately no more *. And the reader may eaſily perceive, that every man is neither able to bear the expences of ſuch an undertaking, or ſucceſsful enough to procure the recommendations

* Mr. George Grierſon.

dations neceſſary; which latter may avail but little, except he can inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the learned and knowing.

Carte boaſts of executing wonders in this reſpect: we have the rhodomontade, but not the performance; and indeed if he went to any magazine of intelligence (which may be a doubt) he queſtionleſs applied to the *wrong*; for France had few materials to afford, and ſuch as ſhe had, ſure I am, ſhe would have with-holden from him. For have not all her voluminous treaty-collectors ſuppreſſed many pieces, which I have preſerved, and *ſhe* was aſhamed of? It will appear by examination, that I have hardly been able to borrow a ſingle hint from this pompous writer's performance. One printed book out of his collection, relating to the affairs of the Palatinate, fell by chance into my hands; and by the markings and interlineary daſhes, it appears plainly that his deſign was to ſacrifice Frederic and aggrandize the two Engliſh kings. He faggoted together juſt ſo much as made for his purpoſe, and left the reſt in the ſtate he had mangled it.

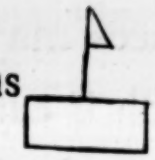
With reſpect to materials neceſſary to be uſed in compoſing a work like this, my misfortune hath been that they poured in upon me much faſter than I had leiſure or abilities to arrange them; ſo that the great work of ſelecting and refuſing,

fuſing, conſtituted the moſt trying part of my labour. And this the reader will diſcover, not only in the affairs of the Empire, but even in the hiſtorical matters relative to England, which the confuſion of our own civil wars (joined with an unparalleled negligence in the preſervation of ſtate-papers) ſoon contrived to throw into confuſion; nor did the claſſics undergo more perſecution from the Goths and Huns, than the Britiſh *cancellaria* ſuffered during the domination of the *Prides* and *Hewſons*.

I have cautiouſly reſtrained myſelf from affecting to bedeck my work with ambitiouſly-ornamental and high-laboured characters, tho' perhaps no writer hath reſiſted greater temptations in that reſpect; ſince the very out-lines of Guſtavus, Pappenheim, Walſtein, or Oxenſtiern carry with them their own magnificence and individuating originality. Beſides, there was alſo another circumſtance which forcibly deterred me. I had reaſons to expect the delineation of Guſtavus (and that ſingle incident might have ſaved the reputation of my hiſtory) completely drawn by a nobler hand; but ill-health rendered it impoſſible to realize that generous and moſt friendly engagement. Of courſe I ſhall modeſtly decline to touch the Ceſtus which Entellus had thrown down to the public. Characters weakly and ſolicitouſly dotted into the canvas by an unmaſterly hand, are only mere glare and falſe painting; they are the *copy* of a fantaſtic writer's thoughts,

thoughts, and *thoſe* are but a *copy*. Nevertheleſs care has been taken to place the King's actions, religious, moral, political and military, in ſuch ample and diſtinct lights in a ſort of characteriſtical index, that the reader may be enabled with moderate judgment and little difficulty to combine a much better idea concerning him, than I can pretend to exhibit to his imagination.

With regard to the *maps*, care hath been taken to conſtruct them on a new principle, merely relative to the preſent performance: ſo that the reader with a ſingle glance will diſcover every town and river he wants to ſeek for: And this may be called an individuating principle of propriety; for as much as no other map correſponds to our purpoſes, and our maps can be adapted to no uſes but thoſe they ſupply at preſent. We flatter ourſelves too, that the *plans* of battles are more clear and exact than have hitherto appeared: The place not only of every column and regiment, but of each ſmaller group of forces being expreſly denoted; the ſquares bearing always a proportion to the number of combatants therein contained: and as no one can comprehend a battle (particularly thoſe fought by Guſtavus where the foot was intermingled amongſt the horſe upon a new principle) without knowing preciſely where the infantry and cavalry were placed, we have eſteemed it proper (and the deſignation may not be unuſeful in future plans) to diſtinguiſh a body of the

the *latter* thus  and of the *former* thus  . Nor do we owe this idea to Maréchal de Saxe; ſince many of my friends remember to have ſeen this diſcrimination in my drawings ſome years before the memoirs of that officer were made public.

As to the diſtances of places, and ſums of money, we have calculated throughout the work by Engliſh meaſurement and computation; and have ſubjoined here and there an hiſtorical note, which contains ſome few ſtriking particulars relating to perſonages of more immediate importance; and this I was induced to do, partly to give the reader a clearer idea of the ſubject in queſtion, and partly becauſe ſome circumſtances did not intermix well with the ſeries of my narration, or happened to fall out before or after the period I have confined myſelf to. Some other notes are interſperſed ſparingly up and down, relating to laws and terms in *jus-publiciſm*: the change of property ſince the peace of Münſter; or other matters not unworthy of obſervation.

Nor may it turn to my diſadvantage, that I have examined the ichnography of the principal ſcenes of action (eſpecially the three great battles of the Lech, Leipſic, and Lützen) with all poſſible attention and diligence. And tho'

theſe aſſiſtances may be reckoned purely of a caſual nature, yet thus much is certain, that no hiſtorian can deſcribe an engagement with fidelity and veracity, except he has contemplated the ground-plot in his own proper perſon, or received his informations from one who has previouſly performed the ſelf-ſame taſk.

Another circumſtance cannot but be conſidered as peculiarly fortunate; ſince few hiſtorians but myſelf have had the advantage of a chronological diary whereby to regulate and adjuſt their narration; and yet except things follow one another in writing by the ſame order as they really took their riſe, it is impoſſible to behold them in their due proportions. But by the aſſiſtance of the journals alluded to, it has been in my power to arrange every action in its right ſituation, which gives the whole a propriety of nature extremely beautiful, *Quodcunque rei proprium eſt, id pulchrum eſt*; a circumſtance moſt hiſtorians may wiſh for ardently, but unſucceſsfully. Nevertheleſs it becomes not me to boaſt much of an advantage which took its riſe from mere accident, and from whence no reputation can redound to me, except that of being a laborious and diligent ſearcher. Yet thus much is certain, that amidſt ſuch a maſs of combined incidents and events, as the preſent work evidently containeth, there will be nothing of that hiſtorical and chronological magic,

Quæ

---Quæ modo nos Thebis, modo pono Athenis ;

all things will preſent themſelves in proper ſeries to the reader, like objects floating diſtinctly each after the other on the *river of time* ; or to depart from this poetical alluſion, all things will ſucceed each other in their due periods and diſtances. What happened at one time will not be recounted as falling out at another : an embarraſſment (in caſes not ſo fortunately circumſtanced as ours) which every hiſtorian who writes at a century's diſtance muſt *feel* much more than it is *his intereſt* to acknowledge : for he diſcovers in the cool reviſion of the cloſet that his incidents are more connected by proximity of page and paragraph than by the once-really exiſting order of nature : and of courſe, (at leaſt to eyes of nicer diſcernment) where-ever the chronology of facts cannot be aſcertained, there will always be ſome untoward aukwardneſs in the ſituations and connexions ; ſomething

---Quod nequeo monſtrare, & ſentio tantum.

And here I muſt make a ſhort apology for ſome few inaccuracies of the printer, as the greateſt part of the work was wrought off during my abſence at a conſiderable diſtance in the country : but I flatter myſelf the errors are ſuch as can only be conſidered as typographical : --- And with reſpect to

myſelf, if the ſtyle ſhould appear leſs laboured and ornamental than is uſually exhibited by the fluent writers of the preſent age, that deficiency muſt be attributed to my friends, who without embarraſſing themſelves with fact and matter, had the power to favour me with ſome enlivenings of the pen here and there; for indeed whilſt my whole mind was occupied in compoſing, ſelecting and arranging the hiſtorical parts, I might be compared to a perſon walking on a precipice, who ran the riſque of breaking his neck or limbs, if he ſtayed to gaze at a ſingle flower or petrefication.

As this work is the reſult of a careful peruſal and reviſion of near one hundred different authors, it can no ways be expected, that it agrees preciſely in all circumſtances with any ſingle writer; yet more uniformly with the correct, than thoſe that are leſs corrected. I have alſo had abundance of original memoirs as well as uſeful emendations imparted to me; and 'tis plain the intelligences conveyed to England at that period by lord Rea, Hepburn, Aſtley, and others, are more exact and ſcientifical than the German hiſtorians can pretend to give; for none of them were men of ſervice, and knew little of the actions they attempt to deſcribe. In a word, abundance of errors are to be rectified, if a man be commonly maſter of the ſubject he undertakes. For example, when the whole herd of hiſtorians aſſure us, that Guſtavus Horn performed wonders at Lützen, we know by the military

table

table conſtructed by us, that he then conducted an Army in Alſatia, and had juſt concluded the ſiege of Belſelden. Galas is repreſented as uncommonly active in the above-named battle, when at the very time he had a ſeparate command on or near the frontiers of Luſatia. He is numbered likewiſe among the ſlain, yet gained the battle of Nordlingen in 1634, and died not till two years before the peace of Münſter. Pappenheim (for the ſake of verifying an old woman's prophecy) is related to have killed Guſtavus hand to hand: whereas the king expired at eleven in the morning, and Pappenheim reached not the plains of Lützen till near four in the afternoon. It may ſuffice to repeat theſe few examples, relative to one ſingle day's ſervice, in order to ſhew, that if I depart from any man, it is for cogent and juſtifiable reaſons: and hence 'twill appear, that when an hiſtorian thoroughly poſſeſſes his ſubject, after an examination and reviſion longer than Horace preſcribes to works of imagination, it is not eaſy to impoſe a falſehood upon him, or a diſcordancy, or a contradiction. Yet, in deſpite of all precaution and vigilance, ſome errors will for ever intrude themſelves upon us:

——*Quos aut incuria fudit,*
Aut humana parum cavit natura.——

And thus, 'till I had examined minutely the hiſtory of the

period

period now before us, it had always been my cuſtom to conſider father Bougéant's account * with eſteem and deference; nor was I unſparing in my encomiums upon it to my particular friends: nevertheleſs, upon a cloſer examination, it appears to me to be written in a manner very ſuperficial and unſubſtantial; ſince even the orthography of the names of warriors, politicians, towns, or rivers, are unknown to him; but in ſtrict truth his true deſign (not the more excuſable for being common) was only to make a fluent and pleaſing narrative; and of courſe he laid three principal authors upon his table, two † that were *not the beſt*, and one ‡ extremely *partial*, *verboſe and frivolous*. It may therefore ſafely be aſſerted, and conſiſtently with modeſty, that I have corrected him and ſupplied him in numberleſs places throughout the whole performance.

But Le Barre's hiſtory §, which contains only a ſhort flying compendium of ſuch tranſactions as fall within the reach of my deſign, is compoſed and arranged with that diſtinguiſhing

* Hiſtoire des Guerres & des Negotiations qui precedérent le Traitè de Weſtphalie. vi tom. en 12°.

† Lotichius de Rebus German. ab anno 1617, ad ann. 1648. Tom. ii. fol. cum fig. 1646, 1650. Mercure Franç. xxi. tom. en 8vo. A Paris 1619, &c.

‡ Puffendorffii Comment. de Rebus Suecicis, &c. Fol. Ultraject. 1676.

§ *Joſeph Barre*, *Algemeine Geſchichte von Deutſchland*. 4° tom. vii. 1752. This work, in German, which came not into my hands till too late, is more corrected and improved than the author's own edition in French.

diſtinguiſhing acumen which doth honour to an hiſtorian, and is recommended likewiſe by an extenſive and intimate acquaintance with great variety of authors, whoſe names carry credit and authenticity with them. Upon the whole, if my work approacheth not to my own ideas, I am ſenſible it muſt ariſe from wanting hourly the kind aſſiſtance and ſuperviſion of two ſuch friends as Maſcou and Voltaire; the one would have opened the quarry for me, and the other would have taught me to have placed my materials like an architect.

In a word, every day of the king's life, after he entered Germany, hath coſt me more than a treble day in recording its performances: for Guſtavus conquered the empire in thrice leſs time than I compoſed the hiſtory of his conqueſts. So difficult it is with a king of Sweden in the laſt age, or a king of Pruſſia in the preſent century, to make the pen keep pace with the ſword.

ESSAY

PRINCES Cotemporary *with* GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS; *and concerned with him, or againſt him.*

EMPERORS.

Matthias ——— 1612—1619
Ferdinand II. ——— 1619—1637

POPES.

Paul V. ——— 1605—1621
Gregory XV. ——— 1621—1623
Urban VIII. ——— 1623—1644

KING of FRANCE.

Louis XIII. ——— 1610—1643

KINGS of SPAIN.

Philip III. ——— 1598—1621
Philip IV. ——— 1621—1665

KINGS of ENGLAND.

James I. ——— 1603—1625
Charles I. ——— 1625—1648

KING of DENMARK.

Christian IV. ——— 1588—1648

KING of POLAND.

Sigismond III. ——— 1587—1632

ELECTORS of MENTZ.

John Schweickard of Cronenberg } 1604—1626
G. Frederic of Grieffenclau } —1626—1629
Anselm Casimir Wambold of Umſtadt } 1629—1647

ELECTORS of TRYERS.

Lothario of Metternich ——— } 1599—1623
Philip Christopher Van Soetttern ——— } 1623—1652

ELECTOR of COLOGN.

Ferdinand, Duke of Bavaria ——— } 1612—1650

ELECTOR of BAVARIA.

Maximilian— ——— 1623—1651

ELECTOR of SAXONY.

John George ——— 1611—1659

ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG.

John Sigismond ——— 1572—1619
George William ——— 1619—1640

ELECTOR PALATIN.

Frederic V.— ——— 1617—1632
Choſen King of Bohemia 1619

PRINCES, &c. of Transylvania.

Gabriel Bethlem ——— 1603—1629
Catharina of Brandenburg, who reſigned } 1629—1631
George Ragotzki — 1631—1648

The Bookbinder is to place this fronting the beginning of the Hiſtory, Vol. I.

ERRATA.

Occaſioned by the AUTHOR's Abſence.

Page 1. line ult. ſeems to be, read *ſeems to me*. P. 9. l. 18. for De la Gardiz, read *De la Gardie*. P. 12. l. 30. paper of aſſevaration, read *aſſecuration*. Ibid. l. 16. for John's, read *John*. P. 15. l. 1. But theſe things as they may, read *But be theſe things*, &c. P. 16. l. 30. after the word by-ſtanders, add *to conclude*. P. 17. l. 3. for but, read *yet*. P. 18. l. 9. for Holland, read *Halland*. P. 19. Note, for baron De Auchy, read *D'Auchy*. P. 24. l. 8. for Forſtenſon, read *Torſtenſon*. P. 30. Note, for Guerredi, read *Guerre di*. P 40. l. 18. after the word piqued, add *himſelf*. P. 48. Note, l. 1. To Geſtorum in Europa ſingularium, prefix *Piaſeceii chronica Geſtorum*, &c. P. 60. Note, for viritos, read *irritos*. P. 60. for count de Sobre, read *count de Solre*. P. 71. l. 8. for offenſible, read *oſtenſible*. Ibid. Note, l. 4. after ARVIDUM, dele comma. P. 79. l. 8. for Maſſoria, read *Maſſovia*. P. 109. Note, l. 7. for Munsfelt, read *Mansfelt*. P. 116. l. 16. for Wolſtein, read *Walſtein*. P. 118. l. 30. dele CAMIN. P. 123. l. 24. for preſentment, read *preſentiment*. P. 126. l. 19. diſpatching of an army, dele *of*. Ibid. l. 21. for preſentment, read *preſentiment*. Ibid. l. 27. read *Graudrentz*. P. 131. l. 29. for Tumo, read *Turno*. P. 151. l. 10. for renſion, read *reviſion*. P. 155. Note, l. 4. for He, read *It*. P. 166. Note, l. 13. for indicare, read *indicere*. P. 168. l. 18. for width, read *wedth*. Ibid. l. 28. for incomperti, read *incompertæ*. P. 188. Note, for Van Scottem, read *Van Soettern*. P. 210. l. 13. for Weſer, read *Oder*. P. 236. l. 4. for *Kirchfield*, read *Hirſchfield*. P. 260. l. 26. for draw, read *drew*. P. 293. l. 2. for reſtituende, read *reſtituendæ*. P. 322. l. 25. prudent to make, read *prudent not to make*. P. 329. l. 2. for Germam, read *German*. P. 342. l. 9. for the expanſion, read *that*. Ibid. l. 19. for Sweden, read *from*. P. 344. l. 28. For what motive, read *from what*, &c. P. 345. Note, l. 12. for this laſt, read *his laſt*. P. 347. Note, for Carr, read *Carve*. P. 348. l. 5. for power, read *pour*. P. 374. for Coalto, read *Colalto*. P. 381. Note, for Alma, read *Arma*. P. 385. l. 13. for Zuthen, read *Zutphen*. Ibid. Note, incertum eſt, point it thus, *incertum eſt*;--- P. 386. l. 1. for leaders, read *leader*. P. 394. l. 25. inſtead of, it is reduced, read *it is not reduced*. P. 417. l. 24. for carriage, read *carnage*. P. 430. Note, l. 4. for Curville, read *Courville*. P. 431. l. 24. for corps, read *dorps*. P. 437. l. 12. for Torcheim, read *Forcheim*. P. 441. l. 1. for excepting, read *expecting*.

Page 155. l. 27. for eminently and deſervedly, read *eminently and unreſervedly*.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

MILITARY STATE of EUROPE,

IN THE

Former Part of the Seventeenth CENTURY.

CONTAINING

The MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the AGE; and relating particularly to the Hiſtory of the Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

THE ſtate of war and cuſtoms of life were ſo different in the century I am treating of from what they are at preſent, that it appears neceſſary to me to give the reader ſome previous intelligences before I conduct him into an immenſe and perplexed labyrinth of hiſtory; great part of the ſcene whereof lies in a country which knows England much better than England is acquainted with Germany.

Some ſlight eſſay of this kind may not be improper, inaſmuch as I am deſcribing a war and negotiations as highly intereſting as any that are to be found either in ancient or modern hiſtory: And yet the more conſiderable portion thereof took its riſe from an imperceptible, and, as ſome thought, a very contemptible beginning; from an obſcure potentate in the north; a prince unheard of, or unnoticed in the European ſyſtem; *a king of*

ſnow, as the language then ran at the court of Vienna; *whoſe diſſolution was pronounced unavoidable long before the expiration of the ſummer-heats* *.

Yet this ſeemingly unexiſting monarch, at the head of thirteen thouſand virtuous and well-diſciplined men, created and modelled to the very form they afterwards appeared in, ventured not only to croſs the ocean, but to invade an immenſe hoſtile country, and oppoſe himſelf to a vaſt quantity of the beſt troops then in the world; a ſet of warriors whom an habit of twelve years uninterrupted victory had rendered terrible and ferocious; ſharpened by hardſhips, long-practiſed in all the arts of military diſcipline, and rendered cruel and inſolent by accuſtomed exactions, depopulations, and military executions; conducted by a general whoſe fires the froſt of age could not extinguiſh, though grown grey in experience and the arts of ſtratagem; one who in a word had ſhaded his aged temples with the laurels of thirty-ſix remarkable victories, and conjointly with him ſerved a ſet of illuſtrious commanders, whoſe very names infuſed reſpect and caution even into Guſtavus himſelf. Yet prudence, patience, order, moderation, humanity, benignity, morality, and religion (all ſupported by the cleareſt courage that can be imagined) ſoon pervaded and overturned this mighty maſs of men and things: And though the emperor at firſt could have marched againſt Guſtavus four or five conſiderable armies, for he and the leaguers had then no leſs than *nine*, including the troops before Mantua; (not to mention more than one hundred garriſons placed in various cities and fortreſſes): Yet our monarch, in the ſpace of twenty-nine months, poſſeſſed all that immenſe tract, which extends from the borders of Hungary and Sileſia to the banks of the Rhyne, and from the lake of Conſtance to the Baltic ocean.

The diſcipline between the reſpective contending forces was widely different: For the Imperialiſts had been corrupted by long proſperity. In a word, making the ſingle exception of

* He landed in the month of June.

courage,

courage, they were juſt the reverſe of the Swedes. One uniform undiſturbed ſucceſſion of conqueſts had rendered them audacious, avaricious, and cruel; and, which was ſtill worſe, juſt before Guſtavus's arrival, no inconſiderable part of the veteran infantry had been diſbanded for reaſons of ſtate, and that was a loſs which future induſtry could never poſſibly recover. Thoſe who remained, affected terror in their looks, and cruelty in their actions; and though they had ſeen and performed great things, yet were obliged to ſubmit to younger and leſs experienced men, merely becauſe they were more moral, more virtuous, and better diſciplined: For the camp of Guſtavus was a ſchool of order, decency, and religion. The little ſort of a court that was kept in it, knew nothing of ſervility, flattery, intrigues, or low meanneſſes. The king lived well with all his ſoldiers, and knew them all. No cavalier came into his ſervice, but he demanded of his officers a full and exact account of their opinions concerning him, and did the ſame again and again after they had tried him.

When he invaded Germany he had his eyes fixed on all the ſoldiers in Europe who were then retired from ſervice, and amongſt others writ to the Baron de Sirot with his own hand. —He was temperate in food, and rather abſtemious than otherwiſe in reſpect to wine, often declaring, with a ſmile on his countenance, *That he came not to conquer the Germans by hard drinking.*

Luxury was a ſtranger in his camp, and ſo was gaming. The nobility and the rich made no expences but for the honour of the ſervice, and the younger officers in point of dreſs never went beyond neatneſs and propriety. The common men had a full confidence either of overcoming the enemy by dint of valour and diſcipline in the field of battle, or wearying them out and reducing their numbers by virtue of judicious incampments and marches, and by being able to ſupport themſelves with greater moderation and frugality; for they could conti-

nue three months in thoſe very quarters where the Imperialiſts could but barely ſubſiſt themſelves one third part of the time. Their hardineſs of conſtitution was ſuch, that they could extend the duration of a campaign almoſt equal to that of the year, being alike patient of ſummer-heat and winter-cold. Their camp was their home, their inn, their farm, their city, and their country. In the courſe of the wars, numbers came to bear arms, who had been born and educated in the field, and had ſeen no other profeſſion than that of the ſword and muſquet. One would think an army no very excellent ſchool either for learning to read, or apprehending one's duty to God: Yet Guſtavus, and the Swediſh generals after his deceaſe, had a particular attention to theſe points: Public ſchools were opened every day with the ſame regularity and quiet as in a country town; and the moment the forces began to intrench themſelves the children went to a ſafe and peaceable quarter, marked out for their place of application. One day, contrary to the expectation of the general, who allotted them their ground, a cannon-ball happened to pierce through the ſchool, and killed two or three young people at a ſingle ſtroke; but the reſt, far from quitting their places, neither changed colour nor dropped a pen or a book from their hands *. Thus they became habitually intrepid from the cradle, and had an education far ſuperior to that of the Lacedemonian youth.

In the exerciſe of the field, neither ſerjeants nor corporals could be more vigilant or leſs ſparing of their labour than Guſtavus. One thing is remarkable, he was ſtrict to his officers and mild to the private men. It was a principle with him, that even a common ſoldier ſhould rarely if ever receive corporal puniſhment; fully perſuaded that ſuch a diſgrace caſt a damp afterwards upon his vivacity, and agreed not well with the notions which an high ſpirit ought to entertain of honour. It was his idea, that a man of bravery would ſooner forgive a

* Motifs pour la Guerre d'Allemagne, p. 176.

ſentence

ſentence of death, inflicted upon him by a court-martial, than paſs by the ſcandal of a blow in oblivion. His general rule therefore was to degrade or baniſh.

In field-reviews or private exerciſes he choſe always as much as poſſible to be preſent. There was ſcarce a private man of uncommon reſolution in his whole army (which conſiſted of combined troops from various nations) whom he could not call promptly by his name. The attention of his eye was ſo accurate, (though his eye-ſight was none of the beſt) that in a general muſter of a regiment he hardly paſſed by a ſingle individual unnoticed: And, if the meaneſt of the performers happened to be deficient in their exerciſes, he would diſmount from his horſe various times ſucceſſively, and without peeviſhneſs or upbraiding diſcharge the operation in queſtion for them, and command them to make their obſervations thereon.

Theſe troops were never apt to deſert, the world being an immenſe wilderneſs unknown to them; and beſides they could gain a ſubſiſtence in no profeſſion but that of arms. The horſeboys of the cavalry (who were uſually ſome years in their apprenticeſhip, and ſerved in an inferior manner during the time of action) were generally choſen to replace their maſters: Thus every man roſe by degrees, and perfected himſelf by ſubordination and long experience. Hence it happened that the loſs of the commanding officers in ſome ſharp engagements rarely diſcompoſed a Swediſh regiment (a thing frequent enough in other armies) for half the corps was juſt as capable to take the command as thoſe who preceded and had given them laws. There were but two means of advancement, *ſeniority* (which was ſometimes ſuperſeded) and merit: Birth, quality, and court-friends availed nothing; ſo that the world can hardly expect to behold a ſimilar army, except it be at remote and unfrequent intervals; formed by a monarch equally brave, moral, and religious, and nurtured by him for twenty years with all the care that a parent educates a ſingle child; The ſame plan was obſerved

ved more or leſs by his generals till the concluſion of the peace of Weſtphalia; and this body of troops from the year 1612 to 1648 had hardly ever taſted a ſingle month's repoſe. The regulations, order, and diſcipline of Julius Cæſar can bear no compariſon with the correct emendations, harmonious adjuſtment, and religious decency of Guſtavus.

Every regiment had two chaplains, who received then forty pounds a year apiece in our preſent money. They were governed by a conſiſtory of their own order; and, being men judiciouſly choſen, were reſpected by the principal commanders and beloved by the ſoldiery; yet their authority was ſuch, that they diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed all profane ſwearing and drunkenneſs; nor was the camp filled with vagrants, thieves, and proſtitutes, as uſually happened in the Imperial ſervice.

Thus by a habit of diſcipline, morality, and piety, adjoining thereto a conſtant experience in matters of war, the Swediſh army (at leaſt in Guſtavus's days) was rendered next to invincible, and became the moſt reſpectable body of troops then in Europe: For not long before Guſtavus's death the Swedes poſſeſſed near three hundred ſtrong towns and fortreſſes in the empire; and it was poſſible to dine in one of them and ſleep in another, from the middle of Sileſia to the weſtern banks of the Rhyne, and from the lake of Conſtance to the Baltic ocean.

It no-where appears that the troops of Guſtavus wanted pay, though that prince was extremely moderate and merciful in the affair of contributions; inſomuch that the *Conquered* (if we ſet aſide their prejudices to the Romiſh religion) uſually preferred the Swediſh government to their own hereditary conſtitution. Yet the aſtoniſhing point ſtill remains: How, for example, and by what methods, Guſtavus maintained and raiſed his numerous armies? Nor is it in my power to explain fully (and not ſuperficially) from whence this monarch derived his reſources; for moſt readers may conjecture what the riches of Sweden might

be

be under his adminiſtration; nor can they be ignorant that the king had been engaged in an uninterrupted *invaſive war* from the ſeventeenth year of his age to his dying moments; ſo that his ways and means of acquiring money will be ever inexplicable to poſterity more or leſs; as will be likewiſe his œconomy and punctuality of payments: And ſo much the more as it nowhere appears that his ſoldiers once mutinied for their deficiency of ſtipend.

It may be objected, that in the courſe of the war he received great ſupplies from neighbouring and extraneous princes; but, though this may be ſaid, it is not ſo capable of being demonſtrated; the amount of their ſubſcriptions being to a certain degree determinable without much difficulty. Nevertheleſs, ſuppoſing that to be as it will, what ſhall we ſay of his conduct the very Chriſtmas after he invaded Germany, having then received (ſo far as we know) only ſixty thouſand pounds from England: Whilſt France conſented to allow him a ſtipend of ſeventy five thouſand three hundred pounds; but as De Charnacé had retarded the ſignature of articles at leaſt a year, it was agreed by parole of honour (which whether verified, or otherwiſe, we cannot aſſert) to throw in twenty thouſand pounds by way of indemnification *.—Yet at the very time in queſtion, he had (beſides a conſiderable marine, in which were five thouſand inrolled and regular ſailors) an excellent army in Germany only, conſiſting of thirty four thouſand four hundred infantry, and eleven thouſand eight hundred horſe, with commiſſions to levy ten thouſand ſix hundred freſh men †.

In addition to the œconomy of ſupporting an army it may be remarked further, That his majeſty was alſo an exact and punctual obſerver both of public and private devotions; and ordered a ſet of military prayers to be drawn up and uſed conſtantly at the head of each regiment every day. I have ſeen about two and twenty of them, and many amongſt them are of no inconſiderable length.

* Chemnitii Bellum Sueco-Germ. Fol. p. 96. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part I. 4°. p. 79.
† Arma Suecica, 4°. 72—3—4.

His

His rules of diſcipline were admirable both in a moral and military ſenſe: They are a perfect code or ſyſtem. He compoſed this work as early as in the twenty-eighth year of his age, when he made his expedition againſt Riga. Theſe regulations he enlarged and rendered more complete when he invaded Germany, and added to them occaſionally, according as the inſolence and irregularity of his ſoldiers rendered freſh proviſions neceſſary: As particularly happened when he took New Brandenburg by ſtorm; for he then inſerted twenty freſh articles relative to that tumultuous affair.

In the *perfective* parts of war Guſtavus made a greater progreſs than any general before or ſince his time. The world had never ſeen a fine field-diſpoſition till the day the battle of Leipſic was fought. His idea was, that every army ſhould be conſidered like a fortified town; ſupplied in ſuch manner with aſſiſtances and reinforcements as to be enabled to act offenſively or defenſively: That there ſhould be ſupports behind ſupports, and paſſages of communication and relief, to be fed regularly with as much exactneſs as the circulation of the blood is diſtributed through the canals of the human body; his grand object being, that, though particular diviſions might be thrown into diſorder, yet that no confuſion ſhould prove *univerſal*. It was he who had the firſt notion of cloathing men well, and keeping them clean and warm; whereas Tilly's doctrine was, *A ragged ſoldier and a bright muſquet*, following a falſe maxim of the ancients, *Horridum militem eſſe decet*. In military architecture and the duties of an engineer he exceeded all his cotemporaries, and deſpiſed the Low-Country method of drawing up great incoherent bodies of troops in ſquare maſſes, commonly called *Tertias*; foraſmuch as originally they made up a third of the main body or centre. He reduced the huge regiments, which conſiſted formerly of two or three thouſand men, to twelve hundred, and afterwards to one thouſand and eight, in order to diſtribute more officers among the ſoldiery, and multiply the poſts of preferment for brave men. He allotted alſo four ſurgeons to every regiment; but there is reaſon to think that the Imperialiſts had none; ſince Tilly himſelf, after the battle of Leipſic, was obliged

obliged to have his wounds dreſſed by the town-ſurgeon of Halle *.

In the *creative* or *inventive* branches of war, we muſt attribute to Guſtavus the diſcovery of the *brigade* or *column*, the doctrine of firing in *platoons*, and the uſe of *leathern portable artillery*; (ſince diſcontinued, for reaſons to us unknown.) To him we owe likewiſe a new *partizan* (long loſt in oblivion, but thought by many to be more efficacious and leſs incumbering than the bayonet) the *ſea-boom*, the *formation of dragoons*, and the ſubſtitution of *pouches* in the place of *bandileers*. The infinite variety of *evolutions* took its riſe from him; and to him we owe the demonſtration that a *ſhort cannon* will give the ball a larger range. It was he that firſt divided his men into little diſtinct *pelotons*, and gave them officers accordingly. He conſidered ſpace as the parent of order, and always allowed ſufficient ground-plot for rectifying confuſions. He was the firſt who intermingled infantry in the intervals betwixt the horſe, which broke the formidable impreſſion of the ponderous Auſtrian cuiraſſiers, a ſet of men then deemed irreſiſtible: And, as brave regiments were often cut to pieces almoſt to a man, (choice and diſcrimination being likewiſe neceſſary for carrying on more particular deſigns) he deviſed the expedient of draughting ſoldiers from ſeparate corps (who were then called *commanded men)* which firſt gave riſe to the formation of brigades and battalions. It was his original idea probably, that a body of infantry could reſiſt an equal number of cavalry upon moſt emergencies: And it was he firſt thinned the immoderate depth of ranks, and conſequently brought more hands to engage in the hour of battle: — Yet one thing is very extraordinary: Though each of his generals was properly ſpeaking a favourite pupil, nurtured by him; and though his enemies were conſtant eye-witneſſes to every branch of his military conduct; yet the art of war declined from his death,

* I have been informed the Auſtrians had no regular ſurgeons in their regiments till about the year 1718.

till the time that Montecuculi and Turenne revived it *in part*, conformably to the principles of the great inventor.—Nor muſt we neglect the extraordinary advantages he extracted from winter-campaigns; which may be conſidered partly as a new military practice: And it was from the ſame principle, that he gave little or no countenance to councils of war; for it was his reſerved private ambition that every operation ſhould paſs upon the ſoldiery for his own invention.

Amidſt the *perfective* branches of his warlike profeſſion, may be mentioned his excellent methods of cloathing and ſubſiſting armies, and the punctuality of his payments; his exact diſcipline, ſobriety, induſtry, and perpetual reviewing his troops; the great improvement of his marine forces, and the manufacture of arms which he erected in Sweden; to which may be added his new and uncommon ſkill in all ſorts of military architecture, as likewiſe in conſtructing bridges, erecting batteries, and in all the arts of intrenchments, ſieges, mining, incampments, debarkations, and battles. It was he that firſt improved the field-ſervice of the horſe, and tranſported infantry behind the cavalry. It was he that firſt reduced war to a ſyſtem of tactics and religion; and, laſtly, it was he that regulated the fire of the cavalry, and ſhortened their muſquets into carabines. It was he that changed the incumbrance of armour into head and breaſt-pieces, reformed the matchlock, and aboliſhed the long pike and pike-reſts.

And, if I may digreſs a moment, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that, as to the king's peculiar notions and practices in politics, his great abilities in treaties, manifeſto's, ſpeeches, and letters, his perſonal bravery, preſence of mind and firmneſs, his juſt ſpirit of reſentment and ſenſe of honour, his generoſity and bounty, politeneſs and courteſy, his humanity, moderation, compaſſion, and above all his religion and piety; if (I ſay) we were to give the reader a true delineation of him, in all theſe illuſtrious particulars, we could do little leſs than tranſcribe the

numberleſs paſſages which he will peruſe in more full detail in every part of the enſuing work: Yet one thing is inconteſtable, and muſt never be forgotten; there is a certain *extemporaneous ſpirit and pointedneſs* in his ſpeeches and replies, which always carries its own authenticity therewith, and can never belong to another man. Wit he had none, or affected to neglect it; nevertheleſs he had all the acumen both of a refined and forcible imagination, attempered with juſtneſs and ſolidity.

The ſtate of war in thoſe days differed in many reſpects from what it is at preſent. Moſt conflicts of conſequence were decided by the ſword, an implement in the preſent age almoſt intirely uſeleſs. The ſcience of fortification was then in its infancy. Towns were beſieged and defended with fewer cannons than are made uſe of now; being in general protected only from the inſults of plunderers. The art of a campaign therefore conſiſted in giving deciſive battles and poſſeſſing the *paſſes and navigable rivers*; by which means the fortified towns ſubmitted of courſe; nevertheleſs all parties confided much in their artillery. Tilly and Guſtavus battered ſome places with incredible fury, and made uſe of pieces of a very conſiderable ſize. The former erected many large batteries at the battle of Leipſic, and Walſtein was not defectively provided at that of Lützen.

The generals marched their troops with greater ſpirit and expedition than hath been cuſtomary ſince. The common march of the infantry was ſixteen and eighteen miles a day. In a journal of each day's loco-motion, which a Scottiſh regiment made for ſix years ſucceſſively, I find *that* quantity to eſtabliſh the medium; and, to calculate more favourably, allow the German mile to be only four Engliſh miles and an half. In caſes of emergency and importance, it was uſual to ſtretch the journey to twenty-two miles: Thus by the above-mentioned diary one corps of troops (which reſted three months after Guſtavus's death) marched in four years three thouſand five hundred and

fifteen miles; and by the way it muſt be obſerved, that the fire-arms at that time were much heavier than they are at preſent. Amongſt ſome particulars in the age we are ſpeaking of, it may here be noted, that the loſs of the colours in a reſpective regiment or company, abſolved the military oath to the laſt maſter. Generals ſent romantic challenges for themſelves and armies by a trumpeter, with invitation to meet each other on equal ground; and war was denounced by an herald, conformably to the ancient laws of chivalry. Eccleſiaſtics cloathed themſelves in ſteel without ceremony; excommunicated by the Pope when againſt him, and laden with benedictions when they ſerved on his ſide. No Européan general from the time Charles V. beſieged Metz till Walſtein lay incamped near Nuremberg, had ſeen himſelf at the head of fifty thouſand fighting men. Armies were then of a more manageable ſize, and ſubdivided into ſeparate ones, which of courſe gave riſe to a plentiful harveſt of generals, and afforded men, from the higheſt to the loweſt, an opportunity of ſeeing as much ſervice in one campaign, as they now behold in all their lives. For the operations in theſe little tranſactions are more in detail, yet comprehended at the ſame time with greater facility.

It was a ſaying of Guſtavus, that he never deſired to place himſelf at the head of more than forty thouſand men; [paying no regard to a military maxim equally profane and inſubſtantial, namely, *that the ſupreme Being always favours the greater ſquadrons*;] That a larger number of troops was only matter of parade and incumbrance, inaſmuch as no general could compel him, in the aforementioned circumſtances, to accept a battle except he choſe it, whilſt in the interim he could diſpoſe of ſuperfluous forces to better advantage elſewhere. Concurrently with what is here aſſerted, it was the opinion both of duke d'Alva and Turenne, that no army ought to conſiſt of more than fifty thouſand men; and the former uſed always to ſay, that veteran troops were the bones and muſcles of the military

body, and that new-raiſed recruits only filled up the interſtices with ſhape and plumpneſs.

Whereas on the contrary it was the cuſtom, in the laſt war which England was engaged in, and we may thank our neighbours the French for preſcribing the faſhion (who know their men to be leſs robuſt than ours, and perceive likewiſe, other circumſtances being ſuppoſed equal, that the ſuperior weight and preſſure of troops will decide the day by ſqueezing the ranks into diſorder) to bring two immenſe armies into the field, who gaze at each other for a whole ſummer; of which the event is, if each general be endued with parts, that it is next to impoſſible to bring on a deciſive engagement, without incurring extreme hazard; and, what is ſtill more, matters will be brought to an event, not by the men, but by the bare machinery of the artillery. Thus only one general is formed in a country, and if he dies the loſs is irreparable.

It may be objected, that if our opponents have an inclination to act this part, the party aſſailed muſt then be obliged to face them with an equal body of troops: But this, with ſubmiſſion, is a miſtake of the ſtate of the queſtion. Great commanders are tied up to *no ſuch* rules, and his Pruſſian Majeſty, not diſſatisfied to imitate Guſtavus in moſt things, has ſubdivided his armies in the ſame manner as that prince would do were he now living. If one general portions out his troops with proper precaution, the other will be compelled to follow the example. Walſtein, who firſt invented this method of waging war, played the artifice upon Guſtavus; for he wanted, like our dextrous neighbours, to protract the time, and plunge his enemies into enormous expences, which is true policy with reſpect to oppoſing any army that carries on a war out of its own country: But Guſtavus deſpiſed the futility of this ſtratagem, and though he had only eighteen thouſand men, wherewith to confront above fifty thouſand, yet he allowed three ſeparate bodies of his own troops to range freely throughout the empire, and

intrenched

intrenched himſelf under the beard of the Imperial general, who in the event was obliged to decamp, and take ſuch cards as the Swediſh monarch was pleaſed to deal him.

Nevertheleſs, ſuch readers as examine the hiſtory of Guſtavus with attention and correct obſervation, will ſoon perceive, that whenever any overgrown and enormous potentate on the continent aims at nothing leſs than abſolute dominion over the whole Européan ſyſtem, that it then becomes indiſpenſably neceſſary, even for remote princes, ſeparated from the affair in queſtion by the intervention of the ocean, to ſupport the balance of power in the greater world, be the expences and hazard as extraordinary as imagination can repreſent them to us: For the evils and incroachments of univerſal monarchy reſemble the undulations cauſed by a large ſtone thrown into a ciſtern of water, whoſe ſurface is of a certain diameter,—they will touch the extreme rim at laſt. And, had Guſtavus allowed the Imperialiſts to make themſelves maſters of Pomerania, Mechlenberg, and ſuch ſides of the Baltic as lie oppoſite to Sweden, it is certain that Walſtein would ſoon have rendered himſelf ſupreme arbiter of the northern ocean: So that if Sweden had not acted the *offenſive* part in 1630, ſhe might have felt a raging war kindled in her own vitals long before the year 1640.

For theſe reaſons we are at a loſs which to admire moſt, the bravery or the prudence of Guſtavus in forcing the war to rekindle itſelf upon the continent with a freſh degree of fury. His ſenators, almoſt to a man, approved after ſome little reflexion this glorious effort, and the common people embarked in the expedition with as much zeal and promptneſs as if it had been another cruſade. But, as this ſubject may appear to many as a ſort of diſquiſition *ad invidiam*, it may ſuffice for me to have tranſiently touched upon it (inaſmuch as it gives a high finiſhing to the king's character) and leave the reſt to work its way on the reader's better judgment.

Yet one thing ſhall not be paſſed by unnoticed: Nor had the

the knowledge thereof been unuſeful to our *jus-publiciſts*, when the French exclaimed ſo outrageouſly againſt our commencing hoſtilities in Europe without ſome declaration of war in form. Guſtavus, in a caſe parallel, after long and ſedate reflection, determined to enter Germany without conveying any denunciation of an attack to the court of Vienna *: For he conſidered the Imperial actions as a very forcible ſort of language; nor hath poſterity ever decried the propriety or juſtice of his Majeſty's conduct.

But I am obliged to a clear-ſighted and excellent author † for ſome other reaſons (unnoticed hitherto by hiſtorians) which induced Guſtavus to enter Germany. "It muſt be remembered," ſaith he, "that as the Engliſh and Venetians in ancient times "laid claims immemorial to certain portions of ocean, ſo likewiſe the Swediſh nation formed uncontroverted pretenſions to "a large part of the Baltic ſea:" And when the irreſiſtible progreſs of the Imperial forces (ſupported at all times by a Spaniſh navy more conſiderable in thoſe days than ours) had poſſeſſed the whole intermediate tract of ſhore from Dantzic to Lubec; When mariners were inrolled, ſhips conſtructed, and Walſtein himſelf had requeſted to be declared high admiral of the north; —Surely it was due time and ſeaſon for a ſpirited and magnanimous prince like Guſtavus (removing for the preſent all other ſeparate conſiderations and inducements) to reſtrain the audacious incroachments of the houſe of Auſtria, and vindicate the then-expiring rights and commerce of his faithful ſubjects.

But to return from a ſlight digreſſion not unpardonable in an Engliſhman. The reader will be ſurpriſed when I tell him that the *pay* of thoſe days was more conſiderable than one may be apt to imagine. Nor muſt we diſſemble that here and there the commanders on the Swediſh ſide (to the great regret of their royal maſter) contrived to levy ſome ſeparate contribu-

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. 4to. 567.
† Pagannino Gaudentio Singolarità delle Guerre di Germ. 4to. 1640, p. 174.

tions

tions for their own uſes, and now and then filtered away a little from what had been collected by them under the ſanction of public authority. But theſe examples were rare, and reſented with ſeverity whenever diſcovered.

Whilſt the king's officers lived decently and comfortably, the Imperial commanders led lives of magnificence. Thoſe of prime diſtinction (eſpecially before Guſtavus arrived) affected the expence and grandeur of princes, and had very often a company of cuiraſſiers or infantry, by way of guards, of which ſome ſupplied the place of aids de camp: Many colonels kept their coaches in the camp, eat on plate, had an ambition to poſſeſs abundance of ſervants and horſes, and commonly maintained a ſecretary, partly for *ſtate* and partly for *uſe*. And as to contributions, they raiſed them to degrees alike unmerciful and immeaſurable.

In the Swediſh camp it is true matters were conducted with greater frugality; yet I have ſeen an account of a funeral proceſſion, performed for a Bohemian colonel in that ſervice, which was expenſive and pompous enough for a crowned head, and that in the very infancy of the war.

A colonel of a Swediſh regiment of infantry, when Guſtavus entered Germany, received about three hundred and eighty pounds per annum; the lieutenant-colonel was paid in the half-proportion, and a captain was allowed one hundred and twenty-eight pounds a year. To the officers military and civil were allotted one hundred and forty-two ſervants, who all did duty, but received ſeven-pence a week leſs than the common ſoldiers, whoſe pay amounted to a ſmall matter under ſix-pence a day: And in caſes of emergency, if the ſervice required, it was Guſtavus's cuſtom to advance them a third of their monthly pay, one payment being made on the eleventh, another on the twenty-firſt, and the reſidue at the end of the month; and what is remarkable, there was an officer, or a ſort of ſuperior at leaſt,

allotted

allotted to every combination of five or ſix men throughout the infantry.

It is true the Imperial pay, at leaſt amongſt the generals and colonels, ran much higher than the Swediſh; but then it was ſubjected to extraordinary defalcations, retardments, and ſtoppages; ſo that upon the whole the leſſer annual ſtipend was moſt convenient and moſt profitable. And here I ſpeak of the Imperial troops at the period when Guſtavus by his excellent diſcipline had forced the emperor to take ſome new meaſures, in conſequence of the opinions given by the electoral college at the dyet of Ratiſbon; for before that time every general and ſoldier, without having regard to the ſalary of the ſervice, extorted from the poor citizens and peaſants all that could be amaſſed by rapine and cruelty. Upon the footing of the new regulation *, a colonel of cavalry (the regiments being extremely large) was allowed near eight hundred pounds a year, and the lieutenant-colonel two hundred pounds. The pay of the ſame officers amongſt the infantry was near one fourth leſs: The ſtipend of a common cuiraſſier was about eleven pence per day, and the moiety of that ſum made the diurnal proviſion for a foot-ſoldier.

Thus the wages of the common men in both ſervices being pretty near the ſame, Guſtavus who knew how to ſeize every relative advantage, contented himſelf with giving his officers leſs ſtipend and eaſier duty, and creating juſt double the number that was to be found amongſt his enemies. Hence it was that he appeared to be better ſerved, and had more frequent opportunities of paying attention to merit. Nor muſt we forget here, that a common foot-ſoldier amongſt the Swedes (beſides ſome allowance for bread, and with no deductions from his pay, ſo far as we can learn) received three ſhillings and three farthings per week, or thereabouts.

The generals and colonels in thoſe days made no great ceremony of paſſing from one ſervice to another, which happened

* Publiſhed at Ratiſbon November 9, 1630. Vid. Arlanibæi Arma Suecica, 4to, p. 67.

more frequently, as it was difficult to do themſelves juſtice by way of duel. We do not find that kings or princes reclaimed their officers upon theſe occaſions; nor were they put to death when the fortune of war threw them into the hands of their former maſters, provided nothing could be laid to their charge except declining the ſervice.

Priſoners were exchanged but very rarely, there being no eſtabliſhed cartel of conditions; and as the ranſom belonged to the party ſeizing, exchange in this caſe was conſidered as a robbery; which made the emperor pay Verdugo four thouſand pounds in order to get the young prince of Anhalt into his own hands. Men of conſequence were detained *ratione convenientiæ*: This happened particularly to Guſtavus Horn and John de Wert, whom the Imperialiſts and French kept in their power many years, not chuſing to diſcharge them till the peace of Münſter appeared to be in ſome forwardneſs. Officers leſs illuſtrious always paid their ranſom: That of a colonel amounted ſometimes to about one thouſand pounds, and of the higher and lower commanders in proportion.

To repeat the ſeveral depopulations of fire and ſword, the plunderings and extortions, the acts of cruelty and inhumanity, the maſſacres and violations during the period of the thirty years wars, would be an endleſs as well as diſguſtful undertaking. It may ſuffice to obſerve in general, that the party who dealt moſt in thoſe deeds of ferocity proved likewiſe the moſt unproſperous, and rendered themſelves more odious to thoſe of their own religious profeſſion than their adverſaries could be: Whereas it was a maxim with Guſtavus (to which his practice was always conformable) that the truly brave ſoldier had no need to commit any acts of cruelty *in terrorem*. He conſidered war as dreadful enough in its own nature and conſequences; and thought it became the man of ſervice, and the Chriſtian to mollify its ſeverities rather than heighten them. It was his turn of mind and earneſt deſire to mix as much religion and benignity with

theſe

theſe operations, as the circumſtances of the thing could admit of: He made humanity and generoſity the *two* criterions of bravery: And it was a doctrinal point with him, that ſomething of the *liberal* man muſt complete the character of the *warrior*: For which reaſon he had the laſt-mentioned diſtinction always upon his lips (which he laboured inceſſantly to infuſe into his troops from the higheſt to the loweſt) and ever drew a *line of partition* between puniſhment and barbarity, contributions and extortions, legal reſtrictions and perſecutions; and, in a word, between the ſoldier and the ruffian, the civilized being and the aſſaſſin.

The Swediſh army had two regular courts-martial; one for each regiment, and one in general for the examination of ſuperior commanders: Yet the officers had acquired ſuch an habitude of performing their duty, that in the courſe of twenty-eight years, namely, from the ſiege of Riga till the peace of Münſter, one can hardly diſcover the traces of any trials on account of military miſbehaviour, excepting thoſe of the colonels Horneck and Mitzval, one of whom Guſtavus ſpared, contrary to Oxenſtiern's inclinations; though he thought fit to puniſh the other, notwithſtanding the queen made great interceſſion in his behalf.

In campaigns that conſiſted merely or principally of incampments, marches, and counter-marches, the Swedes in the long-run always ruined the Imperialiſts, being more patient of fatigue, and accuſtomed to greater moderation and frugality. Upon theſe principles Guſtavus made the famous incampment againſt Walſtein near Nurenberg; and hence it aroſe that Galas ſaw three or four fine armies moulder away to nothing. From the ſuperiority of the Swedes, Melander, one of the ableſt generals in Europe, would have been undone, in the year 1646, if the elector of Bavaria (contrary to all faith of treaties) had not brought him off, by allowing John de Wert to deſert at the head of four thouſand cavalry.

There were very few generals then in an army.—The power and place of a Commander in chief all men comprehend at the firſt ſound: Under him ſerved one *lieutenant-general*, being properly ſpeaking his vicegerent, who received orders from him in the day of battle, and in his abſence took the ſupreme command: (But this poſt of employment ſeems to have been conſidered as partly ſuperfluous, about the time Guſtavus entered the empire:) Next ranked the Velt-maréchal, whoſe buſineſs it was to receive the plans of engagement from the generaliſſimo, and ſelect the ground. And here I muſt make a little remark on my neighbours the French, who copying ſervilely the German, or rather latinized German hiſtorians, ſuppoſe the Velt-maréchal (in the thirty years wars) and Commander in chief to be terms convertible: Whereas Velt-maréchal *(Campi-Magiſter, vel Marechallus)* denoted *then* no other commander than what I have deſcribed. Next came the *general of artillery*, the *ſerjeant-major di battaglia* *, the *general of horſe*, the *general of infantry*, the *commiſſary-general*, the *quarter-maſter-general*, and the *muſter-maſter-general*. Now, few points in the preſent hiſtory have given me more vexation than this arrangement: For in ſhort the cuſtoms of the two ſervices were different, ſince it is certain that Pappenheim, after the king of Sweden's landing, acted in the character of *lieutenant-general* to Tilly; and Holk (not to diſoblige the former officer) was appointed *deputy lieutenant-general* under him. Nor do I recollect to find any equivalent in terms for the *watch-maſter-general* †, who occurs ſo frequently on the Imperial ſide; and of courſe the diſpoſition here alluded to muſt be conſidered as Swediſh; ſince (having no other lights) I was obliged to derive my rank of precedency from the preſcribed form of ſitting in one of Guſtavus's grand councils of war.—Next came the eldeſt colonels, with a reſerve of giving place to

* We are told that this officer had command over all the colonels; was inveſted with the power of raiſing recruits; and helped diſpoſe and arrange the troops in day of battle. Hiſtoria del Conte Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato. Libr. II. p. 59. In Ven. 4to, 1643.

† We have ſince remembered an inſtance, Vol. I. Page 338.

thoſe

thoſe of the guards: And in the Imperial eſtabliſhment it muſt be obſerved, that the Croatians had always a general of their own chuſing.

Yet it doth not appear that this rank of honour took place indiſpenſably in the time of action: For every general (the two firſt excepted) was conſidered partly as a perſon mechanically adapted to the machinery of a battle: One was ſuppoſed to be the beſt cannoneer, another to underſtand beſt the marſhalling of the infantry, a third the drawing up of the cavalry, and ſo in other departments: But the fighting part was ſometimes committed to the beſt hands; and many colonels in the hour of engagement took the command of honour before ſeveral generals; and this may be ſlightly remarked in the battles of Leipſic and Lützen *. Not that ſuch practices were very frequent: Nevertheleſs, an experienced colonel in thoſe days was a very powerful and reſpectable perſonage. Nor did the command of a ſeparate army neceſſarily conſtitute a general: Pechman had the ſole management of ſeven thouſand men againſt the Daniſh and Weymarian forces; Holk conducted eight thouſand troops in the firſt irruption he made into Miſnia; Arnheim commanded a body of ten thouſand ſoldiers in the Poliſh war; and yet each at that time, though inveſted with the ſupreme authority, was only a colonel.

Turenne made Guſtavus and Walſtein his models in this reſpect: He could not bear to ſee a general of horſe at the head of a body of infantry, merely becauſe he was the ſenior commander; and ſo convertibly, when an officer of foot was transferred for the ſame reaſons to the conducting a wing of cavalry: And of courſe baniſhed from his army all diſputes concerning rank and priority of commiſſion. If talents are not thus developed, at leaſt now and then; and their point of activity well-directed; the ſelf-ſame man may ſucceed in matters of aſtoniſhing difficulty, and miſcarry in others, which demand what may hardly merit to be called mere common capacity:

* See a note on the battle of Altenberg Vol. II. Page 237.

" And

" And thus," ſaith the chevalier de Folard on the occaſion, " an inferior general, to whom every-thing is made a depart- " ment by the mere mechaniſm of age and rank, may be com- " pelled at length to imitate the lawyer, who perceiving he loſt " every juſt and reaſonable cauſe, undertook for the future none " but what were notoriouſly defective both in title and equity."

I have not mentioned theſe facts by way of invidious compariſon, but purely to render the knowledge of the hiſtory more intelligible. Some readers may be pleaſed with the remark, as moſt men have vanity enough in reſerve to ſuppoſe themſelves poſſeſſed of merit capable to counterbalance all pretenſions of ſeniority. Nevertheleſs, my own private opinion is (if that can be of any weight) that ſeniority of command in general is the ſafeſt, quieteſt, and moſt prudent method of conferring honour, being leſs liable to exceptions and inconveniencies than any other rule which human wit can deviſe upon the occaſion.

But to paſs from a ſubject which may be ſuppoſed (though very unjuſtly) to carry with it ſome tincture of malignity. Quitting one ſervice for another was not conſidered then ſo much in the light of an action of baſeneſs as it is at preſent; and the reaſon was, that as officers received frequent injuries, real and imaginary from their ſuperiors, and had not power to make their cauſe good at their reſpective courts, nor opportunity nor means to appeal to that falſe deciſion of juſtice called a duel, they retired from the ſervice in high diſguſt (the enemy being always ready to receive them with open arms) and ſometimes diſpenſed with themſelves from the ceremony of taking a formal leave. The manners and circumſtances of the age gave a ſanction to this ſort of practice; and few or none were ever called to an account for it, except ſome manifeſt treachery or treaſon could be laid to their charge, as was the caſe of colonel Farenbach, Velt-maréchal Cratz, and ſome others.

But to advance to a ſubject equally intereſting; moſt of the great men in thoſe days (for ſome from the very condition and nature

nature of the ſervice we find to be wholly illiterate) were alike equal in the field and in the cabinet. Guſtavus never once gave Oxenſtiern the lead in matters of politics. Nay, it was his private delight in hours of amuſement to engage the politician with an hoſt of arguments, and diſpute the field with him inch by inch. And when the ſtateſman, meeting his maſter at Mentz, made him the invidious and venomouſly refined compliment of telling him, that he expected to have paid his court to him on the occaſion at Vienna (ſure, as he thought, in this one circumſtance to have caught the king in a falſe ſtep) Guſtavus convinced him, in an inſtant, that he had ill-comprehended the point in queſtion, and forced him to acknowledge his miſtake in ſilence and bluſhes. The moſt difficult, delicate, abrupt, and important treaty, during Guſtavus's appearance in Germany, was that which paſſed between him and the elector of Saxony, ſome days before the battle of Leipſic; yet it was concluded in the abſence of the miniſter, and without his knowledge: And though Oxenſtiern got great fame from his conduct at the convention of Hailbrun, 1633, yet he only executed a plan which Guſtavus had ſketched out a few weeks before his death. Not that I would be thought to depreciate the reputation of the great Rix-chancellor: He did enough after his maſter's deceaſe to merit the character of the firſt prime-miniſter in the world.

But to return to the convertibility of the political and military capacity in that age. The politician I am ſpeaking of commanded ſeveral armies with great prudence, and gave laws to Poland with an handful of ſoldiers. In the only good picture I ever ſaw of him, he is cloathed in armour from head to foot; and there is ſomething in his eyes which, though the painter hath deſcribed, I cannot; and the very print of him by Mierfelt is ſuperior to moſt things I ever obſerved in the engraving way. He had the *ſciolto viſo* to a degree that is inexpreſſible. Richelieu aſſumed the baton too on certain occaſions:

caſions: Took Pignerol, and conquered all the province round it. The duke d'Angouleſme was general of horſe. The ambaſſadors De Charnacé and De Brezé were both colonels of regiments: They attended Guſtavus in the field all day, and conferred with him at night on matters of politics. Torſtenſon was concerned at Stockholm in civil employs, and yet Banier bequeathed his army to him as the only perſon capable to conduct it. On the other hand, Mansfelt over-reached the Ditrichſteins, the Olivares, and the Gondamars more than once. Walſtein had ſerved in both capacities; and Tilly in effect held the pen at the peace of Lubec. Gabriel Bethlem and Arnheim had more reſources and artifices than two attornies. Horn and Banier concluded the treaty at Bernwalt, and the former of the two was afterwards ſent ambaſſador to Louis XIII.

Old Thurn divided his life betwixt war and embaſſy: At the head of troops in the ſummer; in winter either at Venice or Conſtantinople. Pappenheim could never be ſpared from the field; but in acumen of parts was thought equal to the very beſt of his cotemporaries; and the letter he writ to the duke of Bavaria after the defeat of Leipſic (which I have peruſed by chance, but where or how hath eſcaped my memory) ſhews him to have been a perſon critically able upon the greateſt emergencies, and that he underſtood the relative ſtrength of Guſtavus and the empire far better than the *interior* council at Vienna could pretend to do. Aldringer was in effect political hiſtoriographer of the empire: The *manifeſto's*, *deductions*, *juſtificatory pieces*, and *little fugitive ſatires and invectives* chiefly flowed from his pen. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar's project of ſecuring Alſatia from the paws of France, eſpouſing the landgraveſs of Heſſe Caſſel, and giving down to his poſterity the glory of poſſeſſing a dominion that made the barrier between the French and Germans (which from the very nature of its ſituation muſt have forced his deſcendants to be men of parts) was an effort of politics, the inventive work of a ſoldier, which the

great people of the cabinet muſt not deſpiſe, and the rather ſince the bare apprehenſion of it threw Richelieu into inexpreſſible diſquiet. But, not to tire my reader with more examples, I ſhall only obſerve, that Piccolomini, after growing grey in the ſervice of thirty campaigns in Germany only, worn out with hardſhips, weakened by wounds, and approaching as may be imagined to a decline of life and parts, was yet conſidered, by the miniſtry at Vienna, as the only perſon capable of putting the peace of Münſter into execution; by adjuſting all the difficulties that might ariſe upon diſbanding an immenſe army to whom war had been a trade, and plunder a ſubſiſtence; and to effect the evacuation and repoſſeſſion of countries, cities, diſtricts, ſignories, church-poſſeſſions, &c. almoſt beyond the power of calculation to ſpecify; and yet *all* this was effected without any one momentous impediment, and, as far as I can remember, without bloodſhed.

In a word, the fact is this: Trying times make great men, either in the field or in the cloſet; and though war takes the lead, negotiation is the child of it: For there muſt be trials of art as well as ſtrength. And of this we have a clear proof, ſince greater generals were never beheld than in the courſe of the thirty years wars. Such for example were Mansfelt, Tilly, Guſtavus Adolphus, Walſtein, Horn, Banier, Pappenheim, Merci, Guébriant, Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar, Torſtenſon, Condé, and Turenne. The miniſters of ſtate were equally famous, as Kleſel, Dietricſtein, Olivares, Oxenſtiern, Richelieu, Camerarius, Ruſdorf, Salvius, and de Rache. For the general and the ſtateſman are reciprocally formed to call forth each other; foraſmuch as wherever there is war, there muſt be likewiſe negotiation.

The times we ſpeak of had ſuch a power to elicit what is called a genius, that the very ladies put in for their ſhare of heroiſm and treaty-knowledge. The firſt and laſt ambaſſadreſs

extraordinary and plenipotentiary was the wife of a general at this period.—The queen of Bohemia poſſeſſed herſelf the moſt of any perſon after the defeat at Prague: And when an offer was made her in the very ebb of her fortune (at a time when the unhappy exile ſubſiſted upon charity, and had hardly a place to repoſe her head) that matters might then be compoſed, upon condition her eldeſt ſon was permitted to receive his education and religion at Vienna, with a promiſe of eſpouſing one of the emperor's daughters: Her anſwer was, *That ſhe would ſooner cut his throat with her own hands.* — Eleonora, queen of Sweden, left the pleaſures of Stockholm to attend her huſband in Germany, and marched to him at the head of a little army which ſhe conducted to his relief. The electreſs of Brandenburg made a perſonal treaty with Guſtavus at a time when her conſort and all his *Hoffraths* could effect nothing.—And as to Amelia of Hanau, the landgraveſs of Heſſe Caſſel, no encomiums can do her juſtice. I own myſelf loſt in aſtoniſhment, when I conſider that unparalleled princeſs, who acted only for a minor, and conſequently was circumſcribed in power: Always Great, and almoſt always Fortunate; in the moſt critical ſituations of diſtreſs and preſſure on every ſide!—As her life (on this ſide the water at leaſt) may be conſidered as almoſt an anecdote, the public will hardly believe me when I ſay, ſhe was her own prime-miniſter, her own ſecretary, and her own general: And, what is ſtill more, her courage, her ability, her honeſty went ſo hand in hand, that ill principles never tempted her to be unfaithful to her allies; and paſt ill conduct never called upon her to play a ſecond game by way of ſelf-preſervation!—And though this account of her be only momentary and incidental, yet a few ſlight touches may ſerve to give the reader ſome idea of an heroine who is not to be met with in every page of a common hiſtory. In a word, ſhe fulfilled that extraordinary character, worthy to be tranſcribed in letters of gold,

which

which was drawn by a cotemporary poet in her own neighbourhood; for the incomparable Amelia was preciſely, in a political and military ſenſe;

MOLLIOR CERA MULIER FLUENTI,
DURIOR SAXIS EADEM MARINIS——
FLECTIT, AUT FRANGIT; VIOLENTA DURUM:
LUBRICA MOLLEM.

The generoſity of kings and chief commanders in thoſe days was very great. Guſtavus, though far from being rich, never promoted a common ſoldier for his merit, but always gave him bountifully at the ſame time. Walſtein ſeldom preſented an officer of conſequence with leſs than five hundred pounds. The cardinal Infant, after the battle of Nordlingen, ſettled a penſion upon Gamba-corta, made him knight of St. Jago, and procured him a ſecond annual ſalary from Madrid: He gave Piccolomini a fine diamond on the ſame occaſion, and a commandery worth more than one thouſand pounds per annum. Nor did he forget any ſingle officer that behaved well. The emperor paid Verdugo near four thouſand pounds, by way of ranſom for the young prince of Anhalt, and allowed him for a creſt to his arms, a right-hand ſupporting the Auſtrian eagle. Several rich ſignories in Lower Saxony were conferred on Tilly. Walſtein was firſt gratified with the duchy of Sagan in Sileſia, and afterwards with that of Mechlenberg, whoſe annual revenue is well known to be greatly conſiderable. Tilly bequeathed ten thouſand pounds to the veteran Walloons; and the great diamond the Infanta gave him (with money alſo) to found a chantry for the holy virgin of Oetinghen. The duke de Weymar deviſed about the ſame ſum to his ſeveral colonels, and ordered a month's pay to be advanced to every ſoldier, which might make a donation which amounted to about twelve thouſand pounds more.

Something remained in that age which reſembled the old

chivalry-taſte of *impreſe* and devices. The little victory of Oyta informed the Imperialiſts that Mansfelt was a man of elegance as well as proweſs; for his colours were all new, and of the richeſt materials; exquiſitely blazoned, the emblems admirably choſen, and the mottos extremely pertinent. A regiment in thoſe days valued itſelf as much upon its *lemma* as its colonel; (the motto being in truth the reſpective article of military belief and practice in that corps:) I once ſaw an illuminated collection of all the emblems and inſcriptions that had been carried on ſtandards during the thirty years wars; but it was only tranſiently, and without the power of making a drawing from them. What ſurpriſed me was, that thoſe belonging to the Croatians were the beſt imagined of any, which made me conclude at the time, that having little fancy and leſs learning, they purchaſed their deſigns of ſome man of parts, who gladly exchanged his claſſical learning againſt their plunder.

The romantic taſte alike prevailed in the very names of their horſes; for I have ſeen a liſt of ſome of the principal ones that belonged to Walſtein and other generals; which were ſurnamed, *Amaranto*, *Bellochio*, *Focoteſta*, *Inamorato*, *Bellpello*, *Stabene*, *Allegramente*; as likewiſe *Donna Biancha*, *Balarina*, *Donzella*, *Fanciulla*, *Vittoria*, *Fortuna*, &c.

It was found out likewiſe in the courſe of theſe wars, that there was no hiring foreign troops to any conſiderable purpoſe, except the power that contracted for them ſent a *commiſſary-general* of its own to pay them: Since to levy armies upon other principles was nothing more than profuſe and uſeleſs ſquandering of public money; which after it had paſſed through the canal of a foreign prince, and the little aqueducts of a few court-favourites and general officers beneath him, underwent ſo many filtrations, that hardly a drop eſcaped for the conſolation and ſupport of the poor combating ſoldier: Nay this meaſure was thought ſo ſalutary and ſelf-evident, that (except

my

my memory deceives me greatly) it was practiſed under the miniſtry of James I.

As to contributions and military exactions, it was cuſtomary with a commanding officer to collect them according to his muſter-roll; of which the conſequence was, that he put that portion into his pocket which was claimed by virtue of non-effective men. This abuſe ran ſo high in the Imperial army, that Tilly, for fear of diſobliging the powers that were his maſter's friends, publiſhed a ſtrong manifeſto againſt it in the year 1627, denouncing nothing leſs to all delinquents than the forfeiture of their lives and fortunes; concluding with aſſuring them, that the infliction of this puniſhment was, and ſhould be, indeprecable.

An illuſtrious author * obſerves, that the contributions raiſed by generals, and the pillage extorted by ſoldiers, conſtituted at that time (namely juſt before the arrival of Guſtavus) the principal military art among the Imperialiſts: That the two regiments of Pappenheim and St. Julian, quartered in the middle *Marche*, drained the country of ſixty-two thouſand pounds in ſixteen months: And Walſtein is ſaid to have pillaged the whole electorate of Brandenburg to the amount of two millions ſterling; but that calculation can hardly be admitted †.

The nature of the times was then ſuch, that Aldringer and Merci (which latter I ſuppoſe to be the greateſt general ſince the days of Guſtavus) with numbers more whom I could eaſily mention, all roſe to high commands merely by ſuperiority of genius: For in a courſe of thirty years long and ſerious ſtruggle, the favourites of princes and miniſters, and the children and relations of people of quality (ſuch excepted as had truly great abilities) were all ſupplanted, caſhiered, or deſtroyed by the fate of war; on the other hand, merit obtruded itſelf, and forced the

* Memoirs of the houſe of Brandenburg.

† To ſupport the diffidence of ſo cautious a writer, an Engliſh author makes the ſum two millions, and ſomething more. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part I.

publie

public to accept it: So that hardly can a general be found in theſe times who had not originally carried a muſquet. Oxenſtiern (though in that reſpect I think him blameable) had a mortal averſion to admit men of great rank and condition into high commands. Tilly and Walſtein were gentlemen born, with little more than a titular patrimony; as were Dampier and Bucquoy. Mansfelt and another illuſtrious commander had nothing to feed themſelves with but the point of their ſwords: John de Wert was a peaſant; General Beck a ſhepherd; Stalhaus a ſervingman; Aldringer a valet de chambre, an amanuenſis, a veltmaréchal.

Guſtavus had ſome generals who were no great maſters of writing or reading; and it was partly for this reaſon, as I have hinted elſewhere, that moſt commanders of conſequence kept a ſecretary. I have heard a pleaſant anecdote upon this head, which may be worth relating; not that I intend to become ſurety for its authenticity: One evening, at a council of war, ſome intercepted letters were brought to the king; his Majeſty (whoſe eye-ſight was not the moſt perfect) ordered a venerable grey-headed general who ſtood by him to break them open and read them aloud. The officer ſhewed an inclination to obey, but lamented previouſly the loſs of his ſpectacles. *Read you*, ſaid the king haſtily to another; but that great commander complained grievouſly of an inflammation in his eyes: *Piſh*, ſaid Guſtavus, being a little provoked, *my thoughts were abſent upon other matters:* And then reducing his countenance to a ſmile; *General Banier*, ſaid he, *pray read*; *you have been uſed to it* *.

The military dreſs of thoſe times was curious enough; for the heroes were a ſort of fine gentlemen in their way. Ruffs were worn in all varieties, and frilled and tortured into every kind of ſhape: Nevertheleſs, the flat ſort which reclined on the ſhoulder was preferred for convenience-ſake upon moſt occaſions;

* Banier was a nobleman of faſhion, and had received an excellent education. His letters to the maréchal de Guébriant may be conſidered as maſterpieces in war and politics.

but then we muſt except the practices of the Spaniſh commanders and Tilly; which latter followed the mode of Bruxelles, where he firſt grew acquainted with courts. Wigs were then hardly known: Moſt wore their own hair, cultivated inartificially enough, but cut ſhort *à la ſoldateſque:* Pappenheim, Piccolomini, and even Oxenſtiern, affected an high bold foretop, which had a martial air, for it ſeemed to ſtand half upright; the reſt ſmoothed down the front-part with a milder appearance; and Chriſtian duke of Brunſwic, Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar, Dewbatel, and John de Wert, ſpread the hair half down their foreheads, in the manner Vandyck's young men are painted. Whiſkers were thought as neceſſary as ſwords; I remember no picture unfurniſhed with them, excepting duke Chriſtian's of Brunſwic; which prince was ſo very young that perhaps he arrived not to the happy hour of wearing the muſtacho. But their diſtinguiſhing vanity made its appearance in a gold chain, which each officer of diſtinction wore round his neck, faſtened behind with a loop and button. Some of theſe chains were garniſhed in ſuch manner as to amount to a very great expence: Yet it is thought by many that affectation was not the pure motive of wearing them, ſince they ſerved to ſecure the owner from the fury of the enemy, in caſe of being taken priſoner, and proved a ſort of retaining fee, engaged for the payment of a future ranſom. The colour of their military ſcarf was arbitrary, and ſo were the materials; but nothing was ſpared in the magnificence and richneſs of the embroidery. Their ſwords were large and heavy, not extremely embelliſhed; their piſtols of a length enormous; the temper of metal in both incomparably perfect. Their boots were large, thick, and wrinkled, with high tops cut ſlant-wiſe, and prepared ſo as to reſiſt a common piſtol-ball, except it came in a particular direction. But the oddneſs of their ſpurs is ſcarce to be accounted for: It is thought they were made to jingle, in order to animate the horſes and keep them up to their duty without goring their flanks unmercifully.

unmercifully. Many generals armed themſelves cap-a-pie: Their breaſt-plates, helmets, and the junctures of their armour were often inlaid with gold and ſilver, richly diapered with the ſame materials; and ſome few (but this muſt be reſtrained to the Swediſh ſervice) wore only back and breaſt plates, with an upper-ſuit of perfumed leather, prepared and ſtiffened ſo as to be a covering of reſiſtance.

His majeſty himſelf wore nothing of the defenſive nature, except an elf-ſkin waiſtcoat, which ſeems to me (notwithſtanding the excuſes alledged by him) to be matter of inclination and pure choice.

That we may judge better of the habiliment of warriors in the former part of the preceding century, hiſtory hath preſerved us a curious portrait of the count de Tilly. He was a little man, and affected ſomething of the Spaniard in his dreſs and manners, having received his firſt education at the court of the Infanta. Maréchal Grammont found him at the head of his army on a march, mounted on a ſmall white Croatian pad, in a green ſattin doublet with ſlaſhed ſleeves, and trowſers of the ſame ſtuff; a little cocked hat, with a red oſtrich plume in it, which reached down to his reins; and a belt round his waiſt of two inches breadth, to which hung his fighting ſword, with a ſingle piſtol only in one of his holſters. This general, when the Frenchman paid his compliments to him, ſaid, "Sir, "perhaps you may find my accoutrements ſomewhat extraor-"dinary, and not wholly reconcileable to the mode of France; "nevertheleſs, 'tis my humour, and that's ſufficient. I am "perſuaded likewiſe, that my little hackney and ſolitary piſtol "ſurprize you as much as my habit; but that you may not "entertain an unfavourable opinion of the count de Tilly, to "whom you have done the honour of paying a viſit of curioſity, "permit me to inform you, that I have gained ſeven deciſive "battles, without being obliged to diſcharge the piſtol now "under conſideration; nor hath the little pad in queſtion ever

"failed

"failed me, or hesitated in performing his duty." In a word, saith Grammont, he had the look of the old duke d'Alva, surnamed *Castigador de Flamencos.*

Duels were not extremely fashionable in those days, we hardly find half a dozen in the space of thirty years continued war; every hour affording better proofs for valour, than such irrational and ferocious appeals to public opinion. Nor were superior commanders ill thought of by their adherents and followers in case they refused to refer themselves to such sort of decisions. Cratz, in the transports of resentment, challenged Walstein when he was generalissimo and absolute; yet nothing resulted from the provocation; it was passed by with neglect. John de Wert killed Merodé, but the affair was purely a rencounter. Young Pappenheim, 'tis true, lost his life in a real duel, but that happened merely because he had eluded the vigilance of his general, who had locked the city-gates, and planted spies to watch the motions of the combatants. Aldringer never forgave Sirot for drawing his sword in his presence, though he himself set the example, and insisted upon making his life the forfeiture for the offence. Greater cautions were still taken in the Swedish service: Count de Souches challenged general Stalhaus, but first resigned his commission. Duels before this time had been severely prohibited in France, and the French king declared, with an oath, that he would reward such military persons as had spirit enough to refuse a challenge. By Gustavus's laws all private quarrels were decided by the officers of the regiment, and all challenges referred to a court-martial; and, if an inferior officer allowed the common soldiers to engage hand to hand, he was to be cashired *ipso facto*, and serve as a private man, being answerable also for all the mischief that should be committed in such engagements. The singularly best swordsman in the course of these wars was the count de Forgatz, yet we find nothing remarkable concern-

ing him in the public field of action. As to the cuſtom of ſeconds, I think it appeared as early as the year 1570.

Judicial aſtrology was the reigning paſſion of that age: Nothing great was undertaken without conſulting the volume of the ſtars. Tycho Brahè, Grebner, Braunborn, Herlicius, Baptiſta Seni, &c. were all reverenced, as far as men could reverence them, on this ſide of idolatry. Princes dreaded them, reſpected them, and fee'd them. The *predicting ſages* were of both religions; and each of them read the book of the heavens his own way. In the regions of the north Guſtavus was the *Arctic Lion*, the *vis vivida* of the *reformation*, and the *new luminary* in Caſſiopéa: Again, in the dominions of the ſouth, he was *another Alaric and Attila*, the *ſcourge of God*, and *the genuine Antichriſt*.

Much enlightened was the potentate eſteemed who had the happineſs to retain in his ſervice one or more well-inſtructed aſtrologers: For the explanation of an horoſcope half determined Frederic to accept the crown of Bohemia, and partly induced the emperor to depoſe Walſtein; who, on the other hand, that he might keep pace with his maſter in point of intelligence, allowed his philoſopher an extraordinary equipage and penſion magnificent enough to be called *royal*. When Herlicius died, the princes and generals in Germany became quite bewildered; but Guſtavus ſaw through theſe weakneſſes, and conſidered them as alike impious and infructuous. France in this reſpect was as little illuminated as the empire: The grave hiſtory of De Thou, and the ſage memoirs of Sully, breathe much of theſe doctrines. Louis XIII. was ſurnamed *The Juſt*, becauſe born under *Libra*: And Anne of Auſtria had a mathematician concealed in her cloſet, in order to calculate the fortune of Louis XIV. with uncommon accuracy. William Lilly, in England, did Cromwell more ſervice than a regiment of cuiraſſiers. He even received a medal of compliment from Guſtavus: But the king was then extremely young. Nay,

it

it was with great obſtinacy and reluctance that the ſcience expired even in our iſland; for, amongſt many others, Dryden himſelf (who lived to ſee the commencement of this century) relied partly thereon, and underſtood horoſcopes and aſtral culminations with no contemptible exactneſs. The taſte for prodigies was likewiſe very ſtrong in the times of Guſtavus; even Chemnitius treats them with great deference, the beſt-inſtructed and moſt ſenſible hiſtorian of that period; for he was ſuppoſed to compoſe his works, or a part thereof at leaſt, on the memoirs of Oxenſtiern. Boys born with boots and ſpurs, ſhowers and rivers of blood, black rainbows, pitched battles in the air, and a thouſand ſuch other *credenda* * were ſuppoſed to happen every year. The king of Denmark concluded the peace of Lubec in conſequence of a flaſh of lightning. Not that I take upon me to deny but that the Supreme Being, in ſuch extraordinary times, may give uncommon indications of his diſpleaſure, and that many circumſtances related, were or might be *preternatural*; yet, as they cannot be preciſely diſtinguiſhed at this diſtance, I have thought fit to paſs them all by, except one or two that fell neceſſarily in my track, and bore ſome reference to the tenor of the hiſtory.

Predictions had their weight too. The arrival of Guſtavus in the empire was no ſecret to the *Illuminati* many years before it happened. Tycho Brahè foretold, with reference to the new ſtar that appeared in Caſſiopéa 1572, that a prince ſhould ariſe in the north, from whom much happineſs ſhould be expected by thoſe who made profeſſion of the evangelical religion; and this prediction was made public twenty years before Guſtavus entered Germany.

Amongſt other examples of this kind, Pappenheim boaſted, (or others more probably in his behalf) that, conformably to a prophecy recorded in the archives of his family, a certain Pap-

* Some of the Imperial troops, to this day, would cut a man to pieces who denied the exiſtence of Vampyres.

penheim *Balafré* *, mounted on a white ſteed, ſhould kill a king of Sweden hand to hand. And hiſtorians have thought themſelves ſo much obliged to give authenticity to the completion of this event, that one third of them introduce him ſome hours ſooner than he really arrived at the battle of Lützen, merely for the ſake of fulfilling the prediction.

Omens and *dreams* were ſtudied, explained, and believed with great attention and reſpect. The fall of a triumphal column was one of the arguments the Auſtrian miniſters uſed to perſuade their maſter to depoſe Walſtein. A viſible damp ſpread itſelf through the Imperial army, becauſe the council of war preceding the battle of Leipſic chanced to be held at a grave-digger's houſe; garniſhed then, and if I miſtake not till this moment, with an Arabeſque freſco of ſhank-bones croſſed, ſkulls, and hour-glaſſes. The leſſon for the Sunday ‖ preceding the battle of Prague, Mat. vi. 22. *Render to Ceſar the things that are Ceſar's*, broke the ſpirit of the Palatin-party all at once, foraſmuch as *Ceſar* is the German and Bohemian word for *Emperor*. On the other hand, the Swedes gained a part of their victory at Leipſic by the interpoſition of a ring-dove, and a part by virtue of a dream which Guſtavus had the preceding night; of which the ſubſtance was, that in a ſtruggle with Tilly he never quitted the hold he had in his hair, but received a bite from him in his left ſide: Which Frederic Spanheim, one of the moſt ſenſible and exact writers of that period, interprets thus: That Guſtavus ſhould keep the field of battle, and obtain the advantage; but that the Saxons, in the left wing of the army, ſhould retire with infamy.

Many military men believed that their armour and bodies might be rendered impenetrable by *enchantment*. When a perſon was ſublimated to this pitch of invulnerability, he was pronounced, with great elegance of ſpeech, to be *gefroren* †, and

* Hacked, gaſhed, cicatrized: For he carried the marks of one hundred wounds on his body.
‖ Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity. † *i. e.* Frozen.

it

it is thought the Italian aſtrologers who attended the army, held this ſecret in conjunction with their oſtenſible profeſſion. Tilly himſelf was ſuppoſed, by the common Swedes, to have tampered with theſe ſorts of practices. An honeſt Engliſhman tells us, that the town-ſurgeon of Halle having dreſſed his wounds after the battle of Leipſic, and diſcovering nothing but horrible contuſions (a thing not uncommon in wounds received under the beſt-tempered ſuit of armour that could then probably be made) pronounced his body to be *gefrorn*. *But*, ſaith my countryman, *very loth I am to leave ſo baſe an imputation on ſuch an honourable commander*. Nevertheleſs, Peruſi was ſuppoſed by the multitude to have been rendered invulnerable beyond diſpute, as was alſo the Auſtrian ſhoemaker *, [who ſucceeded one Fadinger an hatter, and conducted a rebellion, at the head of 60,000 ruſtics:] ſince the ſtroke of a cannon-ball, ſaith a grave and ſerious hiſtorian †, made him recoil ſeven paces without killing him, till at length a colonel of Pappen-

* This extraordinary phenomenon made his appearance in the European hemiſphere, Anno 1626. His predeceſſor had ſent an embaſſy to Ferdinand II. conſiſting of one nobleman's ſteward, two tradeſmen, and three farmers. He himſelf, on aſſuming the reins of authority, (and this may ſhew how finely Shakeſpear painted human nature in the character of Cade on a like occaſion) publiſhed ſomething between an *edict* and *manifeſto*, which ran preciſely thus:

" We Achaz Willenger, elected, upon the " death of Stephen Fadinger, ſupreme com- " mander of the three evangelical armies in " Upper Auſtria, ſend greeting to all colonels, " lieutenant-colonels, captains, &c. acting un- " der our authority: Whereas ſeveral ſhips, " filled with ſoldiers and military ſtores, have " been conveyed by the duke of Bavaria to " our capital enemy Adam, who calls himſelf " count Herberſdorf, and governor of Lintz, " and that more ſupplies of the ſame kind " (whereof We have certain knowledge) are " daily expected, to the entire deſtruction of " the Proteſtant religion, except ſome reme- " dy be adminiſtered thereunto; determine, in " our great wiſdom, to aſſault the town of " Lintz with redoubled violence, and reduce " the pretended governor to reaſon by fire and " ſword.

" Wherefore, in order to overcome a com- " mander ſo artful and deſigning as this our " adverſary is, in a caſe where force and num- " bers may happen to miſcarry, it ſeemeth " highly expedient that you recommend to us " men of diſtinguiſhed capacity and experience, " men who love their country, and have a ſin- " cere zeal for the liberties and ſalvation of " their fellow-chriſtians.

" We alſo convey the ſame inſtructions in " military matters to all the officers ſerving " under us in our ſeveral armies, and requeſt " them to ſend us ſuch ſelect and approved " combatants as ſhall be found, upon enquiry, " among their troops; it being highly reaſon- " able, that all ſhould exert themſelves in an " emergency, where all (if unſucceſsful) are " equally liable to the ſame irreverſible ſen- " tence of deſtruction." [*Laurea Auſtriaca.*]

Farewel.

† Laurea Auſtriaca ad annum 1626.

heim's put an end to his life by a piſtol-ſhot. And here is it not amazing, that the ſame author ſhould recite theſe two ſtories, and believe them both? Be that as it will, this doctrine in general was chiefly believed by the common ſort of people; and ſo far it was a real object of public notice; for the firſt article of Guſtavus's diſcipline is directed againſt enchanting the human body, ſo as to render it invulnerable; as alſo againſt enchanted armour and ſwords: All delinquents to be prohibited from converſing with their fellow-ſoldiers, and to be ſtrictly puniſhed according to the laws of the land, and thoſe of ſcripture. Yet ſo ſtrong then was the power of deluſion that the Maréchal de Grammont tells us, that being taken priſoner by a German officer at the ſiege of Mantua, and carried to that commander's tent in a ſort of deliquium, occaſioned by the loſs of blood; the ſaid officer being as much wounded as himſelf; an Imperial colonel requeſted his friend (there being no ſurgeons in the army) that he might pronounce a few words of myſtical importance over him. Immediately the orifice of the wound cloſed, though it had poured out blood in a full ſtream. The enchanter then begged leave to perform the ſame kind office to Grammont; but, ſays the latter, my anſwer was, "That, as I truſted in God, I would hold no cor-"reſpondence with the devil; and, if I was to die, my exit "ſhould be ſuch as truly became the man of honour." From whence it is plain that Grammont believed the fact.

Nay, farther, with reſpect to incantations, whilſt the life and actions of Guſtavus have long lain forgotten, Diſſertations * have been publiſhed on his *very ſword*, which, from the extenſive nature of his conqueſts, was ſuppoſed to be *magical*. Freſh debates have likewiſe ariſen from the ſame ſubject; as whether, for example, the ſword he uſed at the battle of

* Three Diſſertations by Dr. Wallin, Profeſſor at Upſal, publiſhed in the years 1728 and 1729.

Lützen

Lützen be ſtill preſerved at Stockholm or Leipſic†: Or, (provided one may venture to ſubjoin a parentheſis to ſuch extraordinary hiſtorical difficulties) if 'tis not more probable to be found at Vienna; for an Imperial ſoldier ſeized it. But be theſe things as they may:

Non noſtrum eſt tantas componere lites. ——

We may extend our remarks by obſerving, that as the ſoldiers, at leaſt in the Imperial ſervice, were generally ill-cloathed, and not over careful in point of cleanlineſs, being obliged to content themſelves ſometimes with the worſt of diet; peſtilential and petechial fevers raged abundantly; and the latter are ſtill very rife among thoſe nations who ſupply the Auſtrian army with irregulars; as I obſerved myſelf in the year 1749, when I paſſed a ſummer on the confines of Croatia.

The famine, during the greater part of theſe wars, kept pace with the peſtilence. Wheat was ſold, more times than once, for three pounds eighteen ſhillings a buſhel *. Guards were poſted to protect the newly-buried from being devoured. There were inſtances of children being ſeduced, maſſacred, and eaten up. Two women fought for a ſlice of a dead horſe, and one killed the other. A ſtraggling beggar decoyed away a poor woman's child, and began to ſtrangle it, in order to eat it; but the vigilant mother ſurprized her in the fact, and killed her ‡. The face of the earth was ruined for want of agriculture, and every animal eatable was ſo greedily ſearched after, that the beaſts of prey miſſed their daily food. When Lord Arundel paſſed thro' the empire, in return from his embaſſy to Vienna, a fox crept out of a brake, and ſeized one of his attendants by the leg: The fellow took it up, for it was ſo weak it could not eſcape;

† That it is preſerved in the arſenal at Stockholm, is denied by Glaſſey *in Diſſert. de Gladio quocum Guſtavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ in prælio Lutzenenſi occubuit. Lipſ.* 1749.

* I think the German buſhel contains nine gallons.

‡ Account communicated to the German church in London. 1634. 8°.

its

its eyes were haggard, and ſunk in its head, and it weighed juſt nothing. And, if I remember right, there was another remark in the ſame relation, namely, that almoſt every houſe contained nothing but a famiſhed dog.

But by this time it may be highly proper to draw a veil over the more melancholy productions of a raging and long-ſubſiſting war; for though its ſubſequent effects may be contemplated as the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, order, religion, and property throughout all Europe, more or leſs; yet the ſufferings of thoſe poor wretches, to whom Providence then gave their period of exiſtence, muſt be ever conſidered, by an humane and compaſſionate man, as a very ſharp and ſevere trial: And, of courſe, one may ſafely infer with Guſtavus (for the remark is as juſt as if it had proceeded from a profeſſorial chair) that be the advantages of war as great as it is poſſible to imagine, yet that *war* itſelf is an *evil*, permitted by Providence,

PROPTER DELICTA HUMANA.

THE

HISTORY

OF

The LIFE of

Guſtavus Adolphus.

IF a perſonal valour of the cleareſt and moſt diſtinguiſhing ſort; if a firmneſs of mind rendered more intuitive and operative by the approach of dangers, and difficulties; if a capacity in politics equal, to ſay the leaſt of it, to that of the greateſt prime miniſter whom Europe hath ever ſeen; if an abhorrence of diſſimulation and ſubterfuge; if a generous, open, and undiſſembled ſpirit of reſenting national injuries; if a perfective and inventive genius in all the branches of military knowlege; if generoſity and humanity, moderation and courteſy, public and domeſtic affection, and above all, a ſincere and vital ſenſe of religion and piety, are ſufficient outlines to give force and character to the portrait of a true hero; (allowances being ever to be made for the frailties and errors incidental to meer human nature;) it ſeems to be highly probable, that the reader will not be diſſatisfied with

the delineation I propoſe to make of the life and actions of the Great Guſtavus *; and if, more or leſs, in all, or various inſtances, it is my misfortune to write beneath the truth, and even below my own ideas, yet thence it can never follow with ſtrict juſtice that the original object is devoid of luſtre; but that it ſhines on a body made up of broken and unequal ſurfaces, neither capable to receive the brightneſs itſelf, nor tranſmit it to others.

The hero of my preſent hiſtory, born December 9, 1594, was grandſon of Guſtavus Ericſon, (whoſe family name was Vaſa †) the great deliverer of Sweden. And here a writer more ſuperſtitious than myſelf, might be enclined to think, that there was ſomething in the name of Guſtavus con-natural to the proſperity of that kingdom, whenever he conſiders the reigns and illuſtrious actions of theſe two renowned princes; ſo that the northern wits are not to be looked upon as determined triflers by profeſſion, when they anagrammatized the letters which form the word GUSTAVUS into the name of AUGUSTUS.

It is well known to the generality of readers, that the grandfather of Guſtavus Adolphus, had been deputed by Sweden as one of the ſix hoſtages of ſtate to Chriſtian II. king of Denmark: a prince equally faithleſs and deſpotic; who in contradiction to his own royal promiſe, removed them all into his own country, and confined them there as priſoners of war. Thence, Guſtavus Ericſon, having obtained permiſſion to amuſe himſelf with a morning's hunting, contrived means to eſcape in diſguiſe, and after various dangers, (making his firſt retreat to Lubec) reached his native ſoil in the year 1520: at which the tyrant Chriſtian conceived ſuch extraordinary offence, that contrary to his expreſs promiſe of an univerſal amneſty, (ſworn by him four days after his Swediſh coronation) he made the city of Stockholm an ocean of blood, ſparing neither biſhops, nor nobles, (amongſt which the father of Guſtavus Ericſon was one) nor magiſtracy, nor gentry: and denying them likewiſe the common rights of religious ſepulture. Upon which Ericſon, tranſported with the warmth of a true patriot, collected ſome few com-

* Oxenſtiern named him firſt the GREAT GUSTAVUS in the ſpeech he made at the opening of the diet of Heilbrun 1633.

† Vaſa ſignifies a ſheaf of corn.

panies

panies of armed men during the winter ſeaſon, and making freſh and freſh efforts of vigour as his party increaſed, arrived in the year 1523 to the honour of being elected king by the ſtates of the country; but with a modeſty and magnanimity almoſt peculiar to himſelf, he refuſed the form of coronation, and conſented only to be called the governor of the kingdom. Veſted with this authority, he convened the ſeveral orders of ſtate, having chiefly in his eyes the great work of religious reformation; but untoward and unſurmountable obſtacles preſenting themſelves, he reſigned his title, and left the nation in the ſtate he found it; nevertheleſs, the orders of Sweden at length perſuaded him to accept the kingſhip in good earneſt, and in 1528 he paſſed through a coronation in form; being the firſt proteſtant prince that the world had ever ſeen adorned with the regal diadem.

This great deliverer of his country died in the year 1560, having reigned more than one half of his life; and it was his rare felicity to govern with prudence and virtue, what he had conquered by induſtry and magnanimity; he left behind him three ſons*: Eric the eldeſt, who ſucceeded his father in 1560, and having reigned eight years died without iſſue. John the ſecond, who replaced his brother in 1568, and enjoyed the throne four and twenty years; and Charles duke of Sudermania, the father of the great Guſtavus Adolphus.

But here it muſt be remembered, that on the death of John, the ſecond ſon of Guſtavus Ericſon, in the year 1592, Sigiſmond, John's elder offspring†, who had been elected king of Poland ſeven years before, was admitted on *certain* conditions to aſcend the throne of Sweden, of which the principal were (being all confirmed by ſolemn oath) That no ſtrangers ſhould be introduced into the kingdom; and that the confeſſion of Augſburg ſhould be the ſole model of religion;—but as this prince palpably violated more or leſs all his engagements, and ſtrove to make Sweden a province to Poland, he was rejected and depoſed by

* We ſhall ſay more of this ſucceſſion when we ſettle the pretenſions between Guſtavus Adolphus and Sigiſmond.

† He had another ſon, John duke of Oſtrogothia, who perſevered ſincerely and ſteadily in the Lutheran religion. He died in 1618. *Carlton's Letters*, p. 265.

the ſtates in full aſſembly, anno 1599, and his ſon Vladiſlaüs, then an infant, appointed bona fide to ſucceed him, with this ſtrict proviſo, That in ſix months he ſhould be removed to Stockholm, and there educated in the religion of Luther. But the conditions mentioned being never realized, Charles duke of Sudermania, the father of Guſtavus Adolphus, was conſidered by all the orders of ſtate as the man marked out by providence for the preſerver of their civil and chriſtian liberties; and of courſe they diſqualified young Vladiſlaüs, and elected him their king in the year 1601: Guſtavus being at this period but ſix years old.

We ſhall mention but few particulars with relation to Charles IX. (for ſo that prince was ſurnamed) excepting only ſuch paſſages as bear a reference more or leſs to our youthful hero: concerning whom, in
1609. the year 1609 (a circumſtance if we miſtake not unnoticed hitherto by the Engliſh hiſtorians) he diſpatched two ambaſſadors to the court of London * with inſtructions, amongſt other matters of negotiation, to propoſe a marriage between his ſon Guſtavus, who had then attained his fifteenth year, and the princeſs Elizabeth; who to her great misfortune, both in point of glory and happineſs, was unluckily pre-engaged to the elector Palatin; a young heroine formed by nature to be a conſort worthy of Guſtavus Adolphus: for ſhe was intrepid beyond her ſex, and remained miſtreſs of herſelf under all the preſſures of poverty and exile. Yet providence ſupplied her place with a ſecond heroine, inaſmuch as Eleonora princeſs of Brandenburg appeared equal to Elizabeth in greatneſs of ſoul, and attained likewiſe a much happier and more fortunate deſtination.

1610. Guſtavus from a child gave great marks of a military genius: and indeed he poſſeſſed ſo many ſhining good qualities from the indulgence of nature, that his father was tempted to beſtow the finiſhing ſtrokes on his education, in every poſſible reſpect. So that beſides the tour he made through Germany incognito (of which we ſhall ſpeak in the proper place) there is ſome reaſon to conclude he travelled between the age of childhood and puberty †, but of this one can pronounce nothing

* Loccenii Hiſtor. Suecan. 4°. 476.

† Swediſh Intelligencer, part iv. 183.

with

with any tolerable degree of certainty. Sure, however, and certain it is, 1610.
that he talked Latin as a maternal tongue, with uncommon energy and preciſion; and was rendered maſter of mathematics and tactics in the very early parts of life. As to the French, Italian, and German languages, it is well known he ſpoke them fluently; and with reſpect to Engliſh (the only remaining language of reputation, wherein we can diſcover him to be deficient) he had ſo many officers of Great Britain who bore commiſſions under him, that he never could be puzzled for want of interpreters in any negotiations with that kingdom.

As to his manner of living, he was taught to feed wholeſomely, but not luxurioufly; and enured to hardſhips from the firſt beginnings of his infancy. Heats and colds were rendered indifferent to him; and he learned the duties of a common muſqueteer, before he had ſtrength to carry a muſquet. And thus was Bucquoy, Tilly, Piccolomini, Merci, Montecuculi, and all the greateſt generals formed in that century; and perhaps Turenne was one of the laſt who paſſed through this ſchool of gradual probation.

In a word, it may be fairly ſaid of Guſtavus Adolphus, and as properly here as in any other place, That he was the firſt prince who taught the public, that there was a region buried in the depths of northern ſnows and ice, named Sweden; and a race of men in the world called Swedes, who had ſomething to ſay to the grand continent of Europe: of which we ſhall hereafter exhibit various proofs, not merely with reference to Poland and Muſcovy, but regions and kingdoms far more important; ſince (without mentioning the terrour, admiration, and jealouſy excited by him in the courts of Madrid and Verſailles particularly) at, or near the death of that prince, and many years before the concluſion of the peace of Munſter, the Swedes poſſeſſed 132 ſtrong towns and fortreſſes in the Germanic empire; ſo that it was poſſible to ſleep in one of them every night from the lake of Conſtance to the Baltic ocean. Yet they were obliged at laſt to ſacrifice all theſe great acquiſitions for half Pomerania, Wiſmar, the archbiſhopric of Bremen and Verden, and ſome other trifles *.

* Motifs pour la guerre d'Allemagne, p. 176.

Prince

1611. Prince Guſtavus in the ſeventeenth year of his age made a campaign againſt the Danes, being appointed by his father a colonel of cavalry. His firſt expedition (and therein he had the command in chief) was to ſecure Blechingen, and ſtorm the important town of Chriſtianopel, which the young hero effected ſword in hand, having burſt open a gate by the application of a petard; nevertheleſs, in approaching the city with over-great impetuoſity, for a letter of the governor's being intercepted, wherein requiſition was made of a reinforcement of 500 cavalry, he was obliged to uſe all poſſible expedition in order to prevent diſcovery, having cloathed the ſame number of Swediſh ſoldiers in the Daniſh uniform, and advancing under Daniſh enſigns; when lo! all in an inſtant it was his misfortune to ſink into a moraſs covered with ice, but not ſufficiently frozen, yet in that ſituation he ſtill combated againſt his enemies, whilſt his horſe lay beneath him almoſt ſuffocated, contending and ſtruggling with mire and water; at length one of the Baniers brought him off at the head of his company of cavalry, and received for this generous aſſiſtance the order of ſenator. Yet the perſon here mentioned was not the Banier who made ſo great a figure afterwards in the thirty years wars; that officer being junior to Guſtavus. Towards the concluſion of the ſame campaign, the young prince at the head of 2000 muſqueteers made a deſcent ſecretly at night into a little nameleſs iſland, and cut to pieces a conſiderable body of Daniſh troops who had there encamped themſelves.

As to this war with Denmark, it is well known to all the world, that there had long ſubſiſted a ſort of hereditary jealouſy and animoſity between the Danes and the Swedes: for the latter began to grow formidable in more reſpects than one, ever ſince Guſtavus Ericſon had changed not only the religion, but the warlike and commercial notions of Sweden. Upon which his Daniſh majeſty Chriſtian IV, diſpleaſed and mortified to contemplate the figure which his neighbours began to make in the ſyſtem of the North, and exaſperated likewiſe to find his ſubjects prohibited from trading with Riga, Courland and Pruſſia, and their ſhips ſubjected to the capture of the Swedes, of courſe diſpatched a herald

a herald to Stockholm, and declared peremptorily a freſh war in all the ſolemn ceremonies conformable to the practices of that age. 1611.

Charles IX. finding himſelf engaged againſt the Poles and the Muſcovites, had certain prudential reaſons for preferring a peace, and made various plauſible advances towards an accommodation, which was to be managed by the ſtates of the reſpective kingdoms, or by the intervention and mediation of neighbours and allies; but Chriſtian had a ſecret inclination to embroil matters right or wrong, and of courſe opened the campaign by laying ſiege to Calmar and Elfſburg. Charles enraged at ſuch an inſtance of irreconcilable obſtinacy, and being incommoded heartily with Daniſh wars from time to time, conceived a whimſical thought, correſpondent with the humour of the age, of ſending a challenge to this troubleſome and intermedling adverſary, propoſing to decide the fate of the field in the compendious manner of ſingle combat. Chriſtian treated the propoſal as it ſeems to have juſtly merited, and in a very polite manner told him, that ſuch an enthuſiaſtic ſcheme ſavoured more of the knight-errant, than of the monarch: and that it was an inconſiderable object of glory for a middle aged man to extinguiſh an old one, whom nature would take care to remove out of the way very ſoon. For Charles was then extremely infirm, having had a ſtroke of an hemiplegia about two years before; which put an end to his life ſome few weeks after he had ſent this letter of defiance to his antagoniſt. At firſt ſight the behaviour related of his Daniſh majeſty carries with it the appearance of greatneſs of mind, and perhaps the anſwer was truly heroical; yet the Swediſh nation formed other concluſions with reſpect to Chriſtian's magnanimity. Be that as it will, it is at this diſtance impoſſible to pronounce upon what grounds he declined the combat: whether from timidity or generoſity of ſpirit; or whether he conſidered a deciſion by duel as a temerarious and illicit action; or as matter of chivalry unbecoming the dignity of crowned heads. Yet thus much is certain and inconteſtable, that the gallantry of the propoſal touched and hurt him at the very moments he made it the ſubject of ridicule and raillery; for he attacked the Swediſh camp (where the king then lay) ſome few days afterwards, not without inconſiderable

1611. conſiderable diſadvantage to the party aſſailed. Upon the death of Charles he ſtill conceived more ſanguine expectations, for it was thought a long interregnum might prove very prejudicial to the affairs of Sweden; and rather as the kingdom at that juncture was involved in a diſagreeable war, not only againſt Denmark, but with Poland and Muſcovy likewiſe.

And here we may juſt obſerve in paſſing along, that it was the lot of Charles, Guſtavus's father, to be more concerned with propoſals of duels than had happened to any perſonage of his rank in that age. For about eleven years before an angry acrimonious letter had been ſent to him by Zamoſki firſt general to Sigiſmond king of Poland (a ſpirited old man, who was then high chancellor of the republic) to which Charles returned this ſhort billet, the Latin language being the vehicle through which he conveyed his ſentiments; *Non es mihi par; ſi par eſſes, non armis te, ſed fuſte depexum & unctum darem.* To which Zamoſki replied in a ſtyle more extraordinary, as it paſſed from a Poliſh nobleman to a perſon of Charles's rank and elevation; *Audiebam te hominem cerebroſum &c.— Si non ſint in Polonia, per Dei gratiam proditores; in aula veſtra quærendi ſunt. Quicquid in me contumelioſum ſcripſeris aut dixeris, prorſus te* MENTIRI *dico, & dicam & ſcribam.— Jam deſino.*

Nevertheleſs Charles, no unworthy author of exiſtence to the great Guſtavus, was brave in war, faithful in alliances, and ſincere to his friends; prompt to remunerate, inſtantaneous in puniſhment; for it was obſerved of him, even to a proverbial expreſſion, that the thunderbolt always ſucceeded the flaſh of lightning. True it is, that his temper took fire upon ſome occaſions to an eminent degree, (and a part of this infirmity Guſtavus received tranſmiſſively from him) but the torrent ſoon ſubſided and grew calm, if nothing oppoſed it: and even in the tranſports of impetuoſity there appeared ever an opening for new informations, or ſubmiſſive acknowledgments. No king ever hated popery with more firmneſs, or upon better principles; and as to his plain good ſenſe, ſolidity and ſagacity, let thoſe preſages be a proof which he uniformly conceived from the young Guſtavus; for whenever the chiefs of the miniſtry and himſelf were puzzled upon any foreign or domeſtic diffi-

culties, it was his cuſtom to call the child to him (who choſe always to play in the father's apartment) and laying his hand tenderly on his head, *There gentlemen*, ſaid he, *this is the perſon who muſt unravel the intricacy, or repel the danger; ille faciet* *. 1611.

Charles likewiſe gave Guſtavus an example of cultivating the arts of peace and war with equal application; for he took care to ſee juſtice ſpeedily and impartially adminiſtered; he exhibited annual penſions to thirty ſtudents, and levied all taxes with caution and delicacy; he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to agriculture, mines, and commerce: in which latter inſtance he ſhewed ſo peculiar a fondneſs, that it was his invariable cuſtom to go aboard all foreign ſhips on the ſummer-evenings, and if the captain imported corn, ſalt, and ſuch like uſeful merchandizes, "Friend, ſaid he, you ſhall lade back with good exchangeable commo-"dities of iron and copper;" but if the maſter of the veſſel brought matters of luxury and ſuperfluity, he uſed to ſay aloud to his attendants, "Take care that this man be refreighted with Swediſh turnips †, and "nothing elſe."

This illuſtrious prince arrived to the age of ſixty-one. It was told him on his death-bed ‡ that general De la Gardiz ‖ had obtained great ſucceſſes in the Ruſſian war, and ſettled various preliminaries concerning the advancement of his younger ſon Charles Philip to the ſtation of Czar: to which he replied with an air of compoſure, *That he reſigned all worldly cares into better hands*, § caſting an affectionate and earneſt look upon our Guſtavus. He married two wives, Anna Maria daughter of Louis elector Palatin, who bore him two ſons and four daughters, who all died before they arrived to years of maturity, except the princeſs Catharina, who eſpouſed the count Palatin of the Rhine, and gave to the

* Loccenii Hiſtoria Suecana, 4°. pagg. 502, 503. From this book M. Bayle has chiefly taken that ſketch he hath given us of the former part of the life of Guſtavus, which he never finiſhed: breaking off at the invaſion of Germany.

† The bulb of this northern pine-apple (for the natives eſteem it as a ſort of delicacy) is ſomething of the ſize and figure of a ſoop-plate, but thicker at bottom. It is a vegetable I remember not to have beheld in our Engliſh gardens.

‡ He died Oct. 30, 1611.

‖ Guſtavus Adolphus always acknowledged to his dying day, that he learnt the art of war under this excellent preceptor. *Schefferi Memorabilia.*

§ Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 501.

1611. world Charles Louis, crowned afterwards king of Sweden under the title of Charles X. By his ſecond wife Chriſtina, daughter of Adolphus duke of Holſtein and Sleſwic, he had Guſtavus Adolphus and Charles Philip lately mentioned, which latter prince was born in the year 1600, and died at Narva, January 25, 1622; as likewiſe Maria Elizabeth, who married John duke of Oſtrogothia; and by an illicit amour Charles Carolſon count de Gildenheim, high admiral of the Swediſh fleet when his half brother entered Germany.

Immediately on the death of Charles IX. all perſons made manifeſt a pre-diſpoſition in favour of Guſtavus; and at the expiration of two months the queen dowager and John duke of Oſtrogothia, who (with Oxenſtiern and ſeveral ſenators) were the young prince's guardians, convened an aſſembly of the ſtates at Nicoping, where the right of ſucceſſion was firſt diſcuſſed, and ways and means afterwards conſidered whereby to propoſe a peace or truce with the Danes, Polanders, and Muſcovites, or continue the war with ſucceſs and vigour. Under the firſt head ſome few difficulties aroſe of no great moment, and at length it was reſolved unanimouſly to remain by the hereditary diſpoſition which had been agreed upon at Norcopen in 1594: and with regard to an eventual war, which moſt people foreſaw and expected, it was determined to ſupport the young prince with reputation and ſpirit, and infuſe new activity into the cultivation of the mines, agriculture and commerce. Mean while it was thought expedient that duke John ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the throne of Sweden, being half brother to Sigiſmond king of Poland, and firſt couſin to Guſtavus; but more nearly related to the throne by laws of conſanguinity, inaſmuch as he was the ſon of Guſtavus's father's elder brother; of courſe the kinſman generouſly added a part of Weſtergothia to his former appennage of Oſtrogothia. On the other hand the dowager queen Chriſtina made a plenary reſignation of her regency, partly as her ſon had attained the age preſcribed by law *, and partly as they diſcovered talents and capacity in him as made him in effect a per-

* It muſt here be obſerved that in Sweden and Denmark the kings come to age in their eighteenth year, not concluded, but commencing.

ſon

ſon of mature years and diſcretion *. And here it may be matter of real aſtoniſhment, why a youth of parts and courage, circumſtanced like prince John, who had arrived to due and lawful age conformably to the regulations of the Swediſh conſtitution, himſelf a ſoldier and not diſliked by the army, ſhould freely and voluntarily without a ſigh or a murmur reſign a throne, to which his pretenſions were not only juſtifiable, but ſtrictly legal! It is true the ſucceſſion had been ſettled (when John was a minor) upon Guſtavus, but that was no argument to a prince of ſpirit and magnanimity, inaſmuch as the ſame people had once ſettled the like political entail upon him †; and with reſpect to age and experience according to the common courſe of things he had the advantage over his couſin by five years, being at this very period twenty-two. Yet John, to the amazement of us at preſent, and all Europe in thoſe days, neither advanced his claims, nor retired from court, nor formed cabals and factions there, or in the country where he had great property, but on the contrary bore a command under his kinſman, and ſerved him in war and peace faithfully, cordially and vigorouſly to his dying moments: and yet this prince was not devoid of ambition, as appears by the figure he choſe to make at the head of an army. 1611.

Now whether it was, that Guſtavus was ſo adored by the people that nothing could give a man the chance of ſetting aſide the decrees of ſenate, or whether John had the ſame prepoſſeſſions with the Swediſh nation in his behalf, diſcovering abilities in him which made him alone worthy to conduct the affairs of Sweden at that juncture, are matters we cannot preſume to diſcuſs diſtinctly at this diſtance from the fact itſelf. That he ſhould act likewiſe in perpetual contravention of his brother Sigiſmond's meaſures (deſcended indeed from another mother) appears to be a ſort of conduct that carries with it an air of particularity; nevertheleſs it may be reſolved into his ſincere and vital zeal for the Lutheran religion. Yet Sigiſmond was ſtill more nearly related to him than Guſta-

* Introduction de Puffendorf. Tom. iv. 80, 81.

† Secretary Fowler's Hiſtory of the troubles of Suethland and Poland, Lond. fol. 1656. p. 111.

1611. vus, nor did he want for ſolicitations, promiſes and temptations, as his Poliſh brother bore a determined hatred to the young king of Sweden.

In a word, John was either a prince of heroic gallantry, who preferred *that* ſyſtem (to his own prejudice) which appeared *beſt* for his country; or elſe dreaded to diſpute a ſucceſſion with one in whom he diſcovered abilities of all kinds far ſuperior to his own. But ſometimes great events are directed by private and ſcarce-perceptible motives; and perhaps the paſſion he bore for Guſtavus's ſiſter, whom he married the year enſuing, made him naturally eſteem the brother of his beloved object, whom a war concerning the ſucceſſion might have raviſhed from his arms for ever. And it is probable from the great expediency of this union to the affairs of Guſtavus, that the queen dowager talked in ſo high a ſtrain of authority and firmneſs to the Swediſh clergy when they made attempts to propoſe difficulties concerning the marriage.

In a word, this act of John's, conſidered in whatever light we pleaſe, carries with it a fine ſpirit of heroical magnificence; for the ſame ſenators that ſettled the ſucceſſion upon Guſtavus had fixed it upon him ſome few years before. Yet he made a voluntary and chearful reſignation of all pretenſions (except Guſtavus died without male or female iſſue) to his own immortal honour, and the perpetual advantage of Sweden. By all I can learn, he had no deſcendants.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe favourable prepoſſeſſions and conceſſions, Guſtavus comported himſelf with great moderation, and aſſured the ſenators in a public ſpeech, that his youth and inexperience on the one hand, and the great emergency of affairs on the other hand, made him wiſh to decline ſuch a perillous pre-eminence; *neverthelefs*, continued he, *if the ſtates perſiſt to make me a king, I will endeavour to acquit myſelf with honour, magnanimity, and fidelity.* And then before he was inaugurated, he delivered to the orders of ſtate what the Swedes call a paper of aſſeveration, whereby he declared *to preſerve the reformed religion till the laſt moments of his life; to maintain the rights of ſenator and ſubject; and reſpect his mother and relations with all that tenderneſs which conſanguinity is ſuppoſed to dictate.—Engaging and ſtipulating at the ſame time, to make no infraction*

fraction on the laws of his anceſtors, nor offer new propoſals in reſpect to war, truces, treaties or general taxes, except with the full and free conſent of the ſtates aſſembled.—That he would preſerve the received and eſtabliſhed formulary of church-ordination; protect and encourage the univerſity of Upſal, and the ſtate of learning in general, (of which he gave ſtrong proofs that very year;) *that he would reform all common abuſes in the courts of judicature; and not only declare the names of ſtate informers, if properly requeſted, but puniſh them (whenever in the courſe of trial they appeared guilty) correſpondently to the requiſition of the perſons aggrieved and injured.* 1611.

Theſe great conceſſions conveyed in effect much more power to the Swediſh nation than it could preſume to aſk; but a prince like Guſtavus, who determined always to act honeſtly and magnificently, preferred rather to depend on the generoſity and gratitude of the people, than on his own authority and political artifice: in conſequence of this declaration, ſigned at Nicoping December 31, 1611, he received the ſacred communion, and paſſed through the inaugurating ceremony.

At the opening of the year 1612 the new-deſignated king ſummoned a public convention of the ſtates, where the methods of adminiſtring the government at that juncture were firſt conſidered, as likewiſe ways and means whereby to eſtabliſh a peremptory truce or denounce an explicit war againſt Poland; a reſumption being next made of all crown grants, which was confirmed afterwards by regal ſanction. He then publiſhed a memorial (this was towards the concluſion of the year) ſetting forth the uncertain returns of tythes * and feudal lands: and that an account of the annual income ariſing from them ſhould be delivered every twelve months into the royal exchequer; and laſtly, that all grants which his majeſty propoſed not to reſume, ſhould receive from his hand a new confirmation before the concluſion of half a year. 1612.

It is certain that the ſituation of Guſtavus was truly critical. Is it not amazing that a youth who had but then turned the ſeventeenth year of his age, ſhould be able to confront on the one hand an indefatigable pretender to his throne and dominions, like the king of Poland,

* The tythes in Sweden make a conſiderable part of the crown-revenue.

and

1612. and two profeſſed avowed opponents, the Dane and the Muſcovite; and have ſtrength likewiſe on the other hand to compoſe the *interior* of a kingdom but juſt rendered hereditary, and where every perſon of a certain birth and rank had equal claim (at leaſt according to the repreſentations of human partiality) and ſimilar pretenſions with himſelf? But the character of Guſtavus was an unſhaken firmneſs *, and by his ſpirit he kept all his nobles in profound ſubjection, though at firſt, till they knew him better, they ſecretly repined to ſee a grandſon of a ſubject raiſed to a throne, and that throne appropriated to the family of Vaſa. Having thus made mankind acquainted with his ſteadineſs, he gave the world a new opening into his character as a prince of uncommon judgment and ſagacity by one of the firſt ſteps he took after his inauguration; for he filled all the public poſts civil and military with perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit in their reſpective departments, and placed Oxenſtiern at the head of domeſtic and foreign affairs; one of the ableſt ſtateſmen perhaps that ever appeared in the political world. This was one of thoſe maſterly ſtrokes that determine the character of a man's life: and yet the idea was conceived by Guſtavus about the eighteenth year of his age; ſo that Oxenſtiern being then but twenty-eight or twenty-nine †, the diſproportion appears not ſo very extraordinary betwixt the ſovereign and the miniſter.

Oxenſtiern was a ſtateſman whom poſterity conſiders in the character of a man that hath never been rivalled! and yet it is more than probable that Guſtavus was at leaſt his equal in political ſcience. Not that hereby I would manifeſt any inclination to depreciate the merit of the great and illuſtrious rix-chancellor, whom I regard as highly as man can do on this ſide of that partiality which borders upon implicit veneration. He had fame enough from his own fund, to ſtand in need of borrowing from no other man's. Nevertheleſs it is my duty to do all poſſible juſtice to Guſtavus, ſince this ſingle circumſtance will deliver him down to poſterity adorned with a double portion of ability and glory.

* Memoirs communicated.

† By Mierfelt's excellent print of him engraven from life, he was but fifty-three years old in 1636.

But

But theſe things as they may, the king had ſtill great demands for the 1612.
aſſiſtance of Oxenſtiern: and in truth, he had ſo much buſineſs upon his hands, whether as a warrior or as a ſtateſman, that it was neceſſary to admit a partner in the fatigues and honour both of government and war. And thus a king, of a caſt peculiar to himſelf, ſupported by ſuch a fellow-labourer in a life alike military and civil, produced ſuch a rapid and uninterrupted ſeries of great events, as neither antient nor modern hiſtory can parallel, if all difficulties and obſtructions come to be conſidered attentively and effectually, and not partially and ſuperficially. And laſtly it muſt be obſerved, that the perſon aſſumed into participation of employments with Guſtavus was not only a politician of the firſt claſs, but no inconſiderable general beſides. Nor muſt the reader blame me for beſtowing my encomiums ſo profuſely on Oxenſtiern, when at the ſame time we aſſure him that Urban VIII, one of the moſt clear-ſighted and ſenſible perſonages then in Europe, always conſidered the chancellor as a being of ſome ſuperior order.

Soon after the interval between the death of Charles IX. and the acceſſion of Guſtavus, the pacificator general of Europe diſpatched Sir James Spence on an embaſſy into Sweden; exhorting the young prince to make manifeſt the ſame inclinations towards peace which his father had always diſcovered *. Guſtavus received the interpoſition of his Britannic majeſty with an air of frankneſs and chearfulneſs, as likewiſe the kind interference of the ſtates general: for by the way England and Holland wiſhed much to ſee the navigation of the Baltic free and undiſturbed. Of courſe a congreſs was appointed, where much diſquiſition paſſed between the chancellors of Sweden and Denmark, who ſuſtained the two principal characters in the debate. But though it might be matter of conſcience in a German hiſtorian to recite religiouſly every circumſtance in the whole tranſaction, (of which the objections and ſolutions, the tergiverſations and over-reachings, the ſuſpicions of a king's good faith paſſed in days of minority, the punctilious ceremonies and chicaneries were alike endleſs and inſignificant:) yet it may ſuffice for us to leave

* The letter, dated Whitehall, May 5, 1612, is to be ſeen in Loccenius, p. 516.

theſe

1612. theſe miniſters during a ſeaſon in their political ſtate of warfare, till the deputies of England in particular had time to adminiſter their gentler anodynes. For the king their maſter had always a firm perſuaſion, grounded on the ſuppoſed innate powers of his learning and argumentation, (in this inſtance no ways to be deemed unſucceſsful) that the rage and reſentment of two contending nations were as eaſily compoſed, (and that by a very ſlight interpoſition) as the altercations and combats of bees;

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcunt.

Nevertheleſs, we fancy his Britannic majeſty hung a little upon the above-mentioned ceremonial difficulties, for a ſenſible foreigner aſſures us *, that he was very punctilious in matters of form and precedency, refuſing to ſtand godfather to madame Elizabeth of France, in conjunction with the infanta Clara Eugenia, daughter and ſiſter to a king of Spain, and ſovereign of the Low Countries. And yet Anne, mother of Louis XIV, condeſcended to appear at the font with cardinal Richelieu, who was her ſubject.

Guſtavus, which was very extraordinary, if one conſiders the youthful fire and impetuoſity of a temper like his, exhibited ſtrong indications of acquieſcing chearfully under all ſafe and honourable propoſals; but as the king of Denmark ſeemed to diſcover an unbecoming eagerneſs for cruſhing or over-reaching a young unexperienced monarch, he ſoon gave that artful prince to underſtand, that he feared him no more in a field of battle, than at a table of conference. Yet here from the very firſt beginning of war, he convinced the public, that great as his natural courage and vivacity were (and ſure a larger ſhare never became the portion of a human being) yet that his reaſon and good ſenſe ſtill maintained the aſcendancy over them; and therefore though it was natural for all byſtanders, that a young prince full of enthuſiaſtical gallantry, deſpiſing the objections of friends, and the obſtructions of ene-

* Memoires Hiſt. & Poet. d'Amelot de la Houſſaye, tom. i. 378.

mies,

mies, would have began the campaign againſt Denmark by undertak- 1612.
ing the ſiege of Calmar, (an important place ſurrendered baſely the year preceding) but on the contrary, revolving the enterprize compoſedly in his mind, and more particularly the ſtrength of the new fortifications, his correct judgment ſoon got the better of his vivacity; foraſmuch as he prefigured to himſelf the hazard and diſappointment that might attend an undertaking of ſo deſperate a complexion; and for theſe reaſons carried the ſeat of war into Schonen, (to which Chriſtian had retired) and commanded his couſin John, who had raiſed an army in his own duchy, and wanted to co-operate againſt the Danes, to make a diverſion in Oſtrogothia and ſuccour Elfſburg. He then invaded the Daniſh territories a ſecond time, though the ſenate requeſted him not to hazard his perſon too far, and made repriſals with great advantage, notwithſtanding his enemy had received a reinforcement of ſome German troops under the command of George duke of Lunenberg *; but whether theſe forces were diſpatched by the emperor's connivance or not, (that being a point of great conſequence in the hiſtory of Guſtavus with reference to his future invaſion of the German empire) is more than I can take upon me to determine in a ſatisfactory manner. Be theſe things as they will, Guſtavus laid ſiege to Elſenberg, wiſely foreſeeing, that in rendering himſelf maſter of this paſſage and harbour, he ſhould prevent the arrival of freſh ſuccours from Denmark, and impede the retreat of ſuch Danes and Germans as had entered into Sweden, having placed garriſons to obſtruct them in their march, in all the fortified towns that lay between them and their native country. During this expedition the Danes gave a part of the king's troops a very diſ-

* Hiſtoires generales des guerres & mouvements arrivez en divers eſtats du monde ſous le regne de Louis XIII. depuis l'an 1610 juſqu'a l'an 1637, en trois tomes 8°. Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 507. This prince was afterwards general of the proteſtant troops in Lower Saxony, and elected protector of the circle: but being diſplaced by the artful inſinuations of the king of Denmark, ſubmitted to the emperor on the defeat of his Daniſh majeſty at the battle of Lütter 1626, and joined the Imperial army with his own regiment. He had for a time in the next year the chief command of Walſtein's troops before Stralſund, but on ſome diſguſt joined Guſtavus, who replaced him in his old employment. He gained a ſignal victory over Merode and Gronsfelt at the battle of Oldendorp, 1633; but deſerted the Swediſh ſervice in 1637, and died in 1641.

1612. agreeable camiſado †: and a report was ſpread, (which took its riſe from the enemy) that Guſtavus was killed, which threw his mother into agonies of affliction; but an expreſs from her careful and affectionate child ſoon reſtored her to her former tranquillity. He then marched the reſidue of his army into Norway, and made a furious irruption in thoſe parts. But to relate every ſingle event of this campaign againſt the Danes would only prove minute and tedious. It may ſuffice to obſerve, that the king had three little armies on foot; the firſt led by himſelf, the ſecond in Holland conducted by his couſin John, and the third on the confines, under the command of general Cruſe. Duke John received a ſlight repulſe in a rencounter with Chriſtian king of Denmark, and the duke of Lunenberg and Cruſe took Nyloſia (where 300 of the garriſon enrolled themſelves under the Swediſh enſigns) but wanted ſtrength to reduce Marſtrand. Mean while Guſtavus collected together ſeveral regiments of infantry in the Low Countries, with a ſmall body of mariners; and gave public commiſſions to various Dutch privateers to interrupt the naval commerce of Denmark ‡.

Nevertheleſs our young monarch laboured under ſome difficulties highly diſagreeable: for though his enemy on the other hand, Sigiſmond king of Poland, [whom of all his adverſaries, he alone diſliked perſonally, and that for reaſons which may eaſily be conjectured*] had employed himſelf this year in oppoſing the Muſcovites, yet he contrived to create ſome incidental buſineſs for Guſtavus in the province of Livonia, where he was obliged to maintain a conſiderable body of veteran troops, having a diſtrict to defend of 180 miles long, and 90 broad, ſurnamed by the Swedes Carelia, as it had been conquered by Charles their late king. So that Guſtavus having half finiſhed his irruption into Norway, found himſelf obliged to make a perſonal appearance in Carelia. At that inſtant Chriſtian reimbarked his troops, and invaded Weſtergothia a ſecond time, where he rendered himſelf maſter of Elſenberg and Goltzberg; and having penetrated above ſixty

† *A military ſurpriſe in the night*, from *camiſa*, *Ital.* a *ſhirt*. I have ventured to revive this antient word, foraſmuch as we cannot expreſs the idea otherwiſe without a periphraſis.

‡ Introduct. de Puffendorf, tom. iv. 81.

* Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gentis, 42.

miles into the country, commenced at length the ſiege of Jencop, which gave him an entrance into the heart of Sweden. This new and unexpected invaſion threw Guſtavus into great perplexity; he had two games to play, both (not in themſelves, but as circumſtances then ſtood) equally intereſting. At length not caring to ſacrifice his army by a long and precipitate march, (the moſt troubleſome difficulty that can befal a general who is to defend an invaded maritime territory) he ordered the governor of Jencop to ruin the town and adjacent diſtrict, and retire with his garriſon into the caſtle. This grand ſtroke of ſuperior judgment ſoon carried its advantages with it: yet in ſpite of all theſe arts of management and precaution, our young hero, though he conſidered Sigiſmond as an imperfect warrior to a certain degree, ſoon found Chriſtian † to be a ſoldier of thoſe more exalted parts which a long experience beſtoweth; and that he had acquired a correct judgment by a ſeries of misfortunes and ill ſucceſs: for Chriſtian not only intrenched himſelf judiciouſly, and declined fighting, but took his meaſures upon ſuch principles, that he created obſtructions and delays, and made them ariſe from the very nature of his own plan. Thus by perpetual checks he blunted the impetuoſity of our young aſſailant, mortified his hopes, and wearied out his patience; ſo that Guſtavus finding he could not act in the way he choſe, nor ſhine in that ſort of military character he was ambitious of appearing in, equally great in every thing, great in repulſes and diſappointments, as well as in proſperity and victories, dropped his ſcheme, and made a peace, (by the mediation of England principally) to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. Indeed it cannot but ſurprize poſterity too, that a prince in the eighteenth year of his age,

1612.

† Chriſtian IV, king of Denmark, ſucceeded his father in 1588, being then about twelve years old. He died turned of ſeventy-one, having reigned in effect near threeſcore years, though not crowned till 1596. He told d'Avaux the French ambaſſador, that he was not only at that time the eldeſt king in Chriſtendom, but that he had ſeen three changes of ſovereigns in almoſt all the kingdoms and principalities of Europe. The ſame remark might have been made afterwards by Louis XIV. He had three horſes killed under him at the battle of Lütter. There is a good picture of him at Hampton-Court, painted by Vanſomer.

Nor may it be amiſs to tranſcribe what a Spaniſh author ſaith concerning him. *Rey que en ſettenta annos de edad fatiga lo que otros a veynté, y que eſtos ultimos ſolre tantas preuvas de ſu valor, en diſgracia tubo dicha de accreditarle con un ojo perdido de un cannonazo, paleando en ſus naves.* Epitome of Cæſar's Commentaries by the Baron de Auchy.

1612. more perſonally brave perhaps than any ſoldier that ſerved under him, (not to mention the rage and deſpair that diſappointment produces in young impetuous minds) that ſuch a prince, I ſay, in ſuch circumſtances ſhould make a free ſacrifice of what he then thought his only fame, and liſten with the cooleſt attention to the ſtrict doctrine of good ſenſe and right reaſon. Other warriors are ſo fortunately circumſtanced as to enter upon the theatre of action, ſurrounded and adorned with a blaze of glory; nor does their character in general encreaſe proportionably to the more important ſervices they are afterwards engaged in. On the contrary Guſtavus began the military life, if not unproſperouſly ‡, at leaſt in a manner not diſtinguiſhingly ſhining and triumphant. Yet the ſedate and ſenſible ſoon perceived the young man's merit, for they diſcovered in him equal mixtures (both in the higheſt degree) of judgment and bravery: and thence prefigured to themſelves great events at their proper period; and from this moment the clear-ſighted Spinola *, as far removed from Sweden as the Low Countries, aſſumed in right of his age and experience the gift of preſaging, and foretold that Guſtavus might become one day or other the firſt commander in Europe †. For he had three adverſaries driving furiouſly at his ruin in one ſtrict con-

‡ Bayle's diſcourſe on Guſtavus Adolphus.

* This great man was originally a Genoeſe merchant. His ſiege of Breda was an illuſtrious action: fearful of ruining his fair reputation, he was very unwilling to undertake it; but the king of Spain's remarkable letter determined him;

" Marquis;
" Take Breda.
" I the king."—

And this by the way is the original of thoſe brief military letters which have been ſince ſo greatly admired.

He was appointed governor of Milan a little before his death, but notwithſtanding all his ſervices the Spaniards looked coldly upon him for concluding the truce with Mazarine, as alſo for want of ſucceſs in the ſiege of Caſal, and upon ſuppoſition he held a criminal correſpondence with Richelieu. He died of a broken heart in great agitations at a fort of his own erecting called Scrivia, September 15, 1630, graſping the king, his maſter's letters in his hand, and crying out day and night, *M'hanno levato l'honore, m'hanno levato l'honore!* And indeed Philip IV. and the Spaniſh miniſtry behaved towards him with unparalleled ingratitude, for they refuſed to defray the debts he had contracted for the ſupport of the army: and on the contrary ſequeſtered to that purpoſe the eſtates he had purchaſed; ſo that his ſon thought it beſt œconomy to decline all attempts of taking poſſeſſion. *Hiſpanicæ Dominationis Arcana*, p. 115. Yet in favour to his memory as a ſoldier, and in confirmation of what occaſioned this note, he had ſagacity enough to declare again, (namely, immediately after the battle of Prague in 1620) *that Guſtavus was the only proteſtant prince who ought not to be provoked.* Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4°. 1703.

† Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs. 4°. 1703.

federation,

federation, all his elders in point of war and experience, and each his equal, if we conſider their riches, poſſeſſions, and quantity of troops: ſo that negative glory in a caſe circumſtanced like his was equal to poſitive glory in the relative ſituation of others. What therefore the fire of paſſion could not effect, (and warmth of temper was the only conſtitutional infirmity interwoven with his nature) the cool reflexion of reaſon conducted ſoon to a fortunate concluſion. And then to make manifeſt to the world his generous ſentiments concerning religion, he eſtabliſhed a church at Stockholm for the ſole purpoſes of emigrating Germans. 1612.

An extraordinary event which happened in the courſe of this year, made it plain that Guſtavus inherited a portion of his firmneſs from Chriſtina his mother; for when John duke of Oſtrogothia, who was then but twenty-three years old, conceived the idea of eſpouſing Maria Elizabetha, the young king's whole ſiſter, and his own firſt couſin, the principal eccleſiaſtics of Sweden oppoſed this marriage violently in the aſſembly of the ſtates, as contradictory to the laws of Scripture‡; but the queen told them with an air of deciſion, That ſhe had held private conferences with various learned and pious churchmen on the ſubject in queſtion, and finding nothing therein repugnant to God's word, had reduced her ſentiments to one ſyſtem of compatibility; adding, moreover, that their oppoſition was alike unſeaſonable and improper, ſince they all knew that the young people had publicly exchanged their promiſes two years before. "You give me," ſaid ſhe, "advice, which I "no ways demand; for when papal domination, and the creative "power of producing ſubtleties are once aboliſhed, it ſeems to me that "the affairs of marriage appertain to the ſecular as well as clerical "governors;" [I am here reciting the queen's own words conformably to the memoirs that lie before me] and therefore concluded ſhe, "give me no farther trouble concerning the preſent difficulty; for "your retardments proceed more from a ſpirit of perplexity than a "love of peace."

And here perhaps the reader may doubt how a prince of John's age

‡ Introduct. de Puffendorf, tom. iv. 88.

could

1612. could be brother to Sigiſmond king of Poland, there being twenty-three years difference between their reſpective dates of birth? But their father, after having lived in marriage twenty-one years with Catharina of Poland, eſpouſed at her death a Swediſh young woman of quality, and John was the produce of theſe ſecond nuptials *.

1613. Whilſt the congreſs lately mentioned ſat in full agitation about meer nothings, two other eminent perſonages (for Sir John Merrick had been diſpatched ſome months before) preſented themſelves on the part of England, namely, Sir John Merrick, and Anſtruther †; the firſt expedited expreſſly to Guſtavus, the other being only the Britannic ambaſſador at Copenhagen: the former a good Swede, the latter a well-wiſher to the Danes, who of courſe created delays, and deferred his journey to the very laſt moment. On his arrival he ſent his ſecretary to Spence (who by the way favoured the cauſe of Sweden) with intimations to him, that his majeſty of Denmark would no ways allow him (namely Anſtruther) to make the firſt viſit, and of courſe requeſting Spence to come to his tent without reluctance; which latter informed Oxenſtiern immediately of this extraordinary meſſage, who broke forth into a flame all at once, proteſting loudly that it was amazing inſolence on the part of Denmark to demand precedence over Sweden from pleas of dignity and ſuperiority; and that the contrary practice had ever uniformly been well underſtood in all public communications between the two kingdoms. And thus at length it was agreed that the two Britons ſhould meet at an aſſigned place preciſely ſituated half way between their reſpective tents. Merrick and Spence acted both with great caution and impartiality towards the contending parties, ſo that Guſtavus opportunely and dextrouſly lent a willing ear to all their propoſals, and after a ſtrange variety of delays, obſtructions, and punctilios, the treaty was ſigned January 19, 1613 ‡. For particular reaſons it had no preamble, nor was any guaranty admitted, for the king of Denmark could not bear to hear the Hollanders mentioned ‖.

* Genealogiæ Ritterſhuſii, fol.
† Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. 521.
‡ The treaty may be ſeen in Loccenius, Hiſt. Suecan. p. 522.
‖ Introduct. de Puffendorf. tom. iv.

But

But what privately diſpoſed Guſtavus to liſten to an accommodation, 1613.
was the deplorable and wretched ſtate of the Swediſh marine, at the time he contended with a prince not contemptible for naval forces. As he knew the extraordinary advantages of maritime ſtrength, ſo he foreſaw likewiſe that ſuch a power could not be created but by perſeverance and induſtry, and therefore choſe to obtain a pauſe of intermiſſion with reſpect to Denmark. And indeed he had ſtrong reaſons to enforce a project of that nature: nor did he ever ſwerve to the hour of his death from this firſt idea; for Chriſtian the preceding ſummer had made a deſcent near Stockholm, and miſſed little of deſtroying the capital; which indeed may be conſidered as the fineſt military performance in that prince's life; but Guſtavus took care to render the attempt abortive. His next buſineſs was to procure the beſt officers and mariners he could from the dominions of the ſtates general and the Hanſeatic towns.

But to return to the treaty. The whole tranſaction thereof, as I obſerved before, was operoſe and tireſome: for half the debate turned upon matters of heraldry and titles. At length the concluſion (which alone carried with it the leaſt glimmering of good politics and ſound ſenſe) was, that his Daniſh majeſty ſhould reſtore Calmar, *&c.* and keep poſſeſſion of Elfsburg till Guſtavus refunded ſome ſatisfactory equivalent. In a word, the Danes demanded one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds as an indemnification: allowing the Swedes to call the payment of that money either a reimburſement, or a gratification, as beſt pleaſed them; referring the full and ultimate deciſion to James I, who was to ſign the treaty in the character of a perſon intereſted. But at length, by the unwearied interpoſition of the Britiſh miniſters, it was concluded to make a very ſmall part of the demand ſupply the place of the whole, and aſſign the delivery of certain fortreſſes by way of hypotheque or ſecurity. Terms of very hard and difficult digeſtion! But Guſtavus was well diſpoſed and tractable, and the ſenate without further delay deviſed means and expedients for diſcharging the debt. In conſequence of which, the principal reſult was, that both kings were allowed to bear the three crowns for their arms. Chriſtian was to make

no

1613. no pretenſions on Sweden by virtue of this conceſſion, and Guſtavus on the other hand was to omit the title of king of Lapland.

From all that hath been ſaid, it will appear plainly to the reader, that reaſons of prudence contributed entirely to induce Guſtavus to conclude this peace, though at that very time he had made a progreſs in war which ſerved to aſtoniſh the whole European world: for it may be worth obſerving here once for all, that he, Condé, and his own diſciple Forſtenſon, were the only three generals who at twenty years of age ſhewed the public all the effects of a long experience. Nevertheleſs, the king concluded this peace *ſub clypeo tantum*,- (according to the advice of his ſenate upon another occaſion) for he levied juſt before two good regiments in Scotland and the Low Countries, and hired likewiſe fifteen ſhips from the Scottiſh nation, which plundered the town and
1613. diſtrict of Drontheim, and ſailed afterwards to the ſouthermoſt ſhores of Sweden *.

1614. The demands of Denmark being thus completely ſatisfied, it was thought expedient in the next place, to enter into a fifteen years treaty of commerce and mutual guaranty with the ſtates general; and to this purpoſe Guſtavus diſpatched Van Dyck, a favourite miniſter with his father, in an embaſſy to Holland, where the whole affair was concluded both effectually and ſpeedily. As to the interior of the realm of Sweden, due and ſufficient care was taken both of cities and countries, inaſmuch as better means were deviſed for exerciſing trade and commerce, both by natives and foreigners; and the farmers and peaſants were abſolved from ſupplying horſes and carriages gratis to the king's armies. Nor muſt it here be forgotten, that though Guſtavus from a principle of ſincere religion, as well as ſolid policy, had an earneſt deſire to make his dominions the aſylum of all virtuous and induſtrious emigrants, from other countries, whether papiſts or proteſtants, yet ſtill one remarkable reſtriction was interwoven with the body of the royal edict, namely, that no foreigner or baniſhed perſon ſhould preſume to enter the kingdom without bringing with him letters teſtimonial concerning his religious and moral deportment from perſons of character. After

* Introduct. de Puffendorf, tom. iv. p. 84.

this a ſociety of trade was eſtabliſhed at Stockholm, where each party who enrolled himſelf voluntarily, undertook to advance the king certain ſums (none leſs than twenty pounds) at 12 *per cent.* and to encourage this ſubſcription, the perſons contributing were exempted from taxes for three years. 1613. 1614.

Deliberations had been held likewiſe, and royal conſtitutions made public, with reſpect to money, impoſts, and certain immunities in point of taxation, diſtinct from thoſe already mentioned. All poſſible precautions were taken to eſtabliſh a peace with Muſcovy and Poland; nor did this great and good king, amidſt one perplext ſcene of tumultuous difficulties, forget to regulate the lectures, diſcipline, and morality of the univerſity of Upſal. It was then concluded that his majeſty ought to propoſe a peace with Muſcovy ſword in hand; after which enſued a royal edict reſpecting the jeſuits, whom the king diſliked more than any ſet of men in the Chriſtian world; and, laſtly, the ſcene was cloſed, with what ſome hiſtorians miſcall, the famous edict againſt metaphyſics, upon ſuppoſition, as they falſely imagined, that he had conceived a mortal averſion to the futility of thoſe ſtudies. But the truth of the matter appears to me in another light. Guſtavus had his political reaſons for taking this ſtep; Poland was the fountain-head of ſuch ſort of reveries; and a tribe of ſchoolmen of the more refining kind had given philoſophical laws to all Europe in that reſpect. The Swedes for theſe reaſons flocked in great numbers to the univerſities of Warſaw and Cracow, and imbibed ſentiments favourable to Sigiſmond, and conſequently diſobliging to Guſtavus. Hence it was that the metaphyſical ſcience was made only the poor ſcape-goat upon which our monarch wrecked his juſt reſentments, condemning it in the character of a politician, and not a philoſopher. And in conſequence of this, a ſubſequent law was made public, whereof the purport was, that no young man of quality or condition ſhould quit the kingdom without a paſſport firſt obtained from the crown, with proviſo not to ſolicit leave to proſecute his philoſophical ſtudies and military exerciſe in a ſuſpected place *.

* Anno 1620.

1613. But to return to the affairs relative between Sweden and Denmark.
1614. Guſtavus having embraced in the critical moments a flying and caſual incident, which ſerved to throw his Daniſh majeſty into a ſtate of inaction, (the perſon of his three aſſailants he diſliked the moſt, for he was cool and reſerved, and likewiſe underſtood beſt the profeſſion of war,) found ſtill more work than he choſe, in being obliged to carry on a ſort of barbarian campaigns againſt the great duke of Muſcovy and the king of Poland. And to underſtand this ſituation more clearly with reſpect to the former, we muſt reſume things a little back. Guſtavus's father had ſent troops to aſſiſt the czar Baſil againſt the enterprizes of Sigiſmond, by which aſſiſtance the Swedes privately hoped to procure prince Charles, Guſtavus's brother, to be choſen great duke; the Polanders on the other hand expected that Sigiſmond might happen to be elected, or Vladiſlaüs his ſon. But the Muſcovites overlooked the pretenſions and expectancies of both parties, and following their own free choice repoſed themſelves upon a genuine deſcendant of the Demetrian race; upon which the new czar by way of gratitude declared war immediately againſt Sweden.

And indeed here it is thought by many (for diſſimulation will not become a faithful or exact hiſtorian) that Charles Philip, Guſtavus's brother, might have been elected great duke of the Ruſſias; yet though the king loved him tenderly, he was at the ſame time too good a politician to wiſh to ſee that event realized, being well apprized that certain elevations to power and dignity might remove men beyond the influence of fraternal friendſhip. Of courſe he retarded Charles's journey by ſo many imperceptible delays, (having it is imagined ſome thoughts of being elected himſelf) till at length the Muſcovites fixed their choice upon another object *.

But notwithſtanding the laſt mentioned opinion which hath been ſuggeſted to me, it appears highly probable from the concurrence of hiſtory that Guſtavus, who had then other affairs upon his hands ſtill more important, never truly and really impeded the election of his brother or of himſelf. The fact was, that the people of Novogrod had entered into a negotiation with Charles's agents, and theſe perſons were ſincerely in

* Memoirs communicated.

earneſt,

earneſt, for they made him an offer of their own duchy, without preſuming to become anſwerable for the reſt of the Muſcovites; but the prince preferred a quiet and well ſettled appennage at home (for he enjoyed four duchies and the Valenſian territory, &c.) to a litigious and turbulent poſſeſſion amidſt a multitude of barbarians. *Carolus ſe ab illis vana ſpe lactatum eſſe ſentiens, & rem juſtæ vindictæ a rege fratre & ſe ſuo tempore in mobilem gentem exercendæ committens, inde abiit* *. 1613. 1614.

The life of a prince like Guſtavus, may be juſtly divided into two departments, the one civil, and the other military: ſince we can hardly diſcover a ſingle moment aſſigned for relaxation or amuſement; and as to pleaſure there was neither room to receive it, nor time to indulge it. Nevertheleſs, if Guſtavus had ever leiſure to caſt his eyes on books of politics and hiſtory, (for in fact we find him eminently converſant not only in theſe ſtudies, but in claſſical learning, tactics, and mathematics) it muſt have been principally in the years 1615 and 1616; and yet notwithſtanding this remark of mine, a period of time may be very buſy, and not devoid of occupations and perplexities, though nothing reſulteth thence, ſufficient to make a ſhining figure in future annals. Yet ſure it is, that the king paſſed whole nights in reading the military hiſtory of the antients, and often uſed to ſay, that the invention of fire arms, and the art of fortifying places, made a wide difference between us and them, yet that a man who poſſeſſed the courage of the heroes of antiquity might perform actions as illuſtrious as theirs. The continuator of Foreſti produces the example of Guſtavus upon this occaſion to ſhew, that much may be learnt from the antients in point of war, though the manner of attack and defence at preſent be widely different from what was practiſed by the Greeks and Romans. There is reaſon for entertaining the reader with this remark, for the knowledge of battle-plans and fortifications makes but half the ſcience which belongs to a general: it is military and civil policy that help to complete the other half, and theſe were co-eval with our predeceſſors, and will remain co-exiſtent with our poſterity †. 1615.

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. lib. viii. 523.

† Reflexions Militaires & Politiques traduites de l'Eſpagnol de M. le Marq. de Santa Cruz de Marzenado. Tom. i. 27.

1615. It may ſuffice therefore to obſerve, that in the beginning of the year 1615 he convened the ſtates and orders of the realm at Helſingford *, where, amongſt many other important tranſactions, he introduced and finiſhed one of the greateſt acts that a king can perform in times of peace: for he publiſhed an edict to abridge the tedioufneſs and expence of law-ſuits, eſpecially in matters of regal judicature, and preſcribed the form and manner how this compendiouſneſs was to be effected. The glorious conſequences of which have been enjoyed by Sweden more or leſs to this preſent hour: for no king, as the Swedes acknowlege to theſe very moments, ever deviſed more ſalutary, or more ſenſible laws than Guſtavus Adolphus †.

His majeſty then, to give every action of his life the faireſt and moſt candid appearance, deputed Oxenſtiern ambaſſador to Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, with inſtructions to explain to him, amongſt other things, the ſincere and honourable intentions that Sweden bore with reſpect to Muſcovy and Poland, and particularly in regard to a permanent, ſubſtantial, and well-concerted peace: and as a proof thereof diſpatched on the ſame errand, though without ſucceſs, Everard Horn, general de la Gardie, and a third deputy to the court of Ruſſia. But the czar perſiſted inflexible, and of courſe a war could not be avoided. Which reſolution did not greatly diſcompoſe Guſtavus; and, in this one inſtance, the king of Poland thought fit to join him. Nor did he much diſlike the military abilities of his new opponent, being a warrior far inferior to his late Daniſh adverſary; and indeed his great object in the preſent expedition was not making conqueſts, but ſecuring to his ſubjects a firm and laſting peace, and fixing the affairs of public good faith upon ſolid foundations. For the cauſe of this quarrel on the ſide of Sweden, was a refuſal the Muſcovites made of re-imburſing to the ſtates of Sweden a very conſiderable ſum of money, which they had generouſly advanced to ſupply their neceſſities.

Provoked at ſuch an outrageous act of ingratitude, his Swediſh majeſty ſoon rendered himſelf maſter of the vaſt province of Ingria, and

* January 19.

† Introduction de Puffendorf. Tom. iv. 94. Theſe regulations were publiſhed by authority.

took

took by ſtorm the ſtrong fort of Kexholm, then deemed to be impreg- 1615.
nable. In the next place he formed the ſiege of Pleſko, of which the event appeared doubtful to all, but men of great and enterprizing genius; and ſo much the rather, as the wintry ſeaſon began to approach; but his majeſty of Great Britain at the requeſt of the Muſcovites graciouſly interpoſed his pacific offices: and in conſequence thereof Guſtavus writ Sir John Merrick an extremely civil and generous letter *, remarking here and there incidentally, "That he beſieged Pleſko, not from the ambition "of taking a fortreſs ſuppoſed inacceſſible, but with a view to force the "enemy into conditions of peace, by an unexpected ſtroke which car-"ried with it the appearance of performing ſomething in the art of "war.—All the former part of which, ſays he to Merrick, you have "known to be true, and have beheld likewiſe the obſtinacy of the "Ruſſians and their infidelity.———Hearing no propoſals with reſpect "to an accommodation, I had reduced the place to the very point of "capitulating: but notwithſtanding all my fatigues, expences, and mili-"tary loſſes, upon proviſo the Muſcovites be duly and juſtly reſtrained "for times to come, I lay my glory a ſacrifice at the feet of England, "with a view to convince mankind in general, that I waged this war "not from motives of ambition, (for my territories are ſufficiently large "and powerful) but from the mere compulſion and neceſſity of "things.———It ever hath been, and is ſtill my inclination to cultivate "peace and friendſhip with all my neighbours.———This upon juſt "and honourable terms is moſt congenial to my natural temper. But "if a lawful war is not to be healed by conciliatory and reputable mea-"ſures; *We can embrace it with reſolution.*" And thus the king contented himſelf with reflecting coolly, even in the earlier parts of life, That the greateſt generals predeſtined to perform the moſt illuſtrious actions, are not indiſpenſibly obliged to render themſelves maſters of every town they think fit to inveſt †.

Nevertheleſs it muſt be obſerved in regard to the memory of James I. *(O ſi ſic omnia feciſſet!)* that the conditions of agreement were good and

* The whole letter, dated from Narva, November 30, 1615, is preſerved by Loccenius, p. 525.

† Bayle's Introduction to the Life of Guſtavus Adolphus.

honourable;

1615. honourable; for the enemy refunded to the Swedes a conſiderable ſum of money, under appearance of making amends for the expences of the war, and ceded to them a large part of the continent of Muſcovy; ſo that the lovers of prediction even then ſaid (ſo promiſing were the beginnings of our hero's life) that he had fulfilled in *one* part that line of conqueſt on earth which correſponded with the delineation firſt ſketched out for him by Tycho Brahé in the celeſtial regions *. Nor ought we to forget here, that it was in this campaign he firſt formed, nurtured and ſeaſoned that invincible body of troops called the Finlanders, and at the concluſion thereof, having brought the national ſoldiers in general to a more ſteady and regular ſort of diſcipline, diſbanded a large corps of foreign veterans, partly to redreſs the tacit complaints of his ſubjects, and partly becauſe he leſs and leſs wanted their aſſiſtance.

It was likewiſe during the military operations of this ſummer, if after all my reſearches I am not greatly miſtaken †, that Guſtavus in the twenty-firſt year of his age gave an extraordinary proof of his enterprizing genius, declaring to all his officers that he would lay ſiege to Notteberg-caſtle, a place by each of his generals deemed impregnable: being ſituated on a ſmall iſland on the mouth of the Narva, more than cannon-ſhot from either ſhore; the conflux of waters on all ſides being extremely rapid and impetuous. Repreſentations on repreſentations were offered unto him, but our young hero, like another Joſuah, landed his forces and took the fortreſs by compoſition, in which were found proviſions and ammunition abundantly ſufficient to ſupply the garriſon for a twelve month's ſiege.

* This calculation was made in 1572. See *The new Star of the North*, Lond. 4°. 1632. from pag. 1. to pag. 23. In addition to which the following paragraph may be ſubjoined from the *Patiniana*, p. 7. La Vie de Tycho Brahé à été compoſée par le bon M. Gaſſendi. Ce fut ce Tycho Brahé qui dans le traitté qu'il fit de la comete l'an 1674 (qu. if not 1672) qui diſparut à la mort de Charles XII. apres avoir duré depuis le maſſacre de la S. Barthélemi, a dit qu'en vertu de cet etoile naitroit vers le nord dans la Finlande un prince qui ebranleroit l'Allemagne & qui diſparaitroit en fin de l'an 1632. Voilà preciſement GUSTAVE ADOLPHE, roy de Suede. See alſo Pietro Pomo; Guerredi Germ. lib. v. p. 5.

† The author of the Swediſh Intelligencer places this event in 1617, which appears to me improbable. *Character of Guſtavus*, Part iii. p. 184.

And

And now for a certain pauſing-time and interval he returned home: 1615.
and enjoying for a ſhort ſpace a moderate repoſe, which may be called almoſt the only one he ever taſted from the early parts of youth to the laſt moments of his life, applied himſelf with unexampled diligence to comprehend the true nature of commerce, and rendered himſelf maſter of that grand monarchical ſcience, the art of eaſing (as much as in him lay) the taxes of his people. But no where appeared he greater than in the ſpeech * he made his ſenators at the commencement of the year, when it was neceſſary to explain his inmoſt ſentiments in the debate which concerned the Ruſſian war. This he performed with attractive grace and powerful demonſtration; with all that eloquence could inſpire or reaſon could confirm; obviating and overturning that accuſation of ambition which ſome of his ſubjects tacitly brought againſt him in their own breaſts; and explaining and anſwering at the ſame time the inſinuations of certain malevolent libels, which his couſin Sigiſmond had taken care to ſee diſperſed through Sweden. And thus at once he charmed his ſubjects and convinced them likewiſe, that his ambition extended no further than a brave and prudent prince ought to direct it. Of courſe one uniform univerſal aſſent enſued, and the ſtates and orders granted him all ſupplies that could be concluded neceſſary.

And indeed whoever peruſes carefully the ſpeech I have mentioned (though it is rather too long to be inſerted in hiſtory) will find a difficult taſk to abſtain from admiring the eloquence of Guſtavus, which muſt have ſuffered greatly by paſſing through a northern alembic of courſely-filtrated latinity. Yet meer oratory being little more than one of the *ſpecioſa miracula* in the art of reaſoning, we ſhall not fix our principal encomium upon that topic. It is the preciſion of Guſtavus that we admire; the *acumen* of the Romans, and the ἀγχίνοια of the Athenians; the poſſeſſing an object in the ſingle point of view which is alone material. As to *wit*, it no where appears that he aimed at it: though he ſeems to have had a natural turn to *repartee* and *humour*; but there is a poignancy, an appoſite pointedneſs in all his ſpeeches, replies and re-

* This maſter-piece of good ſenſe and oratory extendeth itſelf to eight pages in quarto, and may be peruſed in Loccenius, pagg. 526—533.

joinders;

1615. joinders; and ſuch I may ſay, as ſerve to individuate him from every other man. Not but that upon particular occaſions he could expatiate with all the charms of the moſt perſuaſive eloquence, of which no farther proofs need be recited than the oration now before us, and thoſe pronounced at Erford and Nurenberg; but the cloſer the engagement was, the more the *vis vivida* of his genius ſhone forth; and therefore he always choſe to diſcuſs matters perſonally with foreign miniſters, and dictate all important inſtructions to his own ambaſſadors. Conſcious of his abilities in a private chamber he ſolicited an interview with Chriſtian of Denmark, (one of the ſubtileſt politicians of that age) and obtained the effect deſired; he made the ſame propoſal to Louis XIII, but that prince had juſt ſenſe enough to dread the experiment, and of courſe declined it.

1616. The year enſuing was entirely employed in treaty-litigations between the Swedes and the Muſcovites, as likewiſe in contriving farther means to leſſen the taxes, and adminiſter eaſe and plenty to the ſubjects of Sweden.

1617. At length Guſtavus in order to give the world freſh inſtances of his generoſity and ſincerity allowed a peace to be concluded at Stolba, after the obſtruction of ten thouſand ceremonies of precedence and titles, which a proud and ignorant nation like the Muſcovites, is always ready to make. And indeed in moſt, if not all treaties, the grand object is ſooner ſettled, (becauſe better foreſeen and underſtood) than the incidental and collateral ones.

And here it muſt be obſerved that the great duke had required permiſſion from the ſtates general and James I. to raiſe recruits in their reſpective dominions, which his Britannic majeſty made no difficulty of granting, upon condition the men were not to be employed againſt Guſtavus. This damped the czar's ardour not a little, and Sir John Merrick, gentleman of the bed-chamber, was ſent ambaſſador from England (who had diſcharged a commiſſion to Guſtavus at Narva ſome years before) to give all the aſſiſtances he could towards the completion of an accommodation; by which it was at length ſtipulated, "That a "general amneſty ſhould be ſettled between the two nations, the pre-"tenſions of Charles Philip be extinguiſhed, and free intercourſe of

" commerce eſtabliſhed; that the Swedes ſhould reſtore all their con- 1617.
" queſts, and the great duke in return give back Livonia, renounce the
" title he aſſumed from it, ſurrender four towns in the prefecture of
" Novogrod, and refund the Swedes 9000 *l.* in good and ſterling money.
" The concluding article was, that neither party ſhould aſſiſt Poland in
" any attempts againſt the two reciprocal crowns *."

Holland as well as England interpoſed ſincerely in this mediation: yet the treaty was not effectually ratified till the year enſuing. All parties wiſhed earneſtly for this event, and all rejoiced in its completion. His majeſty of Great Britain in particular ſhone now in the full meridian of his pacificatory luſtre;

——*Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo*
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.

It was about this period that Guſtavus borrowed a very conſiderable ſum of the ſtates general, in order to re-imburſe the king of Denmark according to the articles of peace lately concluded between them: but as this money arrived not at Hamburg in due time, his majeſty (who piqued himſelf on a punctilious exactneſs) ſpared neither application nor pains to procure it in good ſeaſon from another quarter; nevertheleſs he received it afterwards on due ſecurity, and paid it back in copper-oar †. Nor did the friendſhip and humanity of the Hollanders ſtop here; for they gave him permiſſion at or near the ſame time to levy a body of 2000 men in the United Provinces, and allowed him likewiſe the year enſuing ‡ to raiſe a complete regiment of infantry, and a certain definite number of ſeamen ſufficient to equip five ſhips of force againſt the Polanders;

* This treaty (not to be found in the grand collections) was compriſed in xviii articles, and may be peruſed in the *Laurea Auſtriaca*, lib. i. p. 30, *&c.* This book, which affords the beſt accounts extant with reference to England and the courts of Vienna and Munich in regard to the Palatinate, (a circumſtance that directed the meaſures of the Britiſh miniſtry more or leſs during the reigns of James and Charles I.) containeth many things which are not to be found in our own hiſtorians, and hath been ſuppoſed by ſome to be compoſed upon the memoirs and ſtate-papers of cardinal Ditrichſtein, ſucceſſor to Kleſel, and prime miniſter to the emperors Mathias and Ferdinand II.

† Carlton's Letters, p. 95.

‡ Anno 1618.

1617. and as a terror was then conceived over all the northern parts of Europe, that the court of Madrid, in order to facilitate the future conqueſts of Sigiſmond and the emperor *, propoſed to ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Baltic ocean, they generouſly ſupplied Guſtavus with ſix men of war, which actually ſailed under the command of Obdam, vice-admiral of Holland †.

Nor muſt we omit here that Chriſtian, in conſequence of the late accommodation between Sweden and himſelf, made the king a very genteel and plauſible offer of ſending a body of Danes to augment his army; which propoſal was accepted with thankfulneſs, but for certain private reaſons politely declined. For Guſtavus knew to perfection the addreſs and artifice of his neighbour, and deſired nothing from him but a bill of acquittance. He diſcharged therefore the debt with all imaginable diligence, and employed the moderate overplus that remained in puzzling the fidelity of the governor of Dunamond, which important place ſoon admitted the Swediſh banners to wave upon its ramparts ‡.

During this ſhort pauſe from military tranſactions his majeſty (having firſt convened the ſtates) paſſed through the forms of a coronation at Upſal, and then proceeded to reduce his kingdom more and more to one uniform and well-connected ſyſtem: ſettling the interior ſprings and movements of it upon ſuch a principle of regulation, as that no notable inconveniences or obſtructions ſhould ariſe during his abſence in whatever wars he might chance afterwards to undertake. To effectuate this, he made ſome very ſenſible alterations in the manner of convening the ſtates and in the diſpatch of buſineſs, and eſtabliſhed five public offices of great extent, namely, a court of juſtice, a chamber of exchequer, a cancellaria ‖, and two councils of war, one for land-affairs and one for the naval; in each of which departments he appointed himſelf (abſent or preſent) to be ſupreme judge and ultimate referendary. Theſe inſtitutions being thus premiſed, he in the next place augmented and confirmed the privileges of the ſtates and orders; and to encourage what is uſually called the fair and ſettled trader, publiſhed an edict againſt

* Laurea Auſtriaca.
† Carlton's Letters, 96. 101. 126. 186.
‡ Ibid. 180.
‖ A ſort of ſecretary of ſtate's office.

all vagabond and itinerant commerciants, commanding likewiſe in expreſs terms that matters of trade, huſbandry, &c. ſhould be tranſacted in well known and public markets. 1617.

And as a war by this time had commenced againſt him on the ſide of Poland, he next caſt his eyes on his couſin Sigiſmond in good earneſt: concerning whoſe quarrel and pretenſions in order to ſee the groundwork of them, we muſt make a ſmall retroſpection into the Poliſh and Swediſh hiſtories. Nor can this digreſſion be deemed improper, foraſmuch as the war laſted (excepting only ſome few temporary intermiſſions) till within three years of our king's death.

Guſtavus Ericſon, or Vaſa, our hero's grandfather, having reigned two and thirty years with the character of another Titus, left behind him three ſons. Eric (who had been propoſed by his father to queen Elizabeth of England) married a young woman of mean parentage, merely from a romantic turn of love; but growing diſcontented, vicious and cruel, was depoſed by his own ſubjects, and thrown into priſon. Upon this John, who had been confined for reaſons of ſtate in his brother Eric's reign, (but fortunately contrived his eſcape) was declared ſucceſſor to the throne. He died in 1592, after having governed four and twenty years; and then Charles, duke of Sudermania, the younger of the three ſons, and father of Guſtavus Adolphus, (the poſterity of John being ſet aſide by the ſtates) was appointed to ſucceed him. John by Catharina his wife, daughter of Sigiſmond II. king of Poland, left two ſons, Sigiſmond, (upon whom the hiſtory particularly turneth) and John duke of Oſtrogothia, which latter prince, a minor of three years of age when Charles was inaugurated, died without iſſue in 1618. And in imitation of his father kept firm to the Evangelical or Auguſtan confeſſion; but Sigiſmond, converted by his mother's means, had privately admitted himſelf into the Romiſh communion. Charles was a bold and ſincere Lutheran; of courſe his brother John by his laſt teſtament made him a ſort of pledge to the people with regard to the proteſtant religion, and appointed him governor of Sweden till Sigiſmond ſhould return from Poland. During the interregnum he acquitted himſelf with the cleareſt honour, exhorting Sigiſmond to haſten immediately to Stockholm and

1617. accept the regal title which lay open for him, exhorting and conjuring him at the ſame time to preſerve the proteſtant religion inviolably to his ſubjects. Sigiſmond took no notice of this latter paſſage, nor gave the leaſt ſatisfaction concerning it when his ſubjects preſented a particular remonſtrance to him. Charles preſſed him a ſecond time, and in the interim refuſed the crown which the ſenate had offered him. At length Sigiſmond was enthroned in the year 1594, and took the coronation-oaths, from the obſervation of which he ſcholaſtically abſolved himſelf with all the dexterity of a Poliſh metaphyſician. "This oath" (declareth the juror,) "I religiouſly promiſe and vow to keep to all my ſubjects, "young and old, born, and to be born, beloved, or not beloved, abſent "or preſent, no way infringing, but rather improving the ſame by royal "affection: ſo God be propitious to my ſoul and body." At the ſame time it was ſtipulated likewiſe, that Sigiſmond ſhould make profeſſion of the Lutheran religion, and introduce no foreigners into the kingdom *; and ſome time afterwards, upon his temporal repudiation from Sweden and diſmiſſion into Poland, his once-electors ſhewed ſo much juſtice and generoſity to him and his family, as to keep the ſucceſſion open upon eventual proviſion that his ſon Vladiſlaüs, then a youth of twelve years old, ſhould receive his education at Stockholm, and there make profeſſion of the proteſtant religion †.

Nevertheleſs during this interim, after full proof given to the public of various breaches of truſt, equivocations, tergiverſations, perſecutions, and violations of property on the part of Sigiſmond, duke Charles by the univerſal voice of the people was invited to accept the crown October 22, 1595, which honour in hopes of ſome accommodation he declined heroically for ſeveral years; but in the year 1600 the ſtates of the kingdom loſt all patience; and an act was paſſed, not only to incapacitate Sigiſmond and his heirs, but to eſtabliſh Charles as king, and appoint the young Guſtavus, then ſix years old, for his ſucceſſor. Nay ſuch was the extraordinary zeal of the people in behalf of their civil and religious liberties, that a declaratory clauſe was added to this effect,

* MS. relating to the genealogy, &c. of Guſtavus Adolphus in Sion-College library.
† Ibid.

that

that regal obedience and allegiance ſhould be paid Charles, though he declined to aſſume the title of king, and though the coronation-ceremonies had not been performed. And therefore, let hiſtorians ſpeak what they pleaſe, it is poſſible Charles had ſome doubts with relation to John, prince of Oſtrogothia, a youth at that period eleven years old, and bred a Lutheran, who had an hereditary title antecedent to his own, (being his brother the late king's ſecond ſon:) who by way of compenſation had been created duke of Oſtrogothia, *&c.* But be that as it may, Charles, one way or other, was reaſoned and compelled, as it were, into the acceptance of what others not only paſſionately long for, but commit ſo many crimes in order to obtain! ſo at length he ſubmitted to be crowned in form in 1607; upon which event popery was declared a religious and political incapacity in all future kings; no hereditary princes were allowed to marry a wife who profeſſed an erroneous religion; and all ſeducers of princes from the doctrines of the eſtabliſhed church, were to be puniſhed as traitors and conſpirators againſt their country. On the other hand, the Swediſh reaſons for depriving Sigiſmond and incapacitating his heirs, ran conformably to the tenour of the following repreſentation: Namely, for the departure of him, Sigiſmond, from the received eſtabliſhed Chriſtian religion then predominant in Sweden; contradicting the intent of his grandfather's laſt teſtament, and violating the oath taken at his coronation, and neglecting the promiſe made by him to his late father never to infringe the rights of Sweden, nor ſubſcribe (when removed to another country) to any deciſions relative to that kingdom, without previouſly applying to the ſtates, and requeſting their advice and concurrence therein. He was accuſed further of leaving the realm at ſeveral junctures, without due and legal notice given; of removing ſundry papers of great importance out of the national cancellaria, exciting war againſt his own country, and his ſingularly beſt friend and adviſer, duke Charles his uncle. It was objected moreover, that he had allowed Denmark to inſert the *three Swediſh crowns* in the regal arms; that he had employed a naval force againſt his country, turned a deaf ear to the remonſtrances of a free people, and refuſed to educate his ſon at Stockholm, in order to render him capable of inheritance. 1617.

Nevertheleſs,

1617. Nevertheleſs, in deſpite of all theſe incapacities and diſqualifications alledged, Sigiſmond, who was a prince of a reſtleſs, turbulent, caballing, and ambitious ſpirit, employed all the time that intervened between the publication of theſe reſolutions, till the period I am haſtening to reconſider, in projecting and executing an infinity of attempts in order to repoſſeſs the crown aforeſaid. To this purpoſe he poſted a ſet of political miſſionaries throughout the kingdom of Sweden, and aſſigned them their ſeparate incendiary departments with equal judgment and dexterity; and had cauſed remonſtrances, defamatory libels and manifeſtos of war, to be diſperſed every where in great abundance. And as they all took their riſe firſt from the Polanders, and not from native Swedes, Guſtavus determined, partly to mortify Sigiſmond, and partly to prevent conſiderable ſums of money from being ſpent out of his country, (not to mention ſome other inconveniences) to publiſh an edict with prohibition to his ſubjects of purſuing their ſtudies in Poliſh univerſities, paying viſits to the court, or holding any correſpondence with the inhabitants of that kingdom. Now though Guſtavus managed the pen with the ſame addreſs as he wielded the ſword, yet he no ways conſidered a paper-war as a conteſtation in any ſhape deſirable; eſpecially as it was conducted by a nation formed by nature for ſchool-diſtinctions and aerial refinements: where the jeſuits likewiſe preſided in council, and mixed the politics of Loyola with the ſophiſtry of Smiglecius, and the plauſible elegance as well as ſpecious arrangement of Socinus. Theſe circumſtances determined him to cut the knot of controverſy with *that magical ſword* of his, concerning which the Swediſh and German profeſſors have produced more diſſertations than one.

Yet ſtill the unquiet and malevolent Sigiſmond continued to publiſh freſh defamatory libels, and new deviſed pretenſions and claims upon the crown of Sweden. That he breathed revenge and war appeared manifeſt to all men; and it is ſuppoſed by the more clear ſighted and enlightened *, that the hopes of this deſperate and hazardous enterprize were founded upon Auſtrian promiſes of ſupplying the Poliſh army with a body of troops ſufficient to re-conquer the dominions of Sweden,

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. p. 534.

And

And from this hardly viſible embryo of exiſtence, from this diminu- 1617.
tive ſpark of latent fire, aroſe afterwards thoſe amazing flames which burnt with inextinguiſhable fierceneſs for eighteen years, and reduced the empire to an heap of ruin. For Guſtavus from a youth never truly reliſhed any interpoſition which took its riſe from Vienna, (as we ſuggeſted before in the ſuppoſed aſſiſtance under the duke of Lunenberg ſent by the emperor to the king of Denmark) and as he knew the Imperial court to be of a phlegmatic temper originally in the preparation of expeditions, (Sigiſmond at that time being counſelled and governed by Hiſpaniolized Germans, and not native Polanders, which was a ſingular overſight) he ſeized the flying opportunity to a moment, having firſt ſummoned a ſlight convention at Orebroy, and embarked for Livonia under the protection of eighteen ſhips: well foreſeeing, that the pre-occupation of this province would obſtruct all attempts from Poland during the remaining parts of the campaign. He then took Dunamond (having paved the way to that incident as we hinted before) and Windau. The former place was the key to Riga.

No prince ever made a better choice of invading Poland with uncommon dexterity; for Gabriel Bethlem, prince of Tranſylvania, exaſperated to the higheſt degree againſt Sigiſmond, who had aſſiſted the emperor in the Hungarian war, (for Bethlem had lately invaded Hungary) formed a deſign to conquer Moldavia, part of which then belonged to his Poliſh majeſty, and drew the Turks and Tartars into the project, who aſſiſted him with an inconceivable number of forces †: but as the king of Poland appeared to be overmuch entangled by an irruption truly barbarian on the other ſide of his dominions, Guſtavus (having pre-occupied what he thought for himſelf barely reaſonable and convenient, for the whole province of Livonia lay expoſed to his mercy: a moderation not to be found in a victorious prince) generouſly concluded a truce with Sigiſmond for two years, upon that monarch's humble requeſt and ſupplication; under reſtriction however, that the intermediate ſpace ſhould be employed in projecting means to eſtabliſh a permanent and ſubſtantial peace. All which may be conſidered as a mag-

† Hiſtoire de Pologne, p. 323. Laurea Auſtriaca, 64.

nificent

1617. nificent inſtance of heroical ſupererogation, not to be paralleled in common hiſtories; for which Sigiſmond made him afterwards very ungracious and illiberal returns.

1618. Guſtavus allowed his adverſary this parentheſis of repoſe, (if the expreſſion may be permitted me) in order to enable him to chaſtiſe the barbarians who ſo furiouſly invaded him, and give him ſcope likewiſe, provided he was ſincere, to ſettle amicably and by mutual conſent all the differences that ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms. This he did for his own honour, merely to diveſt Sigiſmond of all juſtifiable and plauſible pretenſions of undertaking a ſecond war at conjunctures and opportunities more convenient. Yet ſtill Guſtavus had ſome private miſgivings (and time afterwards proved how very juſt his divinations were) that an unfair and inſidious adverſary, like the perſon in queſtion, having once diſembarraſſed himſelf from ſuch troubleſome enemies as Turks, Tartars and Tranſylvanians, might create freſh unſubſtantial objections and delays, and ſet himſelf to renew hoſtilities againſt Sweden with redoubled vigour. A few months ſoon realized this inauſpicious conjecture; and as Guſtavus piqued upon acting openly and with ſpirit, he demanded the promiſe of a perpetual peace or a well prolonged armiſtice when the truce expired; and receiving no categorical aſſurances on the part of Poland, renewed the war without any ulterior meſſages or declarations: having firſt obtained the full approbation of an unanimous ſenate, and ſolemnly confirmed the peace with Muſcovy on the feſtival of St. Peter and St. Paul in the great church at Stockholm.

Princes of a leſſer genius would have given this unexpected ſtroke of an invaſion, under the diſguiſed appearance of feeling the pulſe of an accommodation: making proteſtations one way, and acting in another way diſtinctly contrary. Timorous and weak men always ſhelter themſelves in dark and ſerpentine by-paths; for it requires great parts to be at the ſame time prudent and brave; ſucceſsful and explicite! There was the like difference between Guſtavus and Sigiſmond, as betwixt Oxenſtiern and Mazarin; the one executed what he determined, nobly, firmly, and inſtantaneouſly; the other brought to paſs, what he

had

had combined together after a million of reflexions, with a certain meanneſs, timidity, and heſitation. One performed the moſt momentous actions by that glance of judgment which preciſely ſeizes the critical object and occaſion, without allowing the mind to wander a moment under the influence of any by-conſiderations; the other making up by philoſophy and induction what he wanted in preſence of mind and *acumen*, puzzled himſelf by a multiplicity of political knowlege, ſaw too little, by ſeeing too much; was often by caution betrayed into danger, and fell into real fears at the ſame moment he avoided ſuppoſable ones. 1618.

But to return to Guſtavus, concerning whom we ought to remark tranſiently, that this cautious, juſt, and ſenſible young man, did not think it conſiſtent with prudence and equity to make Poland the ſeat of hoſtilities, till he had firſt diſcharged the reſidue of arrears due to Chriſtian king of Denmark. In the beginning of the autumn therefore (for the campaign this year commenced no ſooner) he paid the remaining ſum due for the redemption of Elfſburg, and by his promptneſs, as well as dexterity of conduct, kept the rear of his dominions free from a troubleſome interferer and invader, who acquieſced with reluctancy, being precluded from all poſſible means of deviſing a pretext for renewing of hoſtilities.

And it was about this time that Guſtavus obtained ſeveral valuable territories and poſſeſſions by the death of his couſin John duke of Oſtrogothia *: and in the ſame year one of his caſtles where he lodged took fire during the night, which ſpread itſelf round with ſo much vehemence, that the doors and ſtair-caſes were all involved in flames; ſo that he and his chancellor were obliged to throw themſelves out at a window, in which extraordinary attempt he ſuffered inconſiderably, but Oxenſtiern received ſome very diſagreeable contuſions. Nor did the danger ceaſe here, for as the caſtle was begirt with a moat, which almoſt touched the edifice, his majeſty was obliged (ſo great was the violence of the fire) to croſs that moat by venturing up to the ſhoulders in ooze and filthineſs †.

* Genealogiæ Ritterſhuſii, fol.

† Carlton's Letters, p. 265.

1619. During the courſe of the enſuing year, the Poliſh war began to grow languid on either ſide: nor was more fewel adminiſtered to the fire than what juſt ſufficed to preſerve it from expiring. Mean while Guſtavus returned to Stockholm, and having well reformed and improved his navy, rendered it reſpectable throughout the whole European ocean. He then paſſed a reviſion over the duties and buſineſs of every particular land officer and private ſoldier, and reduced not only the art of fighting and ſieges, but the whole military diſcipline to one regular ſyſtem of his own invention ‡. The very inſtruments of war were brought by him to a particular examen; the management of large artillery was rendered more ſcientifical; the encumbrance and other defects of the match-lock were rectified; the reſt of the pike was aboliſhed, and the pike was ſhortened; and perceiving that Sweden (though it abounded in the very materials from whence theſe implements were compoſed) remitted large ſums annually to Spain, Lombardy, and Venice, (for a man of ſervice in thoſe days could uſe only the piſtols and carabines of Breſcia, or a ſword tempered in the Ebro) he bethought himſelf prudently and ſenſibly to eſtabliſh manufactures of arms in all convenient places throughout his whole dominions. In all which inſtances, not to ſubjoin a great number of others, as the reformation of law, and abridgment of law-ſuits, *&c. &c.*; he has been wiſely and faithfully copied by a prince who bears a reference to him in ſimilitude of actions, as well as in the likeneſs of ſituation. But the parallel is too plain to be dwelt upon with more minuteneſs.

And laſtly, as it was a maxim with Guſtavus to perform as much as he could in his own perſon, he requeſted an interview at a frontier town called Ulfſbeck (others ſay Halmſtadt) with Chriſtian king of Denmark, in order to leave his dominions unexpoſed to any invaſions from that quarter; and all theſe difficulties being previouſly adjuſted, he publiſhed the famous conſtitution, *De adminiſtratione & incrementis civitatum in regno Suecico.* But there ſtill remained another reaſon for renewing a good underſtanding between Sweden and Denmark, for the kings of either country plainly apprehended, that the new commotions

‡ Loccen. Hiſt. Suec. 535.

in

in Bohemia and the incorporated provinces deſerved to be watched with an eye of vigilance. And therefore having exchanged all matters of compliment and civility on an open plain, with enſigns flying, drums beating, and a reciprocal diſcharge of muſquetry from the little armies that eſcorted them, they retired to a neighbouring city, and paſſed the ſpace of time from February 25th to March 11th in hoſpitality and friendſhip *. 1619.

Nor was Guſtavus's attention to the troubles of Bohemia and the annexed territories ill directed; for Sigiſmond at that moment had decreed a body of Coſſacks to march to the emperor's aſſiſtance, and had exhorted by letters the duke of Lignitz proteſtant general in Sileſia, and the Bohemian nobles to make their timely ſubmiſſions to the court of Vienna †.

In the year 1620, when Guſtavus was meditating how to make an effectual invaſion into Poland, (which project was carried into execution the enſuing year) Sigiſmond formed a deſign, ſay ſome, to entrap this enterprizing and magnanimous neighbour. With his connivance and privity therefore, colonel Farenbach had orders to make an offer of ſurrendering into Guſtavus's hands ſeveral fortified towns in Livonia, with a view thereby to ſeize his Swediſh majeſty at ſome conference thereupon to be held, and make him priſoner; but the ſtratagem by ſome chance or other took air, and the whole negotiation vaniſhed in an inſtant. And thus Sigiſmond was obliged to repoſſeſs his towns; nor did the loſs of them diſcontent Guſtavus, as he ſtill continued proprietor of his own perſon and liberty. 1620.

By Farenbach's appearing at this time in the Poliſh ſervice, (for though a Lifelander by birth, he had born command under the houſe of Auſtria) it is pretty certain, that a ſort of clandeſtine aſſiſtance (though the point hath hitherto been over-looked in hiſtory) had been conveyed into Poland by the Auſtrian miniſters nine years at leaſt before the noted period of Walſtein's diſpatching colonel Arnheim upon that errand at the head of 10000 men; which ſhews, that the pique

* Laurea Auſtriaca, pagg. 145, 146.

† Ibid. Lotichius de Rebus Germ. fol. tom. i. 224.

1620. and reſentment which the king of Sweden had conceived againſt his Imperial majeſty was an inveterate wound of long duration, and the memory thereof pre-diſpoſed him for a number of years, (though reaſons of prudence checked his inclination) to make ſome honourable repriſals by a German invaſion in his own behalf, whenever a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf.

But to return from this ſlight digreſſion: notwithſtanding I have thus related the audacious enterprize of Farenbach *ex fide codicum*, yet ſtill it is my own private opinion, that his want of ſincerity in this affair pointed towards Sigiſmond, and not Guſtavus; for why otherwiſe ſhould the prince laſt mentioned admit him afterwards into his ſervice, and entruſt him with large ſums of money, in order to levy 3000 men in Holland and Denmark? Yet though Farenbach at this period of time appeared not to be a villain in the eyes of Guſtavus, nor perhaps was he; nevertheleſs he ſoon convinced the public, how dangerous it was to repoſe any truſt or confidence in him, for he ran away with the king's money, and enrolled himſelf a ſecond time under the Imperial enſigns; and he it was who at the head of his German regiment firſt entered the town of Bamberg in 1632, when Tilly's army fell upon the troops commanded by Horn, and obliged that general to retreat; which vigorous attack ruffled the temper of Guſtavus for a few moments, as it was the firſt and only ſmall diſgrace worth notice which the Swediſh armies met with during two of the moſt extraordinary campaigns that perhaps ever were made.

This Farenbach was one of the ſtrangeſt mixtures of inconſtancy, perfidiouſneſs, ability, and bravery, that is to be found in modern hiſtory. For at the time he beat the Swedes at Bamberg, he correſponded with Guſtavus at Mentz and Francfort: and at length (though this indeed happened near twelve months after the king's death) was condemned publicly at Ratiſbon, upon preſumption of having maintained an epiſtolary intercourſe with the late Guſtavus, in reference to betraying the town of Ingoldſtadt, which general Cratz intended to deliver up in the ſame manner the enſuing year. As officers of faſhion in thoſe times were beheaded, without being diſgraced with bonds or fetters, he

ſprung

ſprung from the ſcaffold, and wreſting a partizan from the hands of one of the guards, killed four ſoldiers directly, and wounded ſeveral; but at length was oppreſſed by numbers, and cut to pieces. In that inſtant a courier arrived from Vienna, with a reprieve, or pardon, obtained by the interceſſion of his lady and friends, (for in him fell the beſt engineer in the Auſtrian ſervice, having learnt his profeſſion under no leſs perſon than Guſtavus) upon which incident an Italian author *, with all the gravity of a Spaniſh caſuiſt, gives this ſober moralizing advice; "Courteous reader, if ever it is thy misfortune to be condemned to ex- "ecution, walk ſlow, create excuſes, and deviſe delays; who knows but "a pardon may arrive the very laſt moment?" 1620.

And now Guſtavus thought fit to embark in a different enterpriſe from all thoſe already recited: for pre-ſuppoſing that one day or other he might find himſelf embroiled with the houſe of Auſtria, which ſeemed (in caſe ſhe could once thoroughly humiliate the princes of the evangelical union) to aſpire at nothing leſs than univerſal monarchy, he judged it highly expedient to make a tour through the empire †, attended only by a friend and ſome domeſtics, under the diſguiſed name of monſieur GARS ‡; which four letters being ſagaciouſly analyſed, make the four initials of *Guſtavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ*. When this preciſely happened, I was long at a loſs to form any ſolid and well grounded conjecture. Some ſuppoſe it to be juſt before he invaded Germany, which appeareth improbable ‖; but an excellent book lately publiſhed **, (the preface to which may be conſidered as a maſter-piece of hiſtorical correctneſs) gives us aſſurance in ſo many words, "That "Guſtavus in the ſummer of the year 1620 paſſed in a diſguiſed habit "through the chief towns in Germany, and ended his journey at the "court of Berlin, in order to ſee the young princeſs of Brandenburg, "whom he intended to marry ††." So great an idea had he of previous certainty in matters of love, as well as in affairs of war.

* Riccio de Bellis Germanicis. L. x. 4°. Ven. 1648.

† Supplement of Foreſti.

‡ Swediſh Intelligencer, part iv. 183.

‖ Riccio de Bellis German, p. 191. &c.

** Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carlton.

†† Letter from Sir Dudley to Secr. Naunton, July 20, 1620.

And

1620. And here a ſecond particularity deſerves ſome notice. I have been aſſured by a perſon of excellent parts lately deceaſed, who had travelled many years in ſearch of hiſtorical knowledge, that the name of Guſtavus Adolphus is enrolled among the ſtudents of Padua; but if ever that prince was there, it muſt have been in his younger days, as I hinted before, or by making a romantic digreſſion from this preſent peregrination. Upon the like authority it was moreover aſſured me, that Oliver Cromwell appears to be regiſtered in the ſame Paduan matricula, and yet hiſtory maintaineth a profound ſilence in both theſe reſpects; though each paſſage (except my memory deceives me) is confirmed by a modern Italian author, in his account of that ſeat of learning; but as I neither remember the writer's name, nor have the performance by me, it becomes me to expreſs my ſentiments on the ſubject with reſerve and diffidence.

It is highly probable that the tender and warlike paſſions alike engaged his Swediſh majeſty to make a journey into the empire. He had a view perhaps, even ſo far back as the preſent period, of having ſomething to ſay to the Germanic ſyſtem: and as to Maria Eleonora, ſiſter to George William then elector of Brandenburg *, then in the twentieth year of her age; ſhe appeared to be a conſort worthy of him, both as a heroine and a Chriſtian. By a painting I have ſeen of her, ſhe was a beauty of the graceful and majeſtic kind: and moreover, a connection with her brother was not to be overlooked by one, who had conceived an idea of erecting ſome future edifice upon German ground. Nor may the perſon of Guſtavus be paſſed by here without remarking, that he was one of the talleſt and moſt graceful figures in all his army, large limbed, but not corpulent: yet ſomething inclined to plumpneſs towards his latter days, though his bulk never encumbered or incommoded him; his eyes of light gray had a piercing clearneſs attempered with benignity, except when anger diſcompoſed them; his hair fair

* George William was a weak prince and not very proſperous, for Schwartzenberg his prime miniſter betrayed him perpetually to the houſe of Auſtria. His two uncles, the duke of Jagernſdorf and the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, were both put under the ban of the empire. He married the princeſs Charlotte, ſiſter to the king of Bohemia. *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brand.* 40, 41.

coloured,

coloured, his noſe gently aquiline, his forehead large, and his complec- 1620.
tion florid.

In more barbarous ages his look and ſtature might have advanced him to the regal dignity: for hardly a Swediſh horſe could carry him when completely cloathed in armour; but by all the paintings and prints I have ever ſeen of him, of which the number cannot be recounted, he appears, even making allowances for the mode of dreſs, to be much older than he really was, which I attribute to the violent conſtant fatigues of his mind and body. There is a thoughtfulneſs mixt with ſpirit in all his looks when well drawn, and a ſort of recollection joined with fortitude. And indeed, as he united the ſtateſman with the warrior, neither his limbs nor his mind were ever at eaſe; for he negotiated and made campaigns, without ever being diſmayed or puzzled, from the ſeventeenth year of his age to the hour of his death. So that no warrior or miniſter ever better deſerved the device and inſcription on a medal which an ingenious foreigner, the chevalier Edlinger, once ſhewed me; the emblem was a cube, with this motto, AEQUALIS SEMPER ET ERECTUS.

Guſtavus introduced his queen into Stockholm with extraordinary pomp, and the nuptials being there ſolemnized, appointed the ceremony of her coronation in the month of November. This illuſtrious and amiable princeſs, after one or two diſagreeable miſcarriages, at length brought him a daughter called Chriſtina in 1623, who died the enſuing year; and then a ſecond Chriſtina, who at a year old was declared by the ſtates heireſs to the throne in 1627. This decree of the ſenate is ſtill to be ſeen *.

Mean while Guſtavus made great preparations for war by ſea and land, and introduced a ſecular ſolemnity in memory of the reformation eſtabliſhed in Sweden. The edict againſt travelling was enforced likewiſe by additional clauſes, (inaſmuch as ſuch practice thinned the kingdom of ſubjects, and promoted evil deſigns from enemies) yet leave was allowed the nobility, out of regard to their antient privileges, to purſue their ſtudies, or cultivate the art of war in foreign countries, upon

* Sueciæ Reſpublica, 12°. 1631, p. 249.

1620. condition they firſt obtained a royal paſſport, and reſided not in ſuſpected places. Laſtly, a new attention was given to the army and navy, and a ſlight tax levied to that effect upon corn and cattle.

His Poliſh majeſty at the ſame time, whilſt Guſtavus was employed in the purſuits of love and glory, eſcaped fortunately from a ſudden danger in his own capital at Warſaw: for one Piecharſchi *, a nobleman of diſtinction, had conceived a violent averſion againſt his ſovereign, partly on account of his political and military conduct, (for he gave the better half of his time to muſic and chymiſtry, and twice loſt the throne of Muſcovy by his neglect †) and partly becauſe his majeſty had aſſigned curators to take upon themſelves the management of his eſtates, which were very conſiderable: repreſentation being made that he was diſcompoſed in his intellects. Like Felton his ſucceſſor in that deſperate trade, who aſſaſſinated Buckingham, he was ſuppoſed to have no participant in the undertaking; but one morning as the king, attended by his courtiers and guards, entered the veſtibule of the great church, Piecharſchi ſtarted from behind a private door with a ſmall battle-axe in his hand, and ſuddenly aſſailing the perſon of his maſter, gave him two ſtrokes, one on the cheek, and one on the ſhoulder. Sigiſmond dropt immediately, but neither wound proved mortal. Few people were in the church, and fewer ſtill obſerved the blows. Mean while a poor Italian muſician who belonged to the choir, but could not ſpeak half a ſentence of Poliſh, augmented the confuſion (for he beheld the whole affair) with crying aloud, *Traditore, traditore!* which the by-ſtanders concluding to ſignify *Tartari*, ruſhed out of the cathedral to ſave themſelves, ſuppoſing that an inundation of barbarians had burſt into the city ‡. Vladiſlaüs the king's ſon, aſſiſted by a croud of courtiers, ſoon ſeized the aſſaſſin and diſarmed him. He made no confeſſion nor acknowlegement, lamenting only that his right arm had

* Geſtorum in Europa ſingularium. Cracov. 1646. This otherwiſe excellent book muſt be conſidered as very partial to the Poliſh cauſe, as will appear by confronting it with Loccenius, M. Bayle and others. I thought it proper to give the reader this precaution once for all.

† Tacite d'Amelot de la Houſſaye, L. 6, p. 516, 518.

‡ Kobierziſki Hiſtor. Vladiſlaï in loco. Piaſecchii Chronica, p. 404. Brachelii Hiſt. noſtr. temp. 37.

deceived him. His breaſts were torn off at two different gates of the city with red-hot pincers, which operation he ſubmitted to without a word or a groan*. His limbs were then diſparted by wild horſes and burnt, and their aſhes thrown into the Viſtula. 1620.

By this time Guſtavus was determined to reduce Poland to reaſon by ſome methods or other: of courſe he made the Poles repeated offers of prolonging the truce, or concluding a peace, but Sigiſmond, notwithſtanding the Turks, Tartars, and Muſcovites attacked him on every ſide, perſevered inacceſſible, in oppoſition to all advances that could be made towards him on the part of Sweden. Upon this Guſtavus declined the ceremony of previouſly diſpatching an herald to denounce his intentions; as he underſtood the war, in the language of the jus-publiciſts of that age, to be *protractum duntaxet, non ſublatum.* Therefore for prudent reaſons, conformable to his natural ſpirit and turn of mind, he began the campaign, at the head of four and twenty thouſand men, with a very critical and difficult undertaking, the ſiege of Riga, the capital city of Livonia; wiſely pre-ſuppoſing, that the reduction of the province would depend entirely upon the fate of the metropolis. Riga was a large city, the emporium of all the countries that lay round it, well fortified, according to the uſages of thoſe days, and carrying on a conſiderable commerce. It ſtands on the river Dwina, which divides it into two unequal parts, not to mention its being protected by a ſafe and commodious harbour, removed about two leagues from the ocean. This town belonged originally to the knights of the Teutonic order: it then formed itſelf into a republic, and ſubmitted to Poland on the ſame footing with Dantzic.

Had Guſtavus been of a timorous or ſuperſtitious temper, he ſuffered enough at the beginning of this enterprize to have deterred him from the attempt. A violent ſtorm in the mouth of the Dwina diſperſed and ſhattered a good part of his fleet, in ſpite of all the care of Gildenheim and Fleming, the two admirals; but his maxim was always to gain ground upon diſappointments, and redouble his activity, inſtead of waſting time in unavailing reproaches upon himſelf or others.

* Laurea Auſtriaca, p. 341, &c.

1621. Keeping his eye therefore firm on his object, he landed his four and twenty thouſand men, and inveſted the city. The principal officers that ſerved under him were De la Gardie, Wrangel, Horn, Banier, Oxenſtiern, and Ruthven a Scottiſh colonel: names well known in the ſucceeding parts of our hiſtory. Mean while his re-aſſembled fleet protecting the mouth of the harbour, conveyed to him all proper ſupplies, and prevented not only the enemy, but all neutral powers from throwing any relief into the town, whether of men, ammunition, or proviſions. What was ſtill more fortunate for him, the grand ſignior had relinquiſhed purpoſely the ſiege of Babylon, in order to pour the whole torrent of his forces into Poland *; ſo that 60000 troops, under the conduct of an old and experienced officer, namely, Chodkievi prefect of Lithuania, (who died ſoon afterwards of a broken heart) were looked upon as nothing more than barely ſufficient to check the depredations of 300,000 infidels.

Now though Guſtavus effected the debarkation of his troops at Mulgrab with great dexterity (a circumſtance of war then little known, and to which he gave uncommon attention) yet it was not in his power to perform any ſervice very remarkable, till velt-maréchal De la Gardie arrived with the Finland regiments. His majeſty then opened his intentions to the ſoldiers in a ſet ſpeech, and having run a line round Riga, inveſted it according to form: encamping chiefly on the ſand-banks to the eaſt of the Dwina. In his own quarter, which conſiſted of 6000 foot and 800 horſe, ſerved prince Charles his brother, Oxenſtiern, Horn, Banier, and count Mansfelt. De la Gardie extended himſelf on the king's right hand, having under his command the pretorian foot-guards, and three regiments of infantry, (making 4500 men) and 300 horſe. Wrangel directed the third ſtation at the head of his own and Ruthven's foot-regiments, with 700 cavalry; being ordered to encamp on the king's left hand, at or near a place called Heintz's farm: and Seaton, a Scots gentleman, commanded the fourth diviſion, which lay encamped round a wind-mill, and was neareſt the town. Mean while colonel Henry Fleming (for the admiral

* Brachel. Hiſt. noſtr. temp. 52.

was named Claudius) having turned his ſoldiers into pioneers, guarded the iſlands in the Dwina, and alſo the weſtern ſhore of that river next to Dunamond-fortreſs, whilſt the ſhips lay ſtationed in the mouth of the harbour. I am the more minute in deſcribing the diſpoſitions of this ſiege, as it was the firſt Guſtavus made in full form, and as it was a maſter-piece in the intentive parts of war, (wherein his great talent lay) notwithſtanding all the operoſe and expenſive performances of Spinola in the Low Countries ſome few years before. 1621.

The town of Riga was well prepared for defence in every reſpect. It was guarded with good baſtions and well-fraiſed half-moons; the citadel was garriſoned with a conſiderable body of regular infantry, and two troops of horſe; and the citizens undertook to ſuperadd to them 400 experienced ſoldiers, and their own militia. How well they performed their duty, the duration of the ſiege will ſoon ſhew; for their attachment to Sigiſmond's intereſt appeared to be quite enthuſiaſtical.

Guſtavus ſpared his attention upon no occaſions; and on every caſual occurrence hazarded his perſon without difficulty. As it was the firſt ſiege of conſequence he ever engaged in, he appeared, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, a very Proteus in command; ſuſtaining in the ſame day the characters of general, engineer, common aſſailant, and pioneer; for at Riga in particular he often ſtripped to his ſhirt, and wrought in the trenches with pick-axe and ſhovel, exhorting his brother Charles Philip, and the ſeveral officers who ſtood round, to follow the example.

This unparalleled vigilance and application to every object, greater or leſſer, ſoon threw him into the way of danger: for in ſome preparatory meaſures he took on the ſand-hills in his own quarter, he miſſed little of diſproving an obſervation made by Charles V, that no king had ever been killed by a cannon-ball *, ſince a ſhot of conſiderable ſize paſſed directly on the very line where he ſtood a few moments before. Some time afterwards he conceived his preſence to be neceſſary where Seaton commanded, and there a ſecond ſhot killed ſome ſoldiers that ſtood near him, and daſhed the blood of lieutenant-colonel Stakelberg upon

* Bayle's diſcourſe on Guſtavus Adolphus.

1621. his cloaths; and on another occaſion, during the continuance of this ſiege, a third cannon-ball pierced his tent, and glanced towards him in a direction, as if it was predeſtined to deſtroy him *. Upon theſe events he changed the poſition of his batteries, and made himſelf maſter of higher ground, commanding the town and raking the ſtreets through and through where-ever the leaſt opening preſented itſelf. But as he choſe not to introduce an invaſion with acts of bloodſhed, foreſeeing well that it was almoſt impoſſible to enter the town by ſtorm, he ſent his trumpeter to the commander and magiſtrates three ſeveral times with propoſals of an honourable nature, conceived in courteous terms; but they on the laſt meſſage, in order to preclude all hopes of accommodation, received and diſmiſſed the royal ambaſſador blindfolded, returning him to his maſter quite overcome with ſpirituous liquors, and without an anſwer. Upon this the Swedes redoubled the efforts of their batteries, and threw more bombs into the town than ever had been known in ſo ſhort a ſpace with the ſame quantity of artillery. What kept alive the ſpirits of the defendants, was a reliance on Sigiſmond's promiſe of raiſing the ſiege: but that prince was ſo embarraſſed by the Turkiſh invaſion, that it was not in his power to make good his intentions to any notable purpoſe. Wherefore to remedy this defect, Radzivil prefect of Leſſer Lithuania, and one of the firſt men of quality in Poland, marched ſuch troops as could be ſpared, namely, 10000 foot and 4000 cavalry, to the aſſiſtance of Riga; nevertheleſs, aſtoniſhed at the precautions Guſtavus had taken, he contented himſelf with gazing at a diſtance from the banks of the Dwina. He had only ſuch troops with him as in the emergency of affairs could then be diſpatched, propoſing to throw ſome ſupplies into the town, in caſe he had not the ability to raiſe the ſiege. The beſieged, conducted by one Burk an Iriſh officer, made two attempts to croſs the Dwina in ſhips, and ſecure an entrance to ſome of Radzivil's troops: but Guſtavus thundered upon them in ſuch a manner from his batteries, erected previouſly on the ſhore for that purpoſe, that it was thought proper to diſcontinue all future attempts of the like nature. Mean while the king, by way of gallantry, enter-

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 537.

tained

tained Radzivil with a general cannonade; and as one ball happened to pierce the tent of that commander, he entered into a ſlight ineffectual ſkirmiſh the next day, and then departed. Upon this the king redoubled his efforts, and filled the town-ditch with faſcines and rubbiſh, having firſt cut off the communication with the rivers, and rendered himſelf maſter of Dunamond-fortreſs, a ſtrong place to the north of Riga. He then ſent the magiſtrates a freſh ſummons, admoniſhing them of their danger, and the impoſſibility of their relief, to which they returned an abrupt and rude refuſal; enraged at which, he took an half-moon by ſtorm, and the garriſon in return ſprung a mine that lay beneath it, and blew up an hundred Swediſh ſoldiers into the air; nevertheleſs, their companions re-poſſeſſed the ruins, and made a freſh lodgment among them. The art of mining was carried to great perfection in this ſiege, for both parties made various extraordinary efforts, which almoſt deſerve to be repeated; and his majeſty himſelf ſtill continued to work with his Dalecarnian miners below ground, with the ſame ſpirit as he had laboured with the hardy Finlanders above ground in firſt opening the trenches. At length a breach was made, and Guſtavus, in order to paſs the town-ditch, formed the firſt idea of a project which he executed afterwards more glorioufly on the banks of the Elb and Lech. In a word, he contrived a flying bridge of wood, and rendered the ſurface rough and unſlippery, with ſtrong nails and pitched ſackcloth, ſeizing the opportunity under favour of the night to throw it croſs the foſſé, which, though filled with faſcines and rubbiſh, retained ſtill too much water to admit the paſſage of a large body of men. The colonels Seaton and Horneck * conducted the attack, but the ardour of the troops, which crowded forwards in greater numbers than was ordered for the firſt detachment, unfortunately broke down the machinery; inaſmuch as neither admonitions nor threatenings could reſtrain their impetuoſity. In this accident the gallant Seaton broke his thigh, undergoing afterwards an amputation; and the garriſon at night reduced the royal architecture to an heap of aſhes. 1621.

* This colonel was condemned afterwards in Germany for cowardice, but the queen begged his life.

Guſtavus

1621. Guſtavus, not in the leaſt diſmayed by this diſappointment, applied himſelf once more to mining, being reſolved, if he could not paſs over the ditch, to enter the town beneath it. He laboured therefore in a freſh mine that very night; for the beſieged ſtill expected (contrary to all probability) a ſecond relief from Sigiſmond. During this interval, the king ordered his young military favourites Horn and Banier, attended by Chapelle, a French officer, and Muſter, a Scotſman, to ſtorm the ſand half-moon at the head of 3000 choſen ſoldiers. Theſe brave warriors ſoon croſſed the ditch, and diſlodged a part of the enemy; but when they approached the ſummit of the fortification, the beſieged made ſuch an incredible reſiſtance, that they were repulſed by main force. Beams of wood were thrown upon them in order to cruſh them, and huge ſtones and grenados diſperſed among them in every part. Chapelle's ſon died bravely, for he continued fighting to the very laſt; Horn and Banier were both grievouſly wounded, but his majeſty to comfort them, though unſucceſsful, ſent them both the order of knighthood that very evening. Upon this ſlight ſuperiority the garriſon propoſed a ſally, but the prudent magiſtracy impoſed a negative on ſo raſh an undertaking.

And now, towards the middle of September, matters approached to the very laſt extremity, for the Swedes had formed their mines under the town-ditch, and beneath the fortifications that lay round it, whilſt the king (in order to prevent ſupplies from entering the city) having thrown a ſtrong boom croſs the Dwina, (which ſome have thought to be his own invention) and prepared two new bridges capable of admitting five ſoldiers in front, his determination was to fire the mines at once, paſs his aſſailants over the bridges in two places, and give the town a general aſſault with all his army. It was then the inhabitants, after an obſtinate defence for the ſpace of ſix weeks, began firſt to be terrified: for on the one hand the king had undermined their walls in every part, and on the other hand their garriſon was enfeebled, their ammunition conſumed, and all hopes of relief appeared chimerical and inſubſtantial. Now though Guſtavus knew their diſtreſſes, he affected ſtudiouſly not to diſcern them, in order to give the Livonians a right

notion

notion of his generoſity. Morally certain of poſſeſſing Riga in a day and a night, he allowed the beſieged a deliberation of ſix hours, at the concluſion of which hoſtages were explained, and a capitulation ratified. Mean while, from a true ſenſe of military merit, he granted the inhabitants very honourable conditions, though they had ſpoken of him during the ſiege in diſreſpectful and injurious terms *, and permitted them to incorporate themſelves into one ſyſtem with his own ſubjects. Theſe acts of benignity and magnificence aroſe partly from the dictates of his own heart, and partly from a good maxim of policy, always to behave humanely and generouſly in a conquered country; of courſe he never once upbraided the natives for the fatigues and miſchief their obſtinate reſiſtance had created to himſelf and his troops. And as all great and good men, however modeſt they may be, feel ſome complacency upon having rightly perfomed any noble and illuſtrious action, his majeſty in the famous ſpeech he made nine years afterwards to the generals of his army near Nurenberg, on the ſubject of their avarice, cruelty, and expilations, in a decent tranſitory manner juſt ſuggeſts to their recollection his own diſſimilar conduct at the ſurrender of Riga. 1621.

But to return to my ſubject; the inſtant Guſtavus entered the town-gate, he directed his ſteps to the great church of St. Peter, where he kneeled down, and returned his thanks to God in a ſhort prayer. As to allegiance, he told the inhabitants, *he never deſired or expected better from them, than they had ſhewn their former maſter: upon which account he ſhould not only preſerve their privileges, but augment them.* The magiſtracy then apologized for their conduct with reſpect to Poland, obliquely upbraiding Sigiſmond, after the repreſentations they had made him of their imminent danger, for returning this cold and jejune anſwer, namely, that the palatin of Wilno (who at that time was employed in Podolia) ought to have taken due care of the Livonian territory.

They then told his majeſty likewiſe †, that Guſtavus made a ſwifter paſſage from Stockholm to Riga, than Radzivil had done from Poland to Riga, and that though the latter commanded troops enough to have anſwered the purpoſe, yet the pre-occupation of the country by Guſtavus entirely

* Memorabilia Suecica Gentis, p. 81.

† In a memorial, dated at Riga Sept. 20, 1621.

fruſtrated

1621. fruſtrated all his attempts, inaſmuch as his Swediſh majeſty had rendered himſelf maſter of every ſtrong paſs, and ſtopped the navigation of the Dwina (in which circumſtance at that time conſiſted one great part of the military ſcience.) They then expatiated much on the clemency and affability of their new conqueror, who far from reproaching them for having made a reſiſtance ſo detrimental to him, told them from his own pure generoſity in ſo many words, that if a ſolid peace could be concluded between him and Sigiſmond in three years, he would allow them to return to their Poliſh allegiance, with reſervation of all their antient rights and liberties: concluding with this remark, *That whoever had occaſioned the loſs of their city* (and whom he meant is eaſy to be diſcovered) *muſt render account for it at the laſt day to the Supreme Being* *: and thus the affair ended.

To this remonſtrance Sigiſmond had not the condeſcention to return an anſwer: but prince Radzivil held the pen in his place, and writ a letter full of acrimony and recriminations; a ſort of return which the brave inhabitants had no ways merited.

There is one circumſtance in his letter extraordinary enough. The people of Riga had repreſented Guſtavus as a prince of unparalleled clemency and generoſity, to which Radzivil replies coldly, "That he was "not diſpleaſed to hear that the king of Sweden was a Chriſtian."

Guſtavus then, at the head of a detachment of 14000 men, having firſt baniſhed the jeſuits from Riga, inveſted Dunamond and took it; in conſequence whereof he next made himſelf maſter of Mittau †, the capital of Semigallia, and place of reſidence of the dukes of Courland. This city then ſubſiſted under the title of a beneficiary poſſeſſion from the republic of Poland, with whoſe intereſts the reigning duke then naturally ſided on account of his relative ſituation: and from compaſſion to theſe circumſtances, Guſtavus generouſly promiſed to reſtore the town to him upon the obſervance of ſome certain conditions ſet forth in the body of the truce then to be concluded between himſelf and Sigiſmond; which engagement was made good veraciouſly by the king of Sweden.

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 537.

† Puffendorf ſays Brittau, but a nobleman of Courland aſſures me there is no ſuch place.

Farther than Mittau he advanced not: for by this time ſome Poliſh parties had committed great depredations near Riga. He therefore flew to the aſſiſtance of his new ſubjects, and left general Wrangel in Mittau with a garriſon of 2000 men. Upon this a truce enſued between Sweden and Poland, which was to remain in force till the expiration of the enſuing year. 1621.

The entrance of 1622 was rendered uncommonly diſagreeable to Guſtavus by the death of his brother *, whom he loved extremely: a young prince of clear courage, and remarkable for an uncommon ſweetneſs of temper. But the ſame year was rendered illuſtrious in another reſpect, inaſmuch as it gave birth to Charles Guſtavus, afterwards Charles X. king of Sweden. 1622.

And now Guſtavus began to be perfectly well apprized, that to *ſubſiſt* an army was far more difficult than to conduct the *fighting part*: for theſe reaſons, returning to Stockholm in the winter, (a ſlight truce being concluded with Poland, as we obſerved before, and oaths of allegiance adminiſtered to the deputies of Riga) he took care to procure a clear notion of his revenues; adjuſted ſome difficulties then ſubſiſting betwixt Sweden and Denmark; and formed ſo good an underſtanding with Chriſtian, that he promiſed neither to allow the Poles to make levies in his dominions, nor permit their ſhips to carry proviſions through the Sound, nor military ſtores; and as the duties of the year 1620, upon corn and cattle, did not appear ſufficient to carry on the war, Guſtavus introduced what was then called an EXCISE, an expreſſion till that time unknown in Sweden: which was defined to be a royal tax levied upon ſuch things chiefly as were eatable and drinkable. The ſtates made ſome objection to this impoſt at firſt, but at length it paſſed with univerſal conſent. His majeſty it is true propoſed it only as a temporary expedient, but (however ſincere his intention might be) it was never afterwards in his power to take it off: being involved every day in more and more intereſting exploits. In a poor country like Sweden, as this was the moſt advantageous, ſo it was the moſt trying contribution that could be de-

* He died at Narva Jan. 25, 1622, aged twenty years and nine months.

1622. viſed. Yet the nation had ſuch a confidence in the integrity and bravery of their ſovereign, that after a few ſlight murmurs, they ſubmitted chearfully: and upon this agreeable compliance Guſtavus determined to move the ſeat of war into Pruſſia, partly as lying nearer home, and partly to ſecure the Baltic, and preſerve it free from depredations and inſults.

Yet nothing could compoſe the uneaſineſs which Guſtavus received from the death of his brother, and his mortification upon that occaſion was rendered ſtill more ſenſible, as he had no children by queen Eleonora. Theſe two events contributed to raiſe Sigiſmond's hopes to the higheſt degree: for that prince, by the way, was the greateſt pretender then in Europe. He had a right to all he could take, and in proportion to his proſpects his pretenſions always improved, not only in tone of ſtyle, but in force of title. His men of law kept pace with the ſword, and aroſe upon every event with new proofs and aſſertions.

1623. Hence it was that Sigiſmond the enſuing year, having formed a deſign of invading Sweden, made a political progreſs through Poland, and being entertained with great magnificence at Dantzic, took care to conſider occaſionally the ſtate of his marine, and the means and poſſibility of tranſporting an army to the gates of Stockholm. But Guſtavus being, as my hiſtorian obſerveth *, *princeps cautus, ad omnes occaſiones invigilans ad avertendum ſi quod ingruerat periculum*, thinking it always the beſt policy to commence an invaſion, inſtead of repelling one, arrived by a ſort of magical tranſportation with a fleet of ſixty-ſix ſhips (of which twenty were large ones) at the mouth of the port of Dantzic. Sigiſmond mounted a watch-tower, in order to behold his kinſman in the character of a ſea-commander: upon which the land-fortreſſes paid him the compliment of a general diſcharge of artillery; and to theſe Guſtavus replied with all his naval cannon, which by ſome was interpreted as a kind of warlike declaration. But his Poliſh majeſty did not chuſe to explain the incident according to this faſhion, contenting himſelf to diſpatch a perſon in the name of the magiſtracy of Dantzic, with orders to repreſent and complain that ſuch practices infringed the liberties of the port in time of truce. Guſtavus received this deputy with great courteſy, pro-

* Kobierziſki, Hiſtoria Vladiſlaüs, 4°. 857—859.

teſting

teſting that he was inclined to cultivate a peace more and more, and 1623.
that he meditated no freſh warlike tranſactions, except under the juſtification of a *prior læſit*. He then aſked abundance of familiar queſtions concerning the king and queen, and charging the repreſentative employed to deliver his compliments to prince Vladiſlaüs, (whom he deſired greatly to ſee) returned contentedly home without cauſing the leaſt moleſtation.

Yet time ſoon convinced the public that Guſtavus's preſages and precautions were extremely well grounded: for the truth was, Sigiſmond received his opinions at that juncture concerning Sweden from diſcontented exiled Swedes, ſuborned Germans, and Spaniſh jeſuits *, ſtationed near him by the court of Vienna, (rarely admitting a ſingle Polander into deliberations of this nature) and of courſe meditated an expedition at the very moment we are now mentioning; and this broke out more diſtinctly the year enſuing, when he demanded large pecuniary aſſiſtances at the aſſembly of the ſenators, and requeſted that the marine might be placed on a new footing, and the land army re-inforced: but the ſtates of the kingdom declined to advance money towards theſe purpoſes, and on the contrary prolonged the truce in a manner no ways conformable to their maſter's inclinations; which gave Guſtavus opportunity and leiſure to form his future enterprizes upon Livonia and Pruſſia †.

State-intrigues produced another miſmanagement on the part of Sigiſmond. Moſt men caſt their eyes on Conoſpoliſki as the ableſt commander in the crown-ſervice: but as that officer was then employed on the ſide of Ruſſia, it was thought neceſſary to give the preſent command againſt Guſtavus to one Zamoſki palatin of Kiow: but Denhoff prefect of Laſci, then all powerful in the cabinet, did not care to admit a repreſentative in Conoſpoliſki's department, leſt the kingdom, in caſe of any notable ſucceſs, ſhould requeſt to ſee him continued. And thus the campaign of a ſecond ſummer was ruined, for Conoſpoliſki arrived not till the month of October ‡.

* Poloniæ rex nunquam excidiſſet regno Sueciæ niſi credulam aurem jeſuitis Hiſpanis, quibus acceſſus per conjugium Auſtriacum liberior patebat in regnum & ad reginam, præbuiſſet. *Arcana Dominat. Hiſpan.* 124.

† Kobierziſki, Hiſt. Vladiſlaüs, 4°. 857—859.

‡ Ibid. 921—923.

1623. Mean while the Spaniards wanted greatly to preſerve Sigiſmond in a ſtate of war againſt Guſtavus, and to this purpoſe his catholic majeſty diſpatched count de Sobre to him with a magnificent retinue. This nobleman, originally a Flemming, wore the order of the golden fleece, and arrived afterwards to high authority in the court at Madrid. In his inſtructions Guſtavus was ſtyled more than once the ſupporter of an erroneous religion, and uſurper of Sweden. The main purpoſe of his legation was to obſtruct the truce, and adminiſter fewel to a more continued war. To which Sigiſmond replied very ſenſibly, That the conſtitution of Poland was no ways congenial to a ſtate of warfare, and that Spain could aſſiſt him only by commanding a powerful fleet to range the Baltic *. But this interruption of a viſionary ſpeculation, (for the Caſtilian ſlowneſs and gravity did not duly conſider the propoſal till five years afterwards) induced him to ſue for a freſh ceſſation of arms that was to hold till June 1625, which favour Guſtavus readily granted him; for he formed this oppoſition merely upon a principle of ſelf-defence, ſince Sigiſmond had placed himſelf at the head of a fleet of tranſports with a view to make a deſcent on the Swediſh territories. Thus the deſigns of Poland were rendered abortive, and the town of Dantzic was obliged to make a profeſſion of neutrality.

1623. During this ſhort repoſe of ceſſation from hoſtilities, his majeſty found
1624. opportunities to make a ſecond reviſion in matters of literature; beſtow-

* This anſwer may be worth preſerving; it is the extract of a letter from Sigiſmond III. to Philip IV.

" *Conditio imperii regiæ majeſtatis qualis ſit, &* " *quibus adſtricta legibus, non ignorat catholica* " *majeſtas: omnia pene in hoc regno ſtatuum arbitrio* " *geri, ita ut de bello bellique nervo, nihil inconſultis* " *ordinibus ſtatui decernique poſſit: quæ res ſæpe* " *neceſſarios & opportunos regis pro publica ſalute* " *conatus retardat, nonnumquam etiam viritos red-* " *dit.*" Hic ipſe regni Sueciæ invaſor, jampridem in ordinem redactus fuiſſet, niſi toties ab ordinibus regni impetratis induciis, falſa honeſtæ pacis & tranſactionis oſtentatione, nobis illuſiſſet. *Ultimò addit*, de paciſcendis cum hoſtem induciis etiamſi ille ab iis abhorrere non videatur. in præſenti rerum ſtatu non cogitat regia majeſtas, magis eas circumſpicit rationes, ut, hoſte hic impedito, *arma in Sueciam transferat*, quod ſi *a claſſe paratior eſſet*, jampridem *nefarii hoſtis* auſus coerciti fuiſſent. Qua in re ſi catholica majeſtas *claſſe ſua litoribus Suecicis admota regiæ majeſtati ſuppetias ferret*, rem dignam et catholico nomine & fraterno amore præſtaret: & haud dubié una eademque ratione Daniæ regem, nunc viſceribus Germaniæ inhærentem, ad tuendum regnum ſuum & præſentis & domeſtici belli oſtentatione retraheret. *Kobierziſki, ut ſupra.*

ing

ing on the univerſity of Upſal * all the patrimonial eſtate belonging to his own houſe of Vaſa †, excepting Lindholm, his family-manſion, and the manour round it, which he thought fit to reſerve; the one and the other remaining now in the poſſeſſion of the Cederhielms ‡. He founded a ſecond univerſity at Abo, and erected ſchools in Lapland; and performed an act of like nature ſome few months before his death, eſtabliſhing and endowing the univerſity of Dorpat in Livonia, with a view to cut off all the inconveniences and expences of travelling into Sweden for the ſake of an education. And Chriſtina his mother conveyed afterwards by her laſt teſtament 5000 *l.* towards the perpetual ſupport of thirty ſtudents at Upſal. Nor was high-admiral Gildenheim, Guſtavus's natural-brother, behind the family in point of generoſity to learning, for he bequeathed ſix little farms for the maintenance of two ſcholars of more diſtinguiſhed genius than the reſt of their companions; and what was ſtill a further ſubject for wonder, his executors for forty years beſtowed the benefaction unexceptionably on the moſt deſerving §. Influenced by theſe examples, the preceptor of Guſtavus, who was an excellent claſſical ſcholar, and well knew the advantages of ſtyle and eloquence, endowed a profeſſorſhip of oratory, and the pupil confirmed it by royal charter. And indeed Guſtavus always ſhewed the higheſt gratitude to this excellent man: for he made him a ſenator and chancellor of Upſal, ſupreme judge in the kingdom of Gothland, and (though his birth was no ways extraordinary) created him baron Duderhoff, and employed him afterwards in ſeveral important embaſſies. 1624.

In a word, the univerſity of Upſal had been quite neglected, and became a ſort of deſart during the reign of John, Guſtavus's uncle, but the donations allowed by the king ſufficed to maintain 150 ſtudents.

How uncommon is the pleaſure to behold the ſtudies of theology, philoſophy and humanity, protected and encouraged by men of the ſword?

* In the whole grant he ceded to the univerſity for ever thirty-ſix manours, and thirty farms, eight eſtabliſhed granaries of tythes, and four mills, in order to ſupport poor ſtudents, as well as augment the ſalaries of profeſſors; ſo that it is probable (notwithſtanding I want authorities whereby to ſupport this conjecture) that ſome crown-poſſeſſions were added to the paternal eſtates of Vaſa.

† *Memoirs communicated.* The preſent owners grandfather was a ſenator.

‡ Ibid.

§ Memorab. Suec. Gent. 157.

And

1624. And by the way, it is probable that one of the moſt remarkable inſtances of the affection which military men have ſhewn to learning is to be found in the hiſtory of Ireland, where the troops in 1622, (if I can read the date right in my papers) at the concluſion of a very fortunate campaign, made a preſent of 1800 *l.* out of their pay to the college of Dublin to purchaſe books; and Uſher and Chaloner ſaw the ſum faithfully applied. And indeed Guſtavus, as far as the hurry and confuſion of a martial life would allow him, teſtified upon all occaſions an high regard for learning and men of letters; giving the public a proof of his excellent taſte, by making Grotius's incomparable book *de Jure Belli et Pacis* (which though mentioned here was not publiſhed till the year afterwards) his delight, his ſtudy, his information; nay, he carried his idea of the author ſo far, that he determined to employ him (whenever buſineſs flowed in faſter upon him) as a public miniſter: with which meaſure Oxenſtiern heartily concurred. This project was reſumed, when negotiations began to thicken extremely in Germany. But the king's premature death rendered the ſcheme abortive for that period.

Returning therefore from this digreſſion, I ſhall continue to inform the reader, that the conditions of the aforeſaid treaty turned purely upon one circumſtance, which was, that neither party at its expiration ſhould be allowed to declare war without two months notice previous and anterior to the 1ſt of June 1625: and this very ſtipulation, by the mere perverſity of accidents, created ſome miſunderſtandings in the enſuing year. Many other punctilious difficulties were ſtarted and refuted *, inaſmuch as all that juſ-publiciſts could deviſe, and all that a ſcholaſtic nation could refine upon, was advanced by Poland: but it may ſuffice to remark, that the ſolid ſtrong ſenſe of Oxenſtiern ſoon pierced through theſe delicate, but thin-ſpread cobwebs of ingenious ſubtilty.

Matters ſtood upon the ſame footing between the two kings: for the rival of Guſtavus was little more or leſs than a ſchoolman on the throne. Diſtinctions without difference made up the half of his policy; he thought all things lawful that he had the dexterity to obtain, and valued himſelf more upon artifice, (if he could reach his object) than upon ſincerity and

* Loccenii Hiſtoria Suecana, 548, 549.

plainneſs;

plainneſs; falſly ſuppoſing, that all circumvention and over-reaching implied ſuperior abilities. On the other hand, Guſtavus was unreſerved and open, generouſly honeſt and devoid of diſſimulation; and it was his choice (though nature had given him talents to act otherwiſe, had it ſo pleaſed him) to oppoſe a ſort of compendious pointed common ſenſe to theory, eloquence, and ſophiſticated diſtinctions; convinced (as hath been obſerved on a like occaſion) that in this and all ſimilar caſes, *The very gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim are better than the vintage of Abiezer.* And indeed, if we examine hiſtory ever ſo carefully, we ſhall find but few families that have produced at the ſame time two contenders of ſuch oppoſite characters as Guſtavus and Sigiſmond, both deſcended from the houſe of Vaſa, and not leſs nearly connected one to the other than in the relation of firſt couſins. Of the two, Sigiſmond alone muſt be conſidered as the perſon irreconcileable: yet, unfortunately for the proſecution of his reſentments, he found perpetual obſtacles (partly occaſioned by his own miſconduct and diſingenuouſneſs) from that honeſt but capricious form of government, *a Poliſh diet.* 1624.

In truth, the good people of Poland had ſenſe enough * (being not a whit inferior to the Italian nation in quickneſs of parts) to diſlike the great abilities of Guſtavus in the character of a ſoldier, ſince it appeared plainly, during the uniform courſe of all preceding campaigns, that he overcame them merely by the arts of fortification and the regular conduct of ſieges; by a new uſe of artillery and uncommon precautions in the article of encampments †, poſſeſſing in an high degree that great military virtue which Tacitus recommends, *non alium ducem* OPPORTUNITATES *locorum ſapientius legiſſe.* On theſe accounts they languiſhed privately for the intervention of peace; nor were reaſons wanting to make an attempt to clog the wheels of war, in order to facilitate that event; for the king had conferred the biſhopric of Warmia on prince John Albert his third ſon then living, who was under the age preſcribed by the eccleſiaſtical laws, being in truth only twelve years old. It was likewiſe contrary to the conſtitutions of the realm, to raiſe a prince of the blood royal to ſuch a ſtation as muſt place him *ex natura officii* in public prefectures, and give

* Brachel. Hiſt. noſtr. temp. lib. ii. 85. † Kobierziſki, Hiſt. Vladiſlaüs, p. 924.

him

1624. him ſeſſion, deliberation and ſuffrage in a national capacity: ſuch proviſion had been made to check the influence of the royal family! The queen likewiſe, who was an Auſtrian by birth *, had given great umbrage to a nation ever fantaſtically vigilant in defence of its liberties, inaſmuch as ſhe had purchaſed from a certain nobleman the county of Zyweck for the ſum of 300,000 *l.* This being a direct infraction of the *pacta conventa*, wherein it is ſolemnly ſtipulated, that the king and the king's family ſhould always continue under an inability of purchaſing, or, in other words, of empoverſhing the nobles and enriching themſelves; and ſo anxiouſly was this reſtriction kept alive, that confiſcations for treaſon devolved not by any right into the regal treaſury, but on the contrary were beſtowed on ſome other perſon who was of the ſame rank and order with him that was proſcribed; with this ſingle advantage of prerogative reſerved to the crown, that his majeſty had power to nominate the party who was to enjoy the forfeiture, under condition he fell under the ſame predicament of rank and ſtation which his predeceſſor had enjoyed.

But the purchaſe abovementioned was attended with other circumſtances, capable of alarming a nation ſo thoroughly tinged with political jealouſy. The diſtrict of Zyweck lay near enough to Cracau to preſcribe laws to it, and the rather, as it confined on Sileſia, Moravia, and Hungary, whoſe inhabitants were of a turbulent and warlike nature, and in proportion more intermedling with reſpect to Poland, as the major part of them conſiſted of proteſtants very ſincere and extremely jealous. What adminiſtered farther cauſe for ſuſpicion was, it lay very convenient, conformably to reaſons already aſſigned, for enliſting ſoldiers to the detriment of the republic: and contained ſeveral fortreſſes, caſtles, and ſtrong paſſes, with power over which the royal family had no right to be inveſted †. It was objected in the next place, that the current coin of the kingdom was debaſed by counterfeiting, and diminiſhed by abſciſſion; upon which point one of the ſenators obſerved, that this was

* Sigiſmond married two daughters of Charles duke of Stiria, father of Ferdinand II. namely, Anne in 1592, and Conſtantia in the year 1605: the firſt in her nineteenth year, and the ſecond in her ſeventeenth. *Genealogiæ Ritterſhuſii*, fol.

† Piaſeccius in annum 1624.

a grie-

a grievance that proved afflictive to every individual, and aſſigned the following ſtate-reaſon for a prompt redreſs, *Privata acrius urunt, publicorum ſenſus facilius tranſmittitur* *. 1624.

But the Lithuanian repreſentatives, as if it were by concerted deſign, refined upon the abuſes of the national coin, by obſerving, that it was not only clipped and adulterated, but reduced to ſuch a ſcarcity in point of quantity, that hardly enough remained to anſwer the common demands of ſubſiſtence, which ſcarcity was alledged to reſult from an ill-conceived and unproſperous war againſt Guſtavus, who to their own knowlege had generoſity enough to allow Poland no diſhonourable peace, whenever the kingdom thought fit to requeſt it properly; and indeed it was Guſtavus's character never to urge an enemy to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs; ſince if ſuch a perſon chanced to prove ungrateful afterwards, or unfaithful, he was always conſcious from a ſuperiority of parts and valour that he had the power in his hands to reduce him to right reaſon, or brand him with ſome mark of condign chaſtiſement.

The obſtructions and difficulties already aſſigned, ſerved to cool that rancour of heart which Sigiſmond always cheriſhed in oppoſition to his kinſman, and paved the way to a ſeries of truces, which he ſigned grudgingly, and obſerved unfaithfully.

Some other national allegations were likewiſe produced. It was remarked, that Sigiſmond had diſpatched a large body of Coſſacks into Bohemia, and plunged himſelf abruptly amidſt the confuſions of the empire, without requeſting the concurrence of the ſtates: which precipitate ſtep had given birth to an irruption of the Turks, inſtigated by the perſuaſions of Gabriel Bethlem, and made Poland one wide waſte of devaſtation and depopulation.

At length the Lithuanian ſenators had the boldneſs to aſſert, that without aſſuming to themſelves the right of prophecy, they would venture to predict what ſort of terms Guſtavus would condeſcend to grant them; (which ſerves to ſhew that a great prince performs as much by dint of correſpondence as by the point of the ſword.) It was obſerved therefore, that upon ſuppoſition all Livonia was reſtored to him, aſſignment ſhould be made

* Brachelii Hiſt. noſtr. temp. lib. ii. p. 86. 8vo.

1624. of the territories of Finland and Eſthonia to ſome one of Sigiſmond's children, in caſe Guſtavus died unbleſt with male-iſſue: mean while Sigiſmond was to preſerve the title of king of Sweden, under ſtrict proviſo that he gave no diſturbance to the actual poſſeſſion of his rival and neighbour.

A diſcuſſion of all theſe matters being thus premiſed, there remained ſtill ſome freſh latent cauſes of miſtruſt and diſapprobation. A clandeſtine and criminal correſpondence had been diſcovered, from the import of certain letters intercepted in the Low Countries, whereby hopes had been given (it was ſuppoſed from prince Radzivil prefect of Leſſer Lithuania) to Gaſton duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. of ſucceeding Sigiſmond in the throne of Poland: upon which the king took the alarm, and denied Radzivil the prefecture of Greater Lithuania, then vacant, to which he had a right both from merit and ſtation: ſubſtituting in his room the prince Sapieha, an old man of great authority, approaching to the eightieth year of his age; rich enough from his own funds to contribute immenſely towards the ſupport of a war, but enfeebled as to his capacity, and converſant in civil life more than the military: from whence the conſequence was, that Radzivil ever afterwards maintained a good intelligence with Guſtavus, and made him an offer of the crown of Poland in 1632.

Upon the whole, the event of this diet proved not unproſperous to the affairs of Sweden; for the friends of Guſtavus had intereſt enough to check the advance of money neceſſary for the maintenance of a northern war: which compelled Sigiſmond, with infinite reluctance, to conclude the truce above-mentioned; during which interval the Swediſh monarch extracted money enough from the province of Livonia to put himſelf into a capacity of reſuming the war with ſucceſs and vigour. The affair of Zyweck was referred to a future diet: and as to the biſhopric of Warmia *, the king was obliged to make proviſion by diploma, that his ſon Albert ſhould neither exerciſe the epiſcopal function, nor take poſſeſſion, till he had arrived to the due meaſure of eccleſiaſtical age; ſubmitting likewiſe to take the oaths of fidelity to the republic,

* Piaſecchii Chronica Geſtorum in Europa ſingularium, in annum 1624.

previouſly

previouſly to all rights of ſeſſion and ſuffrage in the diet: and laſtly, all officers and ſoldiers employed in foreign ſervices, the Imperial ſervice eſpecially, were ſolemnly recalled, under penalty of being conſidered and puniſhed in the capacity of fugitives and rebels; which concluſive point was carried againſt the crown at the very cloſe of the diet, though Sigiſmond ſate himſelf in the ſenate-houſe, and liſtened to the altercations there till break of day. At this period Guſtavus finiſhed the controverſy, which ſtill ſubſiſted in a latent manner betwixt him and Denmark from the year 1622, with reference to the impoſts of the *Sound*, and effected it meerly by the dint of an high and unſurmountable ſpirit. 1624.

Mean while the death of James I. king of England, made no notable variation in the affairs of Guſtavus; and here I will ſpare myſelf the vanity of exhibiting a laboured delineation of his Britannic majeſty's character: ſuch a taſk being the exerciſe of a rhetorician, and not the work of an hiſtorian: ſince it is in an author's power, if he hath any ſkill in hiſtorical painting, to place the picture in this or that particular light, and overcharge or diminiſh the features in meer proportion as fancy ſhall direct, or prejudice and partiality miſguide him. True characters are beſt collected from a fair narrative of facts: and the reader may make his combination as judiciouſly, and perhaps leſs prepoſſeſſedly, than the hiſtorian; for the very mechaniſm of writing, helps to make one a party on this ſide or the other ſide. The more unprejudiced foreigners (if people are inclined to know *their* opinions) ſeem to have had a thorough inſight into James's caſt of mind and politics; Nani informs us, "That he governed the Engliſh and Scots by the machinery "of their natural averſions to each other, upon the principles of a pri-"vate political noſtrum, that eaſe and idleneſs, in the very nature of "things, ſoften and prediſpoſe men's hearts to admit ſlavery: his firſt pro-"poſals at Vienna might have been liſtened to, but they were ſo im-"practicable and abſurd, that the ſubtil Spaniards ſoon ſaw what ſort "of perſon they had to deal with, and availed themſelves accordingly of "his improbabilities and chimeras. They knew likewiſe that he trem-"bled at war, and abominated a rebellion*." And Le Barre tells us in

* Iſtoria di Nani, pag. 138. fol.

1624. words ſo elegant, that I ſhall leave them to work their way in his own language, " *Il étoit d'un naturel doux, mâis d'un eſprit qui ne portoit guères* " *ni ſes ſoins, ni ſes vues au delà de lui-même. Borné au preſent, abandon-* " *nent au tems le ſort de ſa poſterité, droit par charactere, & facile à être* " *trompé; comme il le fut par les fauſſes négotiations de la maiſon d'Autriche.* " *Il s'en aperçut vers la fin de ſa vie, lorſqu'il n'etoit plus tems de ſecourir le* " *Palatin ſon gendre* *."

Charles ſucceeded his father in the crown, and to a certain degree in his politics too: though that ſhall be urged with tenderneſs and allowances. It is true he formed a league offenſive and defenſive with the ſtates of the United Provinces, and equipped a large fleet, to which the latter joined a ſquadron of two and twenty ſhips. Nevertheleſs, without expatiating upon theſe circumſtances, it muſt ever be candidly acknowledged, that James felt ſome remorſe and compunction with reſpect to the Palatinate in his laſt days and hours; and according to the accounts of a veracious and ſenſible author †, (who writ upon authentic memoirs delivered to him by the injured family in queſtion, which had no great reaſons to feel any prediſpoſitions to partiality) charged his ſon, only eight and forty hours before his deceaſe, *as he hoped for a parent's benediction, and that of heaven, to exert all his powers in order to re-inſtate his ſiſter and her children into their hereditary dominions: for*, continued he, *it was my miſtake to ſeek the Palatinate in Spain* ‡. As therefore, in the courſe of theſe obſervations, I have been often ſevere on that ill-judging king, meerly by relating the ſtrict truth, without ever indulging any petulance of imagination, or acrimony of ſtyle, ſo it is a ſatisfaction to me to inſert this little anecdote, whereby James's character is ſo far cleared, as he appears to have died a political penitent.

1625. The year 1625 opened with new tranſactions in the Swediſh ſenate. A vote paſſed for raiſing a ſort of ſtanding army *(De perpetuo milite ſubſidario)* with this reaſon aſſigned, that a warlike ſtrength of ſuch a nature might be always ready to obviate the difficulties of unforeſeen or

* Le Barre, Hiſt. Générale d'Allemagne, Tom. ix. 4°. pag. 557.

† Frederic Spanheim.

‡ Memoires d'Electrice Palatine, Louiſe Juliane, 4°.

ſudden

ſudden events, both in times of war and times of peace; and in order to levy a new fund for this purpoſe, by way of ſuccedaneum to the other taxes then ſubſiſting, a duty was laid upon all corn that paſſed the mill, and the impoſt was intended to favour the poor, who bruiſed at home by hand the little pittance of grain which was barely neceſſary for the ſupport of life. But before this edict received its full ſanction, the ſenate and nation agreed to ſupply the land and naval expences by a voluntary contribution, and ſuperadded a large body of recruits, in order to fill up the neceſſary deficiencies occaſioned by the accidents of war. 1625.

The truce being now expired between Sweden and Poland, Guſtavus, who ſincerely adhered to the good faith of an honeſt warrior, ſent a trumpeter at the time appointed to denounce his intentions, but the ſeverity of the weather rendered it impoſſible for the meſſenger to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion in due ſeaſon. The Poliſh ambaſſadors complained loudly of this neglect, to whom the Swediſh miniſters replied, That the king their maſter had been amuſed beyond all human ſufferance, and that he alone could grant with propriety, what they on their own parts could not preſume to aſk. It was obſerved further, that the deputies of Poland were not furniſhed with ſufficient powers, and that Sigiſmond in his inſtructions of 1624 had implied Guſtavus to be an uſurper; whereas the latter, on the contrary, had not dropped a ſingle expreſſion that could be deemed oblique; nor were they, the Swediſh ambaſſadors, charged with any one ſecret article of direction, it being their ſovereign's cuſtom to explain fully and publicly every circumſtance he propoſed to realize. But the Poliſh repreſentatives ſtill inſiſted, that a war and a treaty were things incompatible at the ſame time, and that Guſtavus muſt firſt diſarm, and then negotiate. Upon this Oxenſtiern *, who was at the head of the legation, aſſumed the argument, being exaſperated not a little; and told them firmly, there ſhould be no ceſſation of arms till the preliminaries of the treaty were adjuſted; and upon *that* groundwork he had his maſter's orders to prolong the truce till Auguſt next enſuing, and not a moment further; ſince otherwiſe the ſeaſon of the campaign would be elapſed, and who would indemnify the Swedes for

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 548, &c.

their

1625. their expences and fatigues? Obſerving at the ſame time, that Livonia was intended to be included in the armiſtice aforeſaid; inſiſting likewiſe, that during this ceſſation it ſhould be allowed the Swedes to draw proviſions from Lithuania and Courland, and that Radzivil ſhould approach their camp no nearer than at a diſtance of ten miles. He then concluded with remarking, that he had the honour to ſerve a prince who knew how to ſhoot opportunity on the wing;——That their propoſals were only a ſtale pretext, calculated to protract the time;—That the king his maſter had the ſword drawn;—That he ſaw his conveniencies, and underſtood how to uſe them.—And thus the affair terminated without deciſion.

Mean while, aſſiſted with ſuch helps as the good natured Swedes had generouſly contributed, his majeſty ſailed for Livonia, having a fleet of ſeventy-ſix ſhips under his command; and by the beginning of the month of April made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Kokenhauſen, an important fortreſs, ſituated near the banks of the Dwina, rendered ſtrong by art, at the expence of the knights of the Teutonic order, and advantageouſly protected by nature. He then conquered Selburg, Duneberg, and Nidorp, (not to mention Potnavia which he had taken before) which places were all well ſupplied with Poliſh garriſons. Afterwards he maſtered Dorpat, which made an imperfect reſiſtance, and ſurrendered through meer deſpair of not receiving relief. Thus he reduced all Livonia in a ſhort ſpace, excepting Dunamond, having marched his army backwards and forwards near 700 miles: and as one of the enemy's colonels had formed a deſign of poſſeſſing Riga, either by treachery or ſurprize, our vigilant monarch intercepted him in the very march, and cut his detachment to pieces. After that, by the dint of good intelligence, he over-reached young Sapieha (who had then ſome ſecond deſigns upon Riga) at the head of the Poliſh army, who loſt moſt of his baggage, and a conſiderable quantity of artillery: for the youth, prompted by animal impetuoſity, ſought to give battle at the very moment he ought to have declined fighting; and ruſhing into a general action with a tumultuous and ferocious ſort of bravery, ſoon fell a ſacrifice to a vigilant, compoſed, and determined opponent. This the very Poliſh hiſto-

rians

rians acknowlege. The king then throwing a bridge over the Dwina, 1625.
which parts Semigallia and Lithuania, and opening a way to himſelf into the latter province, took Poſvolia (which harboured a garriſon of Coſſacks, who greatly harraſſed his march) and then Birzen, a fortification of note in thoſe days, where he found ſixty or ſeventy pieces of artillery, one of which was remarkably fine, being emboſſed and indented on the outſide in a manner to reſemble cracks and flaws, and bound round with an offenſible foliage of iron-work, as if it was intended to render the piece fit for ſervice. In the next place he caſt his eyes upon Courland and Semigallia, and made himſelf maſter of Mittau, Bouſhe, and ſeveral other important places, partly by force, and partly by ſtratagem: yet all theſe ſucceſſes in war were not ſufficient to render him averſe to an accommodation; ſo that it appears at firſt ſight as if it was matter of choice with him, rather to receive laws than impoſe them: though perhaps there may be another reaſon aſſigned, which ſhall be glanced at hereafter. Therefore to this effect he diſpatched Oxenſtiern to propoſe once more a treaty of peace; and Salvius, ſubdelegate to the chancellor in ſuch like conferences, and Horn, (not Guſtavus Horn the general) were ſent before or after him as co-adjutors: but the two latter * fell into the hands of the Coſſacks, and were interrupted in their political voyage: Oxenſtiern, violently exaſperated at this infraction of the law of nature and nations, demanded his aſſiſtants with a tone of authority by way of preliminary; to which Radzivil the Poliſh general at length conſented. Thus they rejoined the chief of their embaſſy, but he and they effected nothing. Upon which event a battle enſued on the vaſt plains of Semigallia †, near a village called Walhoff, about twelve miles from

* Bayle in his hiſtory of Guſtavus mentions Arnitz, Horn, and Salvius, as three ſubdelegates; but here he miſtakes, for the hiſtorian ſays ARVIDUM, HORNIUM, & IOHANNEM SALVIUM: which laſt perſon, whoſe ſurname was Adler, born of mean parentage, was firſt a phyſician, and next a juſ-publiciſt. He then rambled over all the more enlightened parts of Europe, much in the manner of the ingenious baron Holberg in our days, who after having ſtayed long in England, undertook a journey on foot from Calais to Italy on the ſlight foundation of fifty ſhillings, and there ſtudied many years. But Salvius on his return could not eſcape the penetration of Oxenſtiern, who having ſtrongly recommended him to the king, employed him in all caſes of importance, and moſt particularly at the peace of Munſter, being created a ſenator and baron Orneholm.

† The duchy of Courland (which we ought to

1625. from the banks of the Dwina, where it was pretended the Poliſh cavalry would perform wonders, having full ſcope and room to act it; but Guſtavus ſoon convinced Sapieha the father*, (a prince not deficient in fine parts, but too old to become a great commander) that he could conduct a pitched battle with the ſame maſterly direction as he entrenched his camp, or beſieged a town. And here it may be worth remarking, as we obſerved before under the ſiege of Riga, that nothing could be more curious in the military ſcience, than an exact deſcription of this firſt capital battle which Guſtavus engaged in, ſince it was upon the preſent occaſion that he diſcovered all at once his inventive talents in the diſpoſitions of the field: but hiſtorians, like commentators, uſually leave us at the critical ſtreſs of doubts and difficulties, which will appear more eminently when we come to examine how the king loſt his life in the battle of Lutzen. All we learn with reference to the preſent engagement is, that Sapieha conducted no inconſiderable army, for he carried with him the flower of the Lithuanian troops, then thought the beſt in Poland; 400 Coſſacks, and 200 cuiraſſiers; about 900 German infantry, 2000 huſſars, and 400 Heyducs. Nor know we more on the other hand, except that Guſtavus placed himſelf in the centre, and gave great proofs of military genius. Count Thurn the father (and not the ſon, according to the relation of ſome hiſtorians) commanded the right wing, and Guſtavus Horn the left, ſupported by the colonels Plato and Teüffel. The action was ſharp, but ſoon brought to concluſion in favour of the Swedes. Upon which Guſtavus, in the very height of this new proſperity, forgot not to make Sigiſmond a tender of a ſecond peace; for he well knew the tedioufneſs and uncertainty of waging war againſt a ſort of vagabond army, whom it was hard to find, and harder ſtill to fix to a deciſive battle.

to have obſerved in the preceding page) is divided into two provinces, Courland, properly ſo called, and Semigallia. Courland in the old Curiſh language, which is a dialect of the Sclavonian, ſignifies a *flat land*, and Sem-galle (Semigallia) imports a *land on the other ſide*: for the word *ſem* is alſo ſynonimous to land. *Memoirs communicated.*

* This prince Sapieha was called Leo; and the ſon (who had been lately defeated) was named Staniſlaüs.

Be that as it will, the Poles loſt their artillery, their baggage, a good number of ſtandards, relinquiſhing to the enemy many priſoners, and leaving 1600 dead men on the field of battle. It is aſſerted by ſome, that the king of Sweden, previouſly to this engagement, ſent a trumpeter to Sapieha with this ſhort meſſage; *That as there were two ſuch things in the world as peace and war, he made him the compliment of chuſing that which he preferred moſt.* To which Sapieha replied, " That having only one " ambition, his deſire was, to make a fair trial with his majeſty upon " equal ground." Not that Guſtavus complied with this requeſt, (which was then the high military mode) upon a principle of gallantry; but foreſeeing barely, that as his troops were better than the Poliſh ones, and his diſcipline ſuperior, plain ground to him was a ſort of advantage. Moreover, it was highly expedient in his circumſtances to introduce a battle of the deciſive kind; and it may eaſily be gueſſed what induced Sapieha to come to action. The Poliſh armies, it is well known, abound in cavalry, and it was firmly believed in thoſe days, that infantry on flat ground could make no reſiſtance againſt horſe; but the king of Sweden (who firſt ſuſtained the contrary opinion) conjectured otherwiſe, and realized his ideas upon that ſubject more than half a century before the invention of the bayonet, which, when compared with the reformed pike of Guſtavus, may be fairly conſidered as the ſubſtitution of a ſucceda-neum, where no ſuccedaneum was really wanted. Mansfelt's troops, it is true, had performed ſomething of this kind a few years before, but that was effected purely by chance, and the meer dint of neceſſity: nor (though the fact was indiſputable) did he, or any military man, draw concluſions from it. 1625.

Yet Sigiſmond ſtill continued inflexible, notwithſtanding he perceived his competitor to be great in all things, and felt in the ſpace of a few months the ſeveral effects of his extraordinary abilities, not only in a pitched deciſive battle, (the event of which had thrown into the hands of the Swedes all the vaſt duchy of Lithuania, excepting only the town of Dunamond) but in the art of inveſting fortified towns, and in the very direction and management of a Poliſh diet. Add to this, that the diſ-

1625. poſitions of Providence, and the wiſe arrangement of human events, by the artful adjuſtment of Guſtavus, had rendered the military tranſactions of this year highly unproſperous to Poland. Two national misfortunes helped to co-operate to the ſame end: the one was a fire which broke out at Jaroſlau, one of the moſt renowned fairs in Europe, next to thoſe which are held at Francfort and Leipſic, and as the houſes in Poland are all built of wooden materials, the flames ſoon conſumed the city, and all the rich merchandizes therein contained *. The other circumſtance to be lamented was, that the Coſſacks thought fit to invade the Cherſoneſe of Tartary, in order to revenge a brother of the Cham, who had been lately diſmiſſed from the Ottoman ſervice: this irruption forced the grand ſeignior to requeſt that Sigiſmond would recal his barbarians; which obliged his Poliſh majeſty to ſend Conoſpoliſki, his beſt general, to reduce theſe ferocious invaders to reaſon. Thus Guſtavus, during the ſpring and ſummer, obtained a breathing-time of very conſiderable advantage to him.

And here, having mentioned the Coſſacks, it may be matter of curioſity to make a few remarks incidentally upon a race of beings as extraordinary in the military hiſtory of thoſe days, as the Pandours and Talpaches are in the preſent century.

The Coſſacks were not properly ſpeaking an original nation †, but a ſet of irregular ſoldiers, formed upon their own principles into a community. His Poliſh majeſty appointed them a general, (as was the caſe with the Croatians in the Imperial ſervice) but the inferior officers were elected according to their own regulations. They derive their name from the word *coza*, which in the language of Poland ſignifies a *goat*, alluding to the celerity of their loco-motion, and the depredations they make in the countries round them. It was their cuſtom to winter in the iſlands of the Nieper, or Boryſthenes, called *Saporoiæ*, in order to be prepared againſt the irruptions of the Tartars and Turks. In ſummer they roamed from place to place, ſupporting themſelves partly by hunting, and partly by dried fiſh, with which the aforeſaid river abundantly ſup-

* Piaſecchii Chron. in annum 1625, fol. p. 455.

† Brachelii Hiſt. noſtr. temp. 8°. p. 110, &c. Piaſecchii Chron. p. 52, &c.

plied

plied them; and towards the approach of the new year, except the roads had been rendered impaſſable, returned regularly to their cottages, and reviſited their wives and children: in all places of their peregrinations and wanderings ever acknowledging themſelves ſubjects to the crown of Poland. In former times they carried a bow, a quiver, and a ſhort ſword; but in the wars we ſpeak of, they ſupplied themſelves with carabines, head-pieces, and breaſt-plates. Such were the Coſſacks properly ſo called; nevertheleſs it muſt be obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the Poliſh light horſemen in general uſually paſs under that comprehenſive denomination. 1625.

Mean while Sigiſmond their ſovereign, aſtoniſhed with ſuch rapidity of conqueſt on the part of Guſtavus, in order to recover the immenſe tract of ground that had been lately loſt, iſſued out his monitorials to convene a freſh diet at Warſau, immediately upon the opening of the enſuing year; but Guſtavus was expeditious enough to outſtrip the precautions of his rival, and while Sigiſmond was racking his imagination with deviſing ways and means how to extirpate him from the duchy of Lithuania, lo the Swediſh monarch (though the enterprize at that period remained a ſecret) was forming a ſcheme of kindling up a freſh war in the heart of *that* Pruſſia which belonged to Poland. About the ſame time his Britannic majeſty made ſome languid attempts of entering into meaſures with Guſtavus and the king of Denmark, with reference to the reſtitution of the Palatinate; but received very cold and unſatisfactory anſwers from them: ſince they roundly told him, they had nothing to ſend him but matter of unintelligible amuſement, except he gave them an example by diſpatching an Engliſh army into Germany.

Buckingham afterwards (in the congreſs of ambaſſadors held at the Hague) reſumed the point, purely with relation to Sweden, in which ſome advances were made on either ſide: but his Swediſh majeſty, who wanted impatiently to interpoſe in the empire, and ſhorten the wings of the Auſtrian eagle, demanded ſome conditions incompatible with the intereſts of the king of Denmark, who was Charles's uncle, and thus the negotiation was rendered abortive. Nevertheleſs freſh inſtructions came, tending to compoſe all differences between the two northern kings, with a

1625. view it is thought of giving Guſtavus room to interfere in Germany, which was then ſuppoſed to be his predominant paſſion.

Having mentioned Buckingham in this place, it hath been ſuggeſted to me by ſome people, that he and Guſtavus formed a better intelligence betwixt each other a few years afterwards, and that when the duke made his famous expedition againſt the iſland of Rhé, doubting much of the proſperity which might attend ſo extraordinary an enterprize, he conceived a ſcheme, in caſe of diſappointment, (being then abſolute maſter of all men's external ſervices that acted under him) of ſailing directly, and fixing a ſettlement by virtue of a commiſſion from Guſtavus in ſome part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, of which the idea is romantic, but not abſolutely improbable. For Buckingham was a viſionary man of an imagination unbounded. The foreigners give us a better idea of him than our own hiſtorians; he had the preſumption in France to talk to queen Anne in the ſtyle of a lover: and the marchioneſs of Sennecy, dame of honour, who placed herſelf between him and her miſtreſs in order to keep him at a greater diſtance, ſaid to him with a tone of ſeverity, "Sir, people do not "talk thus here to a queen of the realm *."

Baſſompiere, in the journal of his own life, gives us another inſtance of the duke's petulant vivacity: "I had, ſaid he, a long diſputative audience "with his Britannic majeſty, who permitted himſelf in the courſe of the "debate to be hurried away by the violence of paſſion, to whom I an-"ſwered reſpectfully but firmly, when on a ſudden Buckingham moved "from that part of the room where he was ſtanding, and planting himſelf "between the king and me, ſaid pertly enough, *Je viens faire le hola entre "vous deux.*" I muſt obſerve likewiſe, that Richelieu and he hated each other mortally; the cardinal writ him a letter, where he joined the body of his epiſtle to the compellation of Monſieur at the beginning, making no ſpace nor diſtance: and the duke returned him an anſwer upon the ſame principle: for which indeed one cannot blame him; for he ſeems to have remembered ſomething of the ſame nature which paſſed between two grandees in Spain; the one writ a letter to the other and

* Memoires Hiſtor. & Polit. d'Amelot la Houſſaye, Tom. i. 545. which anecdote is confirmed by Nani.

ſubſcribed

ſubſcribed himſelf at the bottom ſimply, *The Marquis*, (implying that this title belonged to him by way of pre-eminence) but the other returned him a ſignature at the bottom of his letter equally extraordinary, for he ſigned himſelf, *The other Marquis*. 1625.

Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all ſucceſſes with reference to Poland, Guſtavus ſtill demonſtrated himſelf inclinable to peace. He did not reliſh a long unprofitable war, which adminiſtered no adequate gratification to his ambition: and as he pitied his ſubjects with the tenderneſs of an affectionate parent, choſe not to emburthen them with extraordinary expences, except profit and glory could make them ample amends for the generoſity of their contributions: and as he perceived Sigiſmond, on the footing things then ſtood, determined to omit no occaſions of diſtreſſing him, in caſe he embarked in another war, and found therein the ſlighteſt check; he therefore ardently deſired to introduce a ſolid peace, or an inviolable truce: both which he had a right and power to preſcribe to his adverſary; but perceiving Sigiſmond to be a man whom he could neither reſtrain, amuſe, or ſatisfy, he at length reſolved to put one favourite ſcheme into execution with a very high hand, (the FELICITER AUDET being his military and political motto) and this was nothing more nor leſs than to produce a war nearer home on a new theatre of action. When therefore it was concluded naturally by the Polanders, he (being now at Stockholm) would make a ſecond irruption into Lithuania, all on a ſudden, to the ſurprize of Europe in general (before the common ſeaſon of opening a campaign) it being only the month of February, having already contented himſelf with the conqueſt of Livonia * or Lifeland, embarked an army of 26000 men in 150 ſhips †, and ſteered his courſe into the harbour of Pillau, which town was then garriſoned by the troops of the elector of Brandenburg, as duke of Pruſſia; but the governor (whom ſome ſuppoſe to be pre-engaged by a proper application of money ‡) had more probably private inſtructions to relinquiſh the place without reluctance to the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, firing only a few pieces of artillery unladen with balls: for Sigiſmond, 1626.

* Lotichius de Rebus Germanicis, fol. Tom. i. 179.

† Idem. Ibid.

‡ Kobierziſki, Hiſtor. Vladiſlaüs, 4°. p. 920.

ſome

1626. ſome days before, had predicted the invaſion of Guſtavus to the ſtates of Ducal Pruſſia and the elector of Brandenburg: (requeſting the latter to conſider himſelf as a poſſeſſor only by beneficiary right from the crown of Poland) and had ſent inſpectors to examine thoroughly the harbour in queſtion, who all returned him ſolemn aſſeverations, that every thing appeared to be in a ſtate of abſolute ſafety, which created afterwards no ſmall ſuſpicions in the royal mind ‖. Nor muſt we, on the other hand, forget that Guſtavus had previouſly tendered a neutrality to the elector, his brother-in-law, which he accepted with thankfulneſs, and by way of return made him an offer of the town and harbour, both as a ſecurity in caſe of retreat, and as the means whereby to collect either contributions or purchaſable ſupplies from the city of Dantzic, the firſt of all the Hanſe-towns, and uſually ſtyled the granary of the north: where great things were dreaded from this aſtoniſhing invaſion of Pruſſia, ſince a grave and pious hiſtorian * aſſures us, that the inhabitants had beheld two armies embattled in the air, and that reciprocal diſcharges of thunder and lightening had performed the effects of artillery.

Pillau, thus circumſtanced, (eſpecially if the caſtle be included, which ſurrendered likewiſe) was a ſtrong place of great importance, ſituated near the iſland of Nerunga, on the coaſt of the Baltic, and diſtant from Koningſberg (a town then celebrated for its wealth and trafic) about twenty miles. A little frith conducts you from Pillau into the lake of Friſchau, which extends itſelf from Koningſberg weſtward to the mouth of the Viſtula; a breadth which meaſures little leſs than threeſcore miles. In this quiet water Guſtavus refreſhed his troops ſome days, and then diſembarked them at the very point where the river Paſſenge, or as ſome call it Paſſeria, diſembogues itſelf into the aforeſaid lake. And here it may be worth while juſt to inform the reader, that Pruſſia (which belonged originally to the knights of the Teutonic order, who in proceſs of time fell a ſacrifice to their inſolence, luxury, and corruption of manners) was divided into two parts, one belonging to the king of Poland, and one appertaining to the elector of Brandenburg. The former

‖ Kobierziſki, Hiſtor. Vladiſlaüs, 4°. p. 921.
* Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gentis, p. 11, &c.

of theſe princes poſſeſſed Dantzic, and all that lies eaſtward on the banks of the Viſtula to a certain breadth: in which tract may be reckoned many towns of great conſequence, as Thurn, Marienberg, and Culm, (formerly the metropolis of the diſtrict) as alſo Elbingen, the moſt flouriſhing and beautiful of them all; and the latter of theſe princes enjoyed a territory which borders to the north on the Baltic ocean, the Curiſh lake, and the edge of Courland; confined eaſtwards by Samogitia and part of Lithuania; having the palatinate of Maſſoria to the ſouthwards, and Royal Pruſſia on the weſtern ſide *. 1626.

Guſtavus, who had but one principal of action whenever he entered a conquered or neutral country, comported himſelf in the elector's dominions with all imaginable moderation, equity, and humanity, and ſo much the rather, as the terms agreed upon between them were perfectly well comprehended on either ſide: paſſing therefore all electoral towns without animadverting upon them, and pointing the courſe of his army to the ſouth-weſt, his firſt ſtep, in order to diſmay the enemy, was laying a tax of 30 *per cent.* on the navigation of Dantzic. After that he took Braunſberg and Frawenberg, (which Pillau in effect commanded) transferring the collegiate and town-libraries of the former place to the univerſity of Upſal, which in truth was more matter of ſhow than real utility; being intended as a ſecret reproof to the friends of the houſe of Auſtria, inaſmuch as Tilly had ſome years before, by the connivance of that court, tranſported very nearly the whole Palatin collection from Heidelberg into Vatican: concerning which unfortunate ſiege, the Heidelbergers to this moment talk of the incredible reſiſtance made by the Engliſh, for it was more a carnage than military engagement on both ſides. Every thing was plundered indiſcriminately from the palace to the artificer's ſhed: nor did thoſe learned treaſures eſcape, which till that time were eſteemed the glory of the proteſtant parts of Europe. This library ſtood in the church of the Holy Ghoſt: moſt of which Tilly by the emperor's orders conveyed to Italy, and a ſmall dividend was ſent to Munich. The Croatians, whether they could read or not, ſecured ſome few books, which were ſold to the learned and curious bit

* Piaſecchii Chronica, in annum 1629.

by

1626. by bit, ſo that one may ſee morſels of this illuſtrious collection, not only in various libraries, (beſides the Vatican and at Munich) but diſperſedly amongſt private hands all over Europe. Amongſt other valuable MSS. there were ſome pieces that the Romaniſts were extremely glad to ſecure from public view: ſuch, for example, was St. Chryſoſtom's epiſtle to Ceſarius, which oppoſeth the doctrine of *tranſubſtantiation*; and many more of a like ſtamp. Nor can a proteſtant till this hour, though ever ſo well received by the cardinals at Rome, (who to do them juſtice are remarkable courteous to men of letters) procure any free and undiſturbed acceſs to ſeveral MSS. that once belonged to the Heidelberg collection.

The elector of Bavaria, who was a prince of great acquired as well as natural parts, had a violent deſire to tranſport this ineſtimable treaſure to his own palace; and if he had, Guſtavus might have given the palatin a freſh inveſtiture into his old poſſeſſions in 1632; but the pope had a fancy to make himſelf maſter of ſo extraordinary an acquiſition: and his requeſt did not well admit of a contravention; for by the way he was the firſt mover of transferring the Palatinate to the houſe of Bavaria, and the court of Munich beſides had a new game to play at Rome, for Gregory XV. (formerly cardinal Ludoviſio) died ſoon after this period, and Urban VIII. ſucceeded him, who well deſerved to be courted on account of his great ſpirit, as well as excellent underſtanding. He had been deputed nuntio by Clement VIII. into France, and had held Louis XIII. at the baptiſmal font. Nor was he over-much prepoſſeſſed in behalf of the intereſts of the Spaniſh faction, with which Bavaria then co-operated. For a theſis had been publiſhed immediately on his election, with this title, *Num Papa eſſet Catholicus?* To which Paſquin by the direction of the party replied, *Tace, tace——Eſt Chriſtianiſſimus* *. Matters therefore being in this poſture, the books were divided; and as a Greek named Leon, librarian of the Vatican, croſſed the Alps on the occaſion, he made no unfavourable diviſion, as to quantity and quality, in behalf of his maſter, when a partition-treaty of manuſcript-learning came to be ſettled between him and one of Tilly's commiſſary-generals.

* Arcana Dominat. Hiſpan. p. 15.

But to return from this ſhort digreſſion: the king baniſhed the whole race of jeſuits from Frawenberg, as he had done formerly at Riga, not meerly as Roman catholics, but as public incendiaries both in war and politics; and it will appear hereafter how ſincerely earneſt they were to be revenged of him, and how capable they demonſtrated themſelves of returning him a countervailing equivalent at no inconſiderable diſtance of time. He then took Ravenſberg by compoſition, with the ſmalleſt loſs that can be well conceived; for a ſudden panic had poſſeſſed the garriſon. 1626.

Some days afterwards he inveſted Elbingen *, where the defendants were almoſt equal in number to thoſe that aſſailed them. And here the king gave a freſh proof, both of his good nature and contempt of danger; for whilſt the commander and burgomaſter were ſigning a capitulation in the royal tent, he walked up to the town-gates, and deſired to be admitted within the walls upon courteous terms. He then aſked pardon of the inhabitants for not making his appearance in a better ſuit of apparel, and conveying himſelf from the crowd, in the midſt of their admiration, ſtepped unnoticed into a bookſeller's ſhop, and deſired the honeſt man to ſupply him with an edition of Buchanan's poems †. And here perhaps, for the remark is proper to be made under any article of this or a ſimilar nature, the public in general may be apt to blame me, for mentioning ſuch little incidents in reſpect to the life of a perſon truly great: but I appeal to every man's heart, whenever he reſpects the character on any one, whether he is not more pleaſed with the recital of little circumſtances unknown, than with a pompous repetition of ſhining actions which have already preſented themſelves within the reach of his knowledge? Illuſtrious perſons are not ill comprehended from minute, common, and unguarded tranſactions; and if the public can ever bear the recital of particularities, it will receive them complacently in the account of a *man*, the very copying of whoſe picture afforded daily bread to half the portrait-painters who then flouriſhed in Europe.

* Piaſecchii Chronica in hunc annum.

† Character of Guſtavus Adolphus. Lond. 4°. 1633.

1626. By the acquiſition of Elbingen, to whoſe governor Guſtavus gave as good terms as the Romans granted Antiochus king of Syria on a like occaſion, he fulfilled what the continuator of Foreſti obſerveth ſenſibly concerning him, namely, that though he had rarely more than an army of 12000 men in Poland, yet he engaged ſucceſsfully ſeveral Poliſh generals at the head of great bodies of forces in the ſame campaign, took the ſtrong and important city of Elbingen, and ruined afterwards two Imperial detachments, which amounted at leaſt to 16000 ſoldiers: obtaining, by the poſſeſſion of the laſt named town, all that a warrior in ſuch circumſtances could deſire; for he procured money, refreſhments, and a vaſt quantity of military ſtores. At the ſame time an infinite number of recruits (many of them ſoldiers of fortune, and Scotſmen) flocked to him from Ducal Pruſſia; ſo that he completed all his regiments to their competent quantity *, and was enabled in three days to march to Marienberg, being the ſeat of the knights of the Teutonic order, into which city one Penclau, a commander in the Poliſh ſervice, had conveyed with great dexterity a re-inforcement of 200 men, whom he was marching caſually into Lithuania. But as the garriſon was ſtill deficient and incomplete, he undertook only the defence of the caſtle, and ſoon changed even that reſolution upon a night's reflection. Not that it is certain whether he feared an aſſault from the Swediſh army, or whether he dreaded the un-ſoldierlike examen of a barbarian court-martial, inaſmuch as he had undertaken to defend a fortreſs without orders: for the Poliſh ſervice in thoſe days was full as punctilious as that of the Spaniards. But be thoſe things as they will, having the honour to be invited by Guſtavus to ſupper, he frankly ſurrendered both town and caſtle during the courſe of the repaſt, leaving in the hands of the Swedes a Poliſh receiver-general, with his provincial cheſt, by way of ſecurity. Fortunately at the ſame time count Thurn joined his maſter with a conſiderable body of cavalry, having left Livonia, and made a very prudent march through Ducal Pruſſia.

Thus reinforced the king took Stum, Chriſtburg, Vormitz, and Brodnick, and formed a lodgment in the two iſlands of Verder, which

* Brachel. Hiſt. noſtr. temp. lib. iii. 128.

are ſurrounded by the Viſtula and the river Nagoth: to which the natural remiſſneſs of the Poles, and the diſſentions that ſubſiſted between their generals, not a little contributed. But in truth the great matter was, that Guſtavus was infinitely their ſuperior, not only in pitched battles, and the art of inveſting towns, but in the method of intrenching his army, and erecting fortifications almoſt in an inſtant; ſo that it was next to impoſſible to force him into an engagement, except he choſe to embrace the opportunity. He then, to open a free paſſage between Sweden and his army, blocked up the mouth of the Viſtula in the narroweſt part, and with great preſence of mind prevented an attempt of the Polanders to burn his ſhips, by reaſoning rightly from the accidental diſcharge of a ſingle muſquet. (This ſtratagem, if we ſubſtitute faſcines in the room of turfs, was preciſely the ſame with that which had been practiſed againſt Breda.) He then rendered himſelf maſter both of Mew and Dirſchau, two ſtrong towns ſituated on the banks of the Viſtula, having thrown a bridge over that rapid and wide-extended river. And here the greatneſs of his parts appeared very conſpicuous, for by pre-occupying theſe places, it was his purpoſe to preclude Sigiſmond from interrupting the important ſiege which he propoſed afterwards to lay to Dantzic: but matters were not then ripe for ſo important an event. Marching therefore with one Brahé *, an officer of twenty-four years of age, at the head of ſome cornecies of Smalandian horſe, he drove the Poles from Gluckſtadt, and ſeized all their baggage: contenting himſelf, at the preſent juncture, to ſend to the Dantzickers (as he approached their city) certain terms of hard digeſtion, of which the principal were to this purpoſe: That all ſhips ſhould pay him a certain impoſt: that the town ſhould enter into a ſtrict and unreſerved neutrality: that his commiſſaries ſhould be allowed to purchaſe corn for ready money; and that the Poliſh veſſels then lying in the harbour ſhould be diſmiſſed; to all which propoſitions, the laſt only excepted, the inhabitants conſented with outward complacency it is true, but with an inward 1626.

* The king choſe him afterwards for his companion, when he croſſed the Rhine in a wherry to attack the Spaniards. He commanded the firſt centre of infantry at the battle of Lutzen, being then count Weiſſenburg.

1626. duplicity. Nevertheleſs, in a ſhort time he made himſelf maſter of the whole Poliſh Pruſſia; for upon this occaſion ſome ſucceſsful circumſtances contrived to correſpond with great abilities. On the one hand Sigiſmond was abſent, and violent perſonal animoſities ſubſiſted betwixt his commanders. On the other hand, Guſtavus was not only a generaliſſimo without a rival, but proveditor of the army, meſtre de camp, engineer, explorer of paſſages, and common ſoldier. He had vigilance to foreſee, activity to examine, and courage to execute whatever appeared to come within the reach of human attainment. Which ſeems to correſpond with what Sir Thomas Roe the Engliſh ambaſſador pronounced concerning him about three years afterwards; "That he was a prince who "had well conſidered *ſi violandum eſt jus:* a moſt temperate and cou- "rageous commander, that doeth all offices both of a ſoldier and coun- "ſellor: *Vir ad magnus res, & revolutiones natus* *". It may be obſerved further, that his troops were well cloathed, well paid, and well ſubſiſted. He allowed of no licentiouſneſs, plunder, cruelty, debauchery, or immorality; and by his example, joined to an exact diſtribution of countenance and cenſure, rewards and puniſhments, made his officers and ſoldiers as like himſelf as circumſtances could admit.

Nor may it be amiſs to obſerve afreſh in this place, that what paſſed between Guſtavus and the Dantzickers, appears to be only on their ſide meer matter of cajolement and trial of ſkill: for they ſent deputies to him juſt to rebate the edge of his keenneſs, and protract the time till Sigiſmond ſhould approach, whom they favoured privately. In effect that monarch arrived ſoon at the head of 30000 men in the neighbourhood of Graudrentz, and then the Dantzickers took off the maſk, and committed ſome hoſtilities on the Swedes, who afterwards treated them as they juſtly merited.

Sigiſmond, after ſome fruitleſs attempts, in one of which he loſt 4000 men near Marienberg, laid ſiege to Mew, a ſmall town in Pomorelia, near the influx of the river Verſa into the Viſtula, and entrenched the main part of his army on a ſteep eminence, by which the Swedes muſt neceſſarily paſs; for as he foreſaw they would attempt to raiſe the

* MS. letter to the earl of Carliſle, October 27, 1629.

ſiege,

ſiege, he wanted to bring them to a ſort of general engagement, which in his judgment, conformably to the nature of the ground, had all human appearances of proving favourable to himſelf. Guſtavus drew near, and examined the approaches with uncommon attention, but foreſaw great inconveniencies from the furious ſweep of two batteries, which the enemy took care to erect, having ſome previous notice of the attack. 1626.

It was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſervice of the campaign, either to raiſe the ſiege, or throw relief into the town; (for on Mew and Dirſchau depended the hopes of poſſeſſiing Dantzic;) but nothing leſs than a compleat victory could effect the firſt, and a certain ſuperiority, like that of a battle ſomething more than half-deciſive, was alone capable of producing the ſecond. That ſharp ſervice was to be performed, every ſoldier well comprehended; how to effect it like men of honour was the remaining difficulty. And here it was the rare felicity of Guſtavus to be puzzled, but not diſmayed; to loſe his conjectures, but not his reaſon; for his mind, on theſe occaſions, gave certain flaſhes of lightning, produced by the meer colliſion of neceſſities. Having marched therefore from his camp at Dirſchau, at the head of 3000 choſen infantry, and 500 horſe, without drums, and without trumpets, in hopes of beating up one of the enemy's quarters, ſo far at leaſt as to throw relief into the town, he determined abruptly, in one of theſe military irradiations, to aſcend the hill, purſuing the track of a ſmall winding by-path; nevertheleſs, at the ſame time, he found the enterprize ſo dangerous, that he thought himſelf obliged, conformably to the cuſtom of the age upon peculiar occaſions, to animate his ſoldiers by a ſhort ſpeech. The brave young Thurn, ſeconded by colonel Hepburn, a Scots officer of great abilities, and of approved courage, conducted the attack.

If the reader can repreſent to himſelf the behaviour of a body of Engliſh ſailors, commanded to climb a very deſperate hill, he may then form ſome idea of that alacrity of aſcending, which, at this time, animated the Swediſh ſoldiers; and as the ſlopes of the acclivity were garniſhed

1626. niſhed with trees, theſe trees ſerved the aſſailants for maſts and cordage whereby to mount.

When Thurn and Hepburn had gained the ſummit, which lay near the banks of the Viſtula, they found the Poliſh ſoldiers entrenching themſelves, like good pioneers, and fell on them with incredible fury. But as the Poles poured in freſh troops every moment, the fight was maintained for two hours with incredible obſtinacy. Upon which Thurn, finding the ſervice to be extremely dangerous, retired a few paces to a poſt which had appeared to him more defenſible. The Polanders attacked him in making this movement with redoubled fury, being re-inforced by a large body of Heyducks and Coſſacks, crying out aloud, "That the Swediſh curs could not bear the bite of the Poliſh "wolves;" but the gallant Bohemian ſoon convinced them, that a ſhort retreat was ſomething very different from a determined flight. During this interval, Guſtavus threw a ſupply of men and ammunition into the town. And here once more it appeared, that infantry were able to reſiſt an equal or ſuperior body of cavalry: for the fire of Thurn's ſoldiers was irreſiſtible, and the pikemen ſtood immoveable, like a wall of braſs. Upon this footing the action ſubſided, of which the ſucceſs was whimſical and capricious; for though the Polanders kept the field of battle, they abandoned the ſiege. Thus the turn of the ſcale inclined rather to Guſtavus's ſide: for he carried his point, and his opponents loſt theirs. Sigiſmond was not preſent in this conteſt, but prince Vladiſlaüs his ſon behaved extremely well; the action laſted two days *. There were ſome other circumſtances uncommonly remarkable in the preſent engagement: for at a juſt average, every Swede killed a man, loſing only one ſeventh of their own number. The Engliſh colonel Moſtyn, and a count Brahé (not the young man we mentioned before) performed particular ſervices that day. The former ſtood firm at the head of 200 German arquebuſiers, and reſiſted every impreſſion the enemy could make. And the latter, by the king's command, had ventured up the hill by another track, attended only with a ſmall party

* Lotich. de Rebus German. fol. Tom. i. 481.

of

of infantry, and ſupported there the fire of the Polanders till he had made himſelf maſter of the ground, and conveyed the intelligence to his royal maſter. 1626.

The Poles were ſo terrified with this deſperate reſolution of the Swedes, that without further ceremony they raiſed the ſiege, though attacked only by an handful of men. This conduct of theirs, as it is commonly delivered down to us in hiſtory, ſeems to me remarkably myſterious; but in truth the matter was, the Poliſh generals diſagreed among themſelves; they knew likewiſe that Guſtavus would immediately cauſe the larger part of his army to join him (being then at a ſmall diſtance from him): and in the third place, the Poliſh camp was ill ſupplied with powder.

Guſtavus entered the town that evening, extolling the fidelity of the inhabitants, and bravery of the garriſon, to the higheſt degree, and allowing no man's good ſervices to paſs by unrewarded. At night, when all the officers aſſembled to prayers in his lodgings, (as was not unfrequent) with a view particularly to return thanks for their maſter's delivery that day, (for his great eſcapes were manifeſt) Botvid, his majeſty's firſt chaplain, who had retired to his devotions apart from the army during the whole of the action, made him his congratulations after the ſervice was concluded: to whom Guſtavus gave this pious and elegant anſwer; *That he little doubted the proſperity of the battle, when Moſes aſſiſted him with his prayers on the mount* *.

In the hurry and confuſion of this conflict, Guſtavus fell twice into the enemy's hands. How he eſcaped the firſt time cannot well be aſcertained; but be that as it will, he was extricated a ſecond time by the admirable preſence of mind of a Swediſh horſeman, who (to conceal his majeſty's quality) cried aloud to the Polanders, "Have a care "of yourſelves, for we will reſcue my brother;" ſince, by the way, it muſt be noted, that he had three or four companions at his elbow. This taſk he performed in an inſtant: when, not long afterwards, Guſtavus perceived his deliverer to be made a priſoner in his turn: and putting himſelf at the head of five or ſix cavaliers, brought him

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. p. 554.

off

1626. off triumphantly. *Now*, ſays he, *brother ſoldier, we are upon equal terms; for the obligation is become reciprocal* *.

Mean while Sigiſmond made ſome ſlight indications of liſtening to a treaty. Place and time being named, the ambaſſadors met, and it was the moſt unmeaning and ſolemn interview that ever was known: for every man affected the gravity, wiſdom, ceremony, and taciturnity of a Spaniard. At length a Poliſh nobleman of ſpirit, provoked beyond the meaſure of patience with theſe ſerious grimaces, broke the ſilence, and propoſed terms, which Oxenſtiern and the others poſitively rejected. And indeed this exp[illegible] of Zamoſki's †, (for ſuch was the propoſer's name) if one may judge of the piece from the ſample, carries with it a very extraordinary appearance, and may ſerve to demonſtrate (at leaſt collaterally) what an high idea he, and his brother-deputies, had conceived of our king's generoſity and greatneſs of ſpirit: For the tenor of it ran to the following effect, "That "the Swedes ſhould cede Livonia to Poland, and Sigiſmond on his "ſide ſhould reſign to Guſtavus Eſthonia and Finland:" (to which latter principality he had a more immediate claim, inaſmuch as it was a part of his father's appennage;) "and in caſe Guſtavus died without "iſſue-male," (his only brother being dead about four years before) "that then one of Sigiſmond's ſons ſhould be declared ſucceſſor to the "crown of Sweden, and Sigiſmond himſelf aſſume the title as to ex-"ternal form; the next relation of Guſtavus being to be inveſted "with the duchy of Sudermania *in perpetuum*."

Now it is Puffendorf's opinion, that this propoſal came from the Swedes ‡, which appears to me highly unnatural; and ſo much the rather, as a more enlightened author informs us, that the conditions, alike unjuſt and unworthy ||, were firſt deviſed by the Polanders; nor can the baron's exactneſs (any more than his impartiality) be always relied on: for he tells us in the ſame paragraph, that prince Charles,

* New Star of the North. Lond. 4°. 1633.

† Lotich. de Rebus Germ. Tom. i. 482, &c.

‡ Introduct. du baron Puffendorf, Tom. iv. p. 202.

|| Iniquis prorſus, & indignis conditionibus à Polonis oblatis. *Loccen.* lib. viii. 554.

the

the king's brother, died the preceding year (1625): whereas the event of his deceaſe happened four years before, in 1622. 1626.

As this propoſed accommodation had the air of being erected upon meer extravagancies, of courſe the war commenced afreſh: and Conoſpoliſki, the ableſt general amongſt the Poles, formed an enterprize againſt Dirſchau, but retired with loſs and diſappointment; for Guſtavus had prudently thrown troops into the town before he could poſſibly approach it. Sigiſmond made like attempts upon Mew and Marienberg, with the ſame ill ſucceſs. Thus the campaign concluded neither unproſperouſly nor inglorioufly for the Swediſh cauſe. For the king, whoſe troops began to be extremely harraſſed through the extenſiveneſs of his conqueſts from April to October, encamped himſelf with great judgment on the approach of winter; having all Pruſſia at his devotion behind him, and the navigation of the Viſtula open betwixt himſelf and Sweden; and thus he bade defiance to the united efforts of Sigiſmond, Conoſpoliſki, and Sapieha.

Towards the expiration * of this year, Guſtavus was rendered happy by the birth of a ſecond daughter, called Chriſtina; the former named likewiſe Chriſtina (or as ſome ſay Chriſtiana) being dead for ſome time. Upon this new event, Sigiſmond (which is not uncommon to minds endued with perſeverance and obſtinacy) grew more and more encroaching, proud, and intermeddling every day: upon which the Swediſh ſenate, fully determined to mortify his vanity and check his ambition and turbulence all at once, thought proper to ſettle the ſucceſſion on Chriſtina, and declared her heireſs to the throne.

It hath been the misfortune of this unaccountable woman to have been more ſpoken of in hiſtory and memoirs, than one half of her female cotemporaries. Reading much (for the great Oxenſtiern was her tutor) yet not extremely learned; a collector and critic in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming concluſions without taſte †. Affecting pomp, and rendering herſelf a beggar; fond

* December the 8th.

† Amongſt various anecdotes that might be produced on this head, I ſhall ſpecify only one with regard to pictures. She collected at Rome many fine pieces, painted by the greateſt maſters, and ordered their extremities to be clipped with ſhears,

1626. fond to receive ſervile dependance, yet capable of abdicating a crown; delighting in cruelty, yet diveſting herſelf of the means; paying court to the moſt ſerious Chriſtians, and making profeſſion of little leſs than atheiſm. It is afflictive above meaſure to conſider ſuch a daughter in the light of being deſcended from ſuch a man. She has claim at leaſt to a certain degree of oblivion; and one muſt ſay of her with the great Oxenſtiern on a like occaſion (who when he pronounced the words could hardly refrain from tears), *Alas, alas, be things as they will, nevertheleſs ſhe is the daughter of the* GREAT GUSTAVUS!

1627. Matters continuing ſtill upon a diſagreeable footing in reſpect to Poland, Guſtavus took care, like a prudent and condeſcending prince, to lay before the ſenate all the efforts, advances, and conceſſions he had made, in order to procure a laſting peace. Theſe papers being thoroughly peruſed, the ſtates took flame in an inſtant, and being charmed on the one hand with their maſter's ſincerity and communicative temper, and exaſperated beyond all imagination on the other hand at the rejection of ſuch reaſonable conditions as he had vouchſafed to propoſe, determined once for all to mortify the pride of Sigiſmond, and cut off his pretenſions even from the very root. In a word, they repoſed a confidence ſo unlimited in their ſovereign, that they made him a tender of new ſupplies of money, and determined to ſerve under him in their proper perſons, if there ſhould be occaſion. And indeed great national actions can never be effected, except the king and his people preſerve a mutual confidence and eſteem for each other: for it was in the power of the latter to have checked the operations of the war at any time, either through peeviſhneſs or capriciouſneſs. After ſuch evidences of unreſerved frankneſs and ſincerity, his majeſty began to feel he had fixed his footing on firm ground; and therefore with an eye to popularity, and in hopes of conciliating

ſhears, till ſhe reduced them to the ſize of the ſides of rooms, or the compartments of ſtucco-work and wainſcotting, where ſhe intended to place them: little conſidering, that when the ſuperficial extent of a picture is diminiſhed by cutting, that the proportions which remain are greatly injured, if not totally ruined. I have ſeen a roll of Titian's painting, half yard wide, at a broker's ſhop, which had been ſeparated from its original by this unmerciful Procruſtes. From an anecdote delivered down to us by Dryden, ſhe is delineated in the Grand Cyrus under the character of queen of Corinth; from whence that poet depictured her in the Maiden Queen.

the

the affections of his ſubjects to him more and more, he beſought the ſtates to examine carefully a plan that had been laid before him for eſtabliſhing a commerce to the Weſt-Indies. From which undertaking he propoſed to give his nation a new turn for maritime affairs, and elicit no ſmall advantage from an intercourſe which had proved not unprofitable to his European neighbours, alledging likewiſe (which in him was certainly matter of ſincerity) the ſingular advantages of ſpreading the ſacred truths of the Goſpel over thoſe uncultivated and unlightened regions. On the ſame religious principles he ventured on a bolder and more noble ſtep nearer home, and at this important juncture re-publiſhed and enforced an edict in favour of diſtreſſed and oppreſſed proteſtants in all countries, offering theſe emigrants a ſafe retreat in Sweden, together with a periodical immunity from all taxes *; and what is ſtill more nobly diſintereſted, full permiſſion to return whenever the troubles of Europe ſhould be compoſed. And here, beſides preſerving a ſincere and generous ſenſe of piety at bottom, his majeſty had certainly an eye to the extravagant power and cruelty of the houſe of Auſtria, and opened a ſanctuary to a million of people, who, after the loſs of all their worldly goods and poſſeſſions, were deprived of their civil and religious liberties: ſo that we may denominate this meaſure one of thoſe fortunate actions in a prince which at the ſame time is wiſe and good: and as Guſtavus had ſomething of the ſingular and inventive caſt in all he did, he may be conſidered, except we ſuppoſe him to copy the conduct of queen Elizabeth on the like occaſion, to be the father of the *refugees*, and the protector of exiles. In this circumſtance likewiſe he has been imitated by One, who by copying the actions of Guſtavus, pays a ſilent but ſpeaking tribute of honour to the memory of the deceaſed. 1627.

It is not to be deſcribed how much all theſe new ſchemes at Stockholm delighted the ſenators; and that particularly which related to eſtabliſhing a ſettlement in the Weſt-Indies; to which all people ſubſcribed generouſly and promptly, in conformity to the example the king had ſet them. One Uſling, a Fleming, two years before, firſt

* This heroical and chriſtian declaration is preſerved by Lotichius, Tom. i. p. 546.

1627. made this propoſal to Guſtavus, who readily complied with it both from religious and political reaſons; inaſmuch as in the latter caſe he propoſed, by introducing commerce, to leſſen the taxes that affected agriculture, caſting likewiſe a ſmall collateral glance at the king of Spain, who extracted, as he thought, rather too much money from the American regions, which tended chiefly to aggrandize himſelf and the Imperialiſts likewiſe. But his majeſty, greatly interrupted by affairs nearer home, had not power to give laws to two worlds at once: and the Spaniards, with a view to ſupport the Poliſh or Imperial intereſts, (for no reaſon was aſſigned) contrived, dexterouſly enough, to make themſelves maſters of the little Swediſh ſquadron in the act of purſuing its voyage to the department aſſigned. Nevertheleſs the diſappointment was far greater than the real loſs; for this firſt equipment was only a ſort of feeling the pulſe, in order to judge how far ſuch a kind of expedition might anſwer hereafter: ſo that the ſubſcribing ſubjects, and the nation in general, bore their loſſes patiently enough, and the ſums of money that remained were appropriated to the uſes of the war, and other ſervices of ſtate.

Whilſt Guſtavus employed himſelf with great attention at Stockholm, (where by conſent of ſenate, making a draught of one man out of ten throughout his dominions, he formed a body of 40000 fine recruits in caſe of emergency *) Conoſpoliſki, notwithſtanding the extreme ſeverity of the ſeaſon, changed the ſiege of Dantzic into a blockade, taking care at the ſame time that the little Swediſh army, which Guſtavus left behind him, ſhould make no incurſions into the unconquered parts of Poland, having rendered himſelf maſter of the port of Buca, from whence, and from the harbour of Pillau, the Swedes in effect inveſted Dantzic. Mean while Guſtavus ſuffered no ſmall uneaſineſs, as the tempeſts of the ocean and the inclemency of the ſeaſon would not allow him to tranſport a large re-inforcement to his army. But what contributed moſt to agitate and chagrin him was, that the Poles had re-poſſeſſed the city of Putzka, which gives laws to a ſmall territory

* Lotich. de Rebus Germ. Tom, i. p. 845.

of

of the ſame name; and that the colonels Strief and Teüffel * (both men of ſervice, the one having commanded the right wing of cavalry at the battle of Prague †, and the other being an officer whom Guſtavus particularly eſteemed) had the misfortune to be over-reached by the vigilance of Conoſpoliſki, at a time they ſuppoſed him at leaſt ſixty miles removed from them. They had 8000 new-raiſed troops under their command, all levied during the preceding winter, in and near the territories of Brandenburg. As the men were unpractiſed, and unexperienced, it was not eaſy for their commanders to raiſe them to the height of a ſpirited reſiſtance; for when Sigiſmond's general had ſurrounded them on every ſide, and the Poliſh horſe begun the attack, theſe military novices advanced, their hats upon their pikes, without deliberation, and aſked for quarter. Of courſe Strief and Teüffel were taken priſoners, and the common men were diſmiſſed to Germany, under promiſe of honour not to ſerve againſt the kingdom of Poland for one year then next enſuing. Behold here the only real diſgrace that ever arrived to a large body of troops under the pay of Guſtavus; and ſtill it muſt be conſidered in the ſecond place, that the men were all infants in the practice of war, and their maſter likewiſe was abſent. His majeſty, when the event had happened, made no remonſtrances nor complaints, (it being his cuſtom to be angry only whilſt matters continued undecided) yet never meeting with the name of Strief in the future courſe of our hiſtory, it ſeems probable to me that the king diſmiſſed him. Teüffel he knew to be brave and able, (and allowing the beſt officers to be circumvented or beaten once or twice in the apprenticeſhip of their trade) he continued his favours to him, and rather increaſed them. 1627.

Conoſpoliſki thought it now high time to refreſh his men; but Guſtavus arrived with the firſt fair wind in the month of May, and forced him to reſume the duties of the field with great reluctance. Indeed it was our hero's cuſtom to anticipate the approach of ſpring in opening a campaign, but the tempeſtuouſneſs of the ſeaſon prevented

* Lotich. de Rebus Germ. Tom. i. p. 545.

† This officer was an Hollander, and ſent by the ſtates-general with a regiment of horſe to aſſiſt the king of Bohemia.

his

1627. his imbarkation till the time mentioned, and then he made his appearance in Pruſſia at the head of a brave and well-diſciplined army, opening the campaign with uncommon luſtre, and gaining two very notable advantages in one day; for he took the fort of Keſmark by aſſault, and defeated a large detachment of Poliſh troops which marched to its relief. He then applied himſelf to the ſiege of Marienberg, a ſtrong fortreſs built by the Dantzickers in order to free them from the inſults of the Swediſh fleet, and ſoon reduced it, though it was well ſupplied with proviſions and military ſtores, and doubly garriſoned. The Poles however purſued the war with ſurprizing perſeverance, and had briſkneſs enough to attack Guſtavus's camp, which occaſioned a ſecond action at Dirſchau; where the enemy's infantry had been intirely broken and ruined by the Swediſh cavalry, if a large body of Poliſh horſe had not made a motion inſtantly to their ſupport. The aſſailants however, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of numbers, were at length repulſed, and happy for them they eſcaped on ſo good terms; for whilſt Guſtavus was ſurveying, from an eminence, the nature of the ground, both with reſpect to himſelf and the enemy, upon ſome notable alteration in the turn of the battle, he had the misfortune to be ſtruck by a falcon-ſhot near his elbow, which diſconcerted his generals and his ſoldiers to a ſupreme degree. On this occaſion all the chief officers of the army, with the reſpectable Oxenſtiern at their head, beſought him, on the approach of evening, in the tendereſt manner, to manage his life with more care, as he paſſionately loved his ſubjects, and was beloved by them with reciprocal affection. Convinced of their attachment to him, he told them with emotion, modeſty, and at the ſame time a certain degree of firmneſs: "*That the Divine Power would continue juſt the ſame, when he was gone; nor did he ſuppoſe himſelf ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the conſervation of his kingdom as they, from a kind prepoſſeſſion in his favour, were inclined to imagine: Since,* ſaid he, *if the Supreme Being ſhould be pleaſed to diſpoſe of me in the day of battle, he will queſtionleſs raiſe up ſome abler ſupport to the crown of Sweden. But,* continued he, *if that ſelf-ſame Being hath committed this important charge to me, it is my buſineſs to perform it without any views*

of

of favouring myſelf; and if death be my portion in the event of war, how can a king die more glorioufly than in the juſtification of his people? 1627.
—It appeared afterwards from Guſtavus's future practice and turn of mind, that the *remonſtrance* had leſs effect than the *reply* †.

But when his majeſty's phyſician approached him, who thought a man of his importance muſt ſay ſomething to ſtrengthen the requeſt of the prime-miniſter Oxenſtiern and the generals, the king, with a ſmile, replied to him: *Doctor, pray make the converſation conciſe, and call to mind the good old Latin proverb, Ne ſutor ultra crepidam* ‡. From whence it is manifeſt that he bore all his pains with compoſure of mind and gaiety; ſince, on another occaſion, when the ſurgeon was puzzling himſelf to extract a muſket-ball, Guſtavus (remembering doubtleſs a ſaying of Alexander the Great on a like occaſion) *beſought the artiſt to allow the ball to continue in his body, as an illuſtrious monument that he had not paſſed his youth in idleneſs and inactivity* *.

But what afflicted Guſtavus more than the wound was the news he received, that Adolphus, duke of Holſtein, had marched a body of Imperial troops in order to conjoin himſelf with Sigiſmond. This general, ever diſtinguiſhed for giving marks of the cleareſt courage, laboured under two very ſignal misfortunes; his powers to act were greatly circumſcribed; nor had his troops over-much opinion of his parts, or uncommon confidence in his military conduct, if we except only the fighting part. Yet, in ſpite of the arrival of theſe veteran bands, the king was obliged to go to Stockholm, in hopes to recover his health, much impaired by the wound he had lately received; and in the interval left the command of his army to count Thurn, who choſe to give the men reſt rather than action; nevertheleſs, upon relinquiſhing a caſtle which the Polanders immediately ſeized, he contrived, having left a concealed mine beneath it, to blow up a conſiderable number of enemies, together with the whole fortification.

Thus concluded the campaign of 1627, and Guſtavus by this time had obtained ſo great a character as a man of conſequence, that even his Britannic majeſty humbly entreated his friendſhip, and ſent him

† Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 556. ‡ Ibid. * Ibid.

the

1627. the order of the garter by way of compliment for the heroic actions he had performed.

And here we naturally terminate the tranſactions of the year 1627, where we may juſt tranſiently obſerve, having made mention of Charles I, that England, France, and Spain, were governed at this period by three youths, who had Buckingham, Richelieu, and Olivarez, for their prime miniſters.

1628. Nor was Guſtavus unactive during his reſidence at Stockholm, admoniſhing by edict *, under pain of confiſcation of ſhips and cargo, all commercial perſons in the Hanſe-towns to abſtain from conveying proviſions and military ſupplies of any ſort to the inhabitants of Dantzic, whom he conſidered in the light of declared enemies, inaſmuch as they publicly infeſted the ocean, and did great harm both to his ſubjects and allies. Nevertheleſs, that he might not preclude all hopes of an accommodation, he artfully allowed them at the ſame time a free intercourſe of commerce with foreign countries, excepting in ſuch inſtances as fell within the article of warlike ſtores and aſſiſtances; upon this condition, that they paid a certain impoſt to the royal fleet of Sweden, which then blockaded the harbour. Nor were theſe meaſures on either hand ill conceived with reſpect to Dantzic, as that town was a thorn of uneaſineſs which his majeſty could not eradicate, except with dexterity.

Matters being placed upon this footing, (the ſpring of the year as yet but juſt commencing) Guſtavus re-imbarked from Stockholm in a fleet of three and thirty ſail, and lighting upon ſeven Dantzic ſhips between that town and the fort of Weiſſelmond, took three, ſunk a fourth, and gave chaſe to the remainder. One refuged itſelf in the port of Colbergen, but the Swedes demanded it from the inhabitants, who being ſubjects to the elector of Brandenburg reſigned it, as is ſuppoſed not unwillingly, though a certain face of appearances was preſerved. His majeſty's ſquadron was not ſo fortunate a few days after, for lighting by chance on five Poliſh ſhips (one of which was laden with ſtores) the commanders of them behaved ſo well, that they forced their way through

* It was rather a ſort of manifeſto very tenderly and yet acrimoniouſly worded: Lotichius hath preſerved it, Tom. i. 608, 609, 610.

the

the Swediſh fleet. About the ſame time a detachment from the main army attempted to ſtorm ſome of the outworks of Dantzic, but were repulſed with loſs, ſeveral captains being taken priſoners, and count Thurn wounded; during which operations the Polanders with very inconſiderable loſs made themſelves maſters of Pautzken and Mew. Stung to the quick with theſe ſlight diſgraces, his majeſty broke up from his camp of Dirſchau, at the head of a detachment of 7000 men, and having made a concealed march over moraſſes deemed impaſſable, poſſeſſed himſelf by dint of induſtry, dexterity, and ſtratagem, of the leſſer iſland near Dantzic; for he paſſed the river over three flying bridges, conveying in light carts and on horſes his boats and leather-artillery, to which latter invention he had a peculiar partiality *: ſo that almoſt in an inſtant he croſſed the ſtream and erected his batteries; a taſk the Polanders in their own minds allowed him a week to effect, and that with difficulty; having killed 200 of his opponents, and ſeized twelve (ſome ſay twenty-two) pieces of artillery; upon which it was commonly ſaid by the Swediſh ſoldiers, that the Poliſh general had found the ſpoil of a village in Mew, but that their king had created the plunder of a city in a half-inhabited iſland. Mean while Achatius Todt, who proved afterwards a renowned general in the German wars, (accompanied, as ſome ſay, with Leſley and Sperreüter, whoſe names will be better known in the courſe of our hiſtory) was diſpatched with two troops of cavalry and a ſmall body of dragoons to obſerve the motions of Conoſpoliſki's army; but as the Poles, like the Croatians and ſuch other deſultory ſoldiers, have little reſourſe but in the arts of ſurpriſe and ſtratagem, he found himſelf ſuddenly involved in an ambuſcade in the foreſt of Grebin, and as there remained no poſſibility of a retreat, placed himſelf at the head of his men, and cut his way twice through the enemy, four times his ſuperior in numbers, more with the air of a conqueror than like an officer who was compelled to act a diſadvantageous part; for he conducted his troops ſafe to the camp, and brought four ſtandards with him. Upon which the king rewarded the more diſtinguiſhed officers 1628.

* Lotich. de Reb. Germ. Tom. i. 611.

1628. and common ſoldiers, and conferred the honour of knighthood on their commander in as public and ſolemn a manner as he could deviſe *.

Upon this Conoſpoliſki began to take flame in earneſt, and marched up to the king's lines, who feared him not, as his army had been augmented by 9000 Scots and Engliſh ſoldiers, which, combined with his other troops, made a body of 24000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 3000 archers. How indeed a firſt-rate genius, enlightened in the arts of war like Guſtavus, could condeſcend to employ this latter ſpecies of ſoldiers, will appear to moſt perſons as ſomething that exceedeth all common belief; but my own private conjecture is, that they were a combined maſs of irregular barbarians who had deſerted to the Swedes, and had been accuſtomed to uſe no other ſort of military weapons. From whence it is natural to imagine that the king received them, meerly becauſe he could not decently reject them; for to his dying moments he hated that claſs of ſoldiers (if the name may be given them) called *irregulars*; partly on account of their depredations and cruelty, and partly becauſe they had a talent for military miſchief without ever producing any one poſitive military good. In proof whereof it has been aſſured me, that prince Eugene always honoured Guſtavus for this great and juſt idea, and in conſequence of it diſpoſed the rabble of his Hungarians and Croatians (though ſome of them ſince the days of Guſtavus have been rendered regular) in ſuch poſts and ſituations only, where no particular preſſures or efforts could be expected, allowing them barely the power of working harm, without being connected with more honourable forces. But, ſetting theſe barbarian combatants out of the queſtion, the king had ſtrength enough not to ſuppoſe Conoſpoliſki ſo formidable an enemy, as that he ought to ſhun him; therefore to give his adverſary a fair pretext of entering into an engagement, he gallantly confronted him upon equal ground; for a ſpeedy deciſion was highly to be wiſhed for by one who commanded an army in an hoſtile country, where proviſions were procured with difficulty. The conflict was very obſtinate on either ſide, but Guſtavus finding himſelf able to bear the efforts of the Polanders without breaking his ranks, or cauſing the men

* Memorab. Suec. Gentis, 166.

to

to retreat, detached the beſt of his cavalry and infantry to make an onſet on the rear of the Poliſh army. Meaſures were ſo well taken, that this march was made unperceived, and in the firſt and laſt attack the Poles loſt 3000 men, four field-pieces, and fourteen colours; not to mention that Conoſpoliſki himſelf was grievouſly wounded. 1628.

This event gave the citizens of Dantzic more ſerious thoughts; they ſaw themſelves marked out as the great object of attention, and began to perceive, that they were more and more confined and limited every day; for the king by this time had blockaded their city with his land-forces, and ſtationed eight veſſels at the mouth of their harbour to preclude all ingreſs and egreſs: this was giving the inhabitants a wound in the vital part; for a town of commerce ſoon lends an ear to accommodations when you can once divert the ſtream that feeds and ſupplies it: yet the remark failed in the preſent inſtance, (partly as Walſtein had conveyed an Imperial fleet to their aſſiſtance) for the Dantzickers had the good fortune with eleven veſſels in a ſharp engagement (which laſted at leaſt three hours) to defeat the Swediſh ſhips; four of which (one being admiral Sternſkield's) they took; and had probably treated the vice-admiral in the ſame manner, if he had not, more vainglorioufly than prudently, blown up his veſſel and all the mariners into the air *. The Swedes loſt a conſiderable number of people, beſides their commander in chief, who died ſword in hand; for in truth the Dantzickers, though leſs brave, were the better ſeamen: yet Appelman their admiral was killed, as were likewiſe ſeveral officers and 400 mariners: and as to the Swediſh fleet, the remainder thereof was driven in a forlorn and ſhattered condition into the port of Pillau. Mean while Guſtavus did not greatly reliſh this incidental diſgrace, though the affair was tranſacted on an element where in truth he had acquired no great experience: of courſe in the firſt tranſports of his ill-humour he could not help repining, *That a pacific commercial rabble* (to uſe his own words) *ſhould beat a ſet of illuſtrious fellows, who made fighting their profeſſion.* But notwithſtanding this momentary diſappointment and chagrin, he ſoon contemplated the event with leſs prejudiced eyes, and,

* Memorab. Suec. Gentis, 91, 92.

1628. (as was always his cuſtom) after the over-boiling of the firſt momentary heat, ſet himſelf to repair the loſs with double diligence, attention, and patience; nor was it his temper ever to be angry or querelous after he had paſſed his firſt ſentiments upon any unproſperous rencounter. Immediately therefore he replaced his former fleet with a ſecond fleet of twelve ſhips, and having obſtructed all commerce between Dantzic and other places, transferred that very maritime intercourſe to the city of Koningſberg; a place for commerce not injudiciouſly choſen, as an acute and ſenſible prince hath ſince demonſtrated.

It was, if I miſtake not, in this campaign, but upon what occaſion one cannot ſay, that Oxenſtiern attempted to diſſuade his maſter from ſome undertaking of a very ſpirited and hazardous nature: *My good chancellor*, ſaid the king, *you are too cold for my temperament. Yes, Sire*, replied the miniſter, *yet if my ice did not infuſe a damp into your fire, it is poſſible your majeſty might have been ſcorched ſome years ago* *. How far Oxenſtiern had reaſon for inſinuating this incidental reproof as to military enterprizes, is by no means here a matter of queſtion. The king heard him with good humour, and dropped the converſation: nevertheleſs, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that no man more than Guſtavus truſted in foreſight, precaution, and the probable judgment of ſecond-cauſes; ſo that many days before the breaking out of any important deſign, it was his cuſtom to decline company, affect retirement, and ſtray abroad in the fields like a perſon immerſed in thought. It was in one of theſe reveries that Gaſſion afterwards found him, alone, and wandering far diſtant from his camp and ſoldiers, at which very time his majeſty was meditating to make his firſt trial of ſkill on the renowned Tilly.

A peace had now been talked of ſome months: it was to have been effected by the intervention of the Dutch ambaſſadors; but as in their journey they had made a private digreſſion to the army of Guſtavus, and conferred with him on the footing of openneſs and freedom, his Poliſh majeſty paid little regard to their mediation, though in truth the terms propoſed carried with them a better proſpect than had preſented itſelf formerly. Upon this a new ſcene broke forth to view:

* Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gentis, p. 32.

for

for Gabriel Le Roy *, the Spaniſh miniſter, perplexed the cauſe on the Swediſh ſide of the queſtion, and baron D'Auchi, who afterwards aſſiſted him, overturned all: the truth was, the houſes of Auſtria and Spain began to perceive too manifeſtly from the generous, the prudent, the magnanimous turn of our northern hero, that he had it always in his power to diſturb, if not deſtroy, the immenſe conqueſts they had made in Germany, the rich acquiſition of ten the moſt proſperous campaigns that Europe had then beheld. It was therefore reſolved by them to traverſe the generoſity or ambition of Guſtavus. Prodigal therefore of promiſes, they aſſured Sigiſmond of ſecuring to him the poſſeſſion of all Sweden, and agreed to ſend him twenty-four men of war, 14000 veteran ſoldiers, and about 33000 l. ſterling †. The firſt and laſt articles were never thought of afterwards, (excepting that D'Auchi depoſited about 16000 l. by way of commencing operations) which breach of promiſe was an irreparable defect in point of politics, ſince a body of 20000 men, a moderate naval force, and one tenth part of a million of money, had queſtionleſs ſecured them in the poſſeſſion of Germany for the century then to come, if not much longer. It is thought this parſimony or remiſſneſs proceeded purely from the Imperial court. For though the wary Spaniards, better politicians than the Auſtrians, feared Guſtavus even at the greateſt diſtance, and the rather, as the ſagacious Spinola had always declared, that Guſtavus was the only prince in Europe whom the two crowns ought either to find employment for, or cajole and amuſe; yet the latter ſuppoſed him an impetuous enterprizer in war, and looked upon his men as novices and probationers in the ſchool of fighting. Walſtein's extraordinary ſpeech to Arnheim, when he ſent him afterwards into Poland, ſeems partly to confirm this opinion, as will appear hereafter: and when Guſtavus landed in Germany, the rodomontade at Vienna was, "That he was a king of ſnow, "and would ſoon melt to pieces as he advanced ſouthward." The emperor, in conjunction with his allies and incluſive of garriſons, had likewiſe 170,000 ſeaſoned men, moſt of whom had been engaged in ten

1628.

* Piaſecchii Chronica, in annum 1628.

† The papers relative to this tranſaction fell afterwards into the king's hands when he entered Germany.

years

1628. years ſharp ſervice; and as for one part of them, the old corps of Burgundians and Walloons, who had been formed in the previous Low Country wars, they were looked upon as a collection of combatants eſteemed invincible: yet genius and courage, placed at the head of an handful of men, ſoon counterbalanced all theſe ſeeming advantages: for Guſtavus, by an extraordinary reach of parts, created a new ſyſtem of fighting; and ſaw, moreover, that cruelty, rapine, lewdneſs, drunkenneſs, and immorality, were capable of bringing the beſt ſoldiers down to the common level. Yet as Sigiſmond had not the gift of foreſeeing theſe diſadvantages or advantages, it was his misfortune to liſten to the propoſals made by Spain and Auſtria. And great on the other hand was D'Auchi's ſurpriſe, when upon his arrival at Lubec and Roſtock he ſaw plainly, that no uſe had been made of the money he had engaged to give with intention to put the marine in order. But this proceeded from no remiſſneſs in Sigiſmond. The truth was, the ſociety of Hanſe-towns with-held their co-operation and aſſiſtance, having no deſire to ſee an Auſtrian admiral in the Baltic; nor did they chuſe to give umbrage to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who had juſt added a temporary article to their late alliance with reference to all intruſions upon the free ſovereignty of the Northern ocean *, under condition that neither party ſhould accede to new terms with any other prince or ſtate without including his firſt ally. The naval enterprize being thus rendered abortive, Sigiſmond humbly requeſted, that the ſum depoſited might be made over to the uſes of a land-war. But to that petition the Spaniſh miniſter pleaded want of inſtructions. This chicanery rather ſharpened the king of Poland than dejected him; for though the ſenate, convened this autumn at Warſau, had complained of the prolongation of an ineffectual war againſt the Swedes, and had with-holden as much as lay in their power the annual ſupplies, yet, in ſpite of all obſtructions and retardments, he purchaſed and equipped ſhips with his own money, and placed them under the conduct of an excellent ſeaman, who on the approach of winter had attacked a Swediſh ſqua-

* Loccen. Hiſt. Suec. 559.

dron,

dron, which blockaded the harbour of Dantzic, conformably to what we have recounted before. 1628.

By this time the cold ſeaſon began to approach; but Sigiſmond and Conoſpoliſki being now conjoined (for the latter had been diſpatched for a ſhort ſeaſon to oppoſe an irruption made by the Tartars) formed a ſcheme of entertaining Guſtavus with a winter campaign. But the king of Sweden had a great deſire to refreſh his men, and therefore applied himſelf to the grand ſecret of entrenchment, which was, properly ſpeaking, a military invention congenial to his nature. In this ſituation he allowed the enemy to contemplate him during pleaſure: upon which, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the judiciouſneſs of his encampment, Conoſpoliſki undertook the ſiege of Dirſchau, and Sigiſmond paid a viſit to the inhabitants of Dantzic, whoſe fidelity to him juſtly merited that attention. In the month of November he held a national diet at Thurn, and ſupplies were voted for the war with greater unanimity than is uſually to be found in Poland. Encouraged by a diſpoſition of the nation ſo benevolent, it was propoſed by the king's party to make a deſignation of a ſucceſſor to the throne; upon which the nobility took fire, and demanded that the traiterous adviſer of ſuch a project ſhould be given up to the mercy of the laws: ſo jealous were they of not appointing one king during the life of another.

And here I muſt aſk the reader's permiſſion to make a momentary digreſſion from the ſubject before me, though the point relateth as much to Guſtavus as any one action that hath been recorded by me; but as I know not under what year to arrange the fact (any further than that it happened in the Poliſh war) I therefore conſider it as a ſort of epiſode.

It was in one of theſe Pruſſian campaigns that the irrational practice of duelling aroſe to a conſiderable height in the Swediſh army, not only amongſt perſons of rank and faſhion, but between common ſoldier and common ſoldier: upon which Guſtavus publiſhed a ſevere edict, and denounced death againſt every delinquent. Soon after a quarrel aroſe between two officers of very high command, and as they knew

1628. knew the king's firmneſs in preſerving his word inviolable, they agreed to requeſt an audience, and beſought his permiſſion to decide the affair *like men of honour*. His majeſty took fire in a moment, but repreſſed his paſſion with ſuch art, that they eaſily miſtook him: of courſe with ſome reluctance, but under the appearance of pitying brave men who thought their reputation injured, he told them, that he blamed them much for their miſtaken notions concerning fame and glory; yet as this unreaſonable determination appeared to be the reſult of deliberate reflection, to the beſt of their deluded capacity, he would allow them to decide the affair at time and place ſpecified: *And, gentlemen*, ſaid he, *I will be an eye-witneſs myſelf of your extraordinary valour and proweſs.*

At the hour appointed Guſtavus arrived, accompanied by a ſmall body of infantry, whom he formed into a circle round the combatants, *Now*, ſays he, *fight till one man dies*; and calling the executioner of the army to him, (or the *provoſt-martial*, as the language then ran) *Friend*, added he, *the inſtant one is killed, behead the other before my eyes.*

Aſtoniſhed with ſuch inflexible firmneſs, the two generals, after pauſing a moment, fell down on their knees and aſked the king's forgiveneſs, who made them embrace each other, and give their promiſe to continue faithful friends to their laſt moments; as they both did with ſincerity and thankfulneſs*. So that from this period we find no duel between men of note in Guſtavus's ſervice; and though the edict above referred to is not to be found in the Swediſh or German hiſtorians, yet in the king's military code (which admirable ſyſtem of laws now lies before me) there are the ſame ſevere decrees againſt duelling (all injuries of honour being to be redreſſed by the army-conſiſtory upon due complaint and repreſentation); nor is it unknown by the curious, that this work was originally compoſed in Livonia, 1621, at or during the ſiege of Riga ‡. It was reviſed and corrected during the Pruſſian campaigns, particularly in the years 1626, and 1627, and laſtly, nineteen freſh articles † (and many more perhaps occaſionally) and

* Memorab, Suec. Gentis, p. 61—63. by lord Rea.

‡ A copy whereof was tranſmitted to England

† Arnilabei Arma Suec. 4°. p. 96, &c.

ſome

ſome new prayers were added ‡ after his majeſty arrived in Germany, being made public in 1631. 1628.

Nothing tormented Guſtavus ſo much as the reſiſtance made by the city of Dantzic; for commercial towns have infinite reſources, and are always hard to be ſubdued. Nevertheleſs, as he had the affair ſo much at heart, it is probable he would have conquered it the preceding year; but a muſquet-ball happened to wound him in the belly, inſomuch that his life was deſpaired of, and then the generals, loſing all their hopes, proceeded languidly in the enterprize. As it was a maxim with Guſtavus always to carry war into an enemy's country, he made this town the principal object of his attention, and the rather, as the enemy drew from it his greateſt ſupplies. Having therefore new-modelled his fleet, which conſiſted of twelve large ſhips, the Swedes, by way of retaliation, ſoon overcame the combined Dantzic and Poliſh fleets, after an obſtinate engagement, which laſted one continued day; forced the admiral's ſhip on a bank of ſand, and there battered it to pieces †. A ſecond ſhip of almoſt equal ſize and value, called Holland Houſe, had certainly been taken, but after an incredible reſiſtance of twelve hours, it happened to blow up into the air accidentally.

Guſtavus now began to make his approaches in form round Dantzic on the land-ſide, having blocked up the mouth of the harbour with his fleet (which transferred the trade to other places, Koningſberg particularly.) He then paſſed a moraſs fifteen Engliſh miles long, at the head of 10000 ſoldiers in high confidence; being aſſiſted in ſwampy and difficult gullies by particular bridges of his own invention, carrying likewiſe with him a large quantity of that artillery * which he himſelf had

‡ Arnilabei Arma Suec. 4°. p. 77—87.

† It only carried 40 guns, and was valued at 50000 l. ſterling.

* Whoever conſiders, extraordinary as ſuch a conſideration may be, that moſt of Guſtavus's inventions expired with him, notwithſtanding ſo many excellent officers had been formed under his eye, (the arts of war verging to a ſort of decline from the death of our king till the times of Montecuculi and Turenne) will not be ſurpriſed if we hear no more of this invention of a new and more portable ſort of artillery. Perhaps it was not ſo uſeful as was at firſt expected, yet this is barely a conjecture contrived to account for the inattention of mankind, ſince it is manifeſt, on the other hand, that the king uſed it from the year 1628 to the hour of his death.

Theſe pieces were certainly of extraordinary ſervice upon all ſudden attacks in deep or mountainous countries, for one ſtrong horſe could convey

1628. had contrived, (than which nothing could be more uſeful in heavy countries, in caſe of a ſudden attack) he conducted his army, contrary to all men's expectations, into a foreſt, which encircled the town on one ſide; taking in Schonec and Marnevec as he paſſed along.

Alarmed at ſo unexpected an approach, the magiſtrates of Dantzic began to fear an inſurrection, as proviſions, by the meaſures taken at land and ſea, were thereby rendered extremely ſcarce. To augment theſe misfortunes, the Spaniards had ſo far deceived them with reſpect to twenty-four men of war, which they had promiſed to ſend to their ſupport, that Walſtein on the contrary, ſupreme commander in the northern parts of Germany, (who ridiculouſly enough ſtyled himſelf admiral of the Baltic, doing that in rodomontade which the court of Vienna affected in earneſt) inſiſted on their ſending nine ſhips to him, to facilitate the ſiege of Stralſund, and give laws to the ſea-coaſts. This doubly incommoded the Dantzickers, by depriving them of their own natural force, and by diſobliging the king of Denmark, who ordered his navy to make repriſals on the people of Dantzic, whoſe ſhips they ſeized, and publicly confiſcated. Yet the city itſelf eſcaped from Guſtavus by a ſort of miracle, for the rains fell to

convey a couple of them as faſt as any troops could march; and what was more, they could be ſhifted in an inſtant, according to the preſſure and ſtreſs of an engagement.

Authors well inſtructed on this ſubject inform us, (Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gentis; Pietro Pomo, Guerre di Germania, lib. i. p. 33.) that they were compoſed of the moſt hardened leather, girt round with iron or braſs hoops, and could be brought to diſcharge ten times ſucceſſively. Now if this account be true, they ſerved to anſwer the purpoſes not only of ſudden attacks, but of more deciſive as well as more general engagements. About ten years ago, I happened to mention this ſort of artillery to a perſon who had a paſſion for new projects: he ſeemed convinced that ſomething might be ſtruck out in this kind: and my learned and ingenious friend Mr. Johnſon informs me, that he was juſt ready to aſk the honour of his royal highneſs to be preſent at an experiment, but in that interim the poor man died. Thus much is certain, relative to our own ſituation at preſent, that nothing (upon an admiſſion of the fact, to which I am an abſolute ſtranger) can be more convenient to facilitate or oppoſe the landing of troops upon any ſudden invaſion, when every preſent moment is equal to a long future ſucceſſion of hours.

Some give our hero the honour of firſt introducing *dragoons* into the military ſervice; though Mansfelt (as we have obſerved elſewhere) puts in a ſort of claim to this invention. Yet Scheffer's words (Memorab. Suec. Gent. p. 42, 43.) are very peremptory in Guſtavus's favour: Primus ſane fuit ipſe qui pedites cum bombardis majoribus impoſuit equis, illudque genus eduxit in aciem quod deinde *dragonarios* vocant, ut ſic celeritatem equitum & vim peditum ingenioſa hæc mixtura in iiſdem conſqueretur.

ſuch

ſuch a prodigious degree, (the Viſtula overflowing its banks in all places, and waſhing away the temporary bridges) that the Swedes were obliged to break up their camp, having no alternative, but ſtarving with hunger, or periſhing by water. But 5000 men were ſurrounded ſo ſuddenly by the inundation, that the king was obliged to feed them with uncommon difficulty, and more eſpecially as he found himſelf in a country where proviſions were rendered extremely ſcarce; but the food (ſuch as it was) was religiouſly divided between this corps and the main army. When the floods began to ſink, his majeſty drew off all his forces, having received a body of recruits from Sweden in 54 tranſports, and 2000 cuiraſſiers, enliſted by the Rhingrave *. Taking Neuburg on the Viſtula by ſurrender as he marched along, as alſo Straſberg and Dribentz, in all which places, particularly the former, the ſoldiers gained an immenſe booty, belonging to the Poliſh queen and nobles, and amounting, as the language of the age then ran, to ſix tons of gold, which make about 54000 pounds of money ſterling. It was the king's idea to advance to Thorn, but this acquiſition of wealth occaſioned a ſeries of countervailing inconveniencies ſoon after; for the ſoldiers grew diſſolute, and diſperſed themſelves over the country to find opportunities of conſuming their riches: of courſe, ſome were put to the ſword by the enemy here and there, and others ſurrendered on conditions which the Poles ill-obſerved; for they were all murdered in cold blood. Nothing hurt Guſtavus like ſuch violations of the law of nature, humanity, and common good faith; inſomuch that in the tranſports of his reſentment he made incurſions, like the hero of a romance, even to the gates of Maſſovia and Warſau: and in one of theſe expeditions intercepted five pieces of artillery, which Walſtein had ſent to Sigiſmond's army. 1628.

He then took the town of Sweitz by ſtorm, and cut to pieces a body of Polanders, who attempted to deſtroy a convoy that was marching to Straſberg. Amongſt the priſoners at Maſſovia (which town was taken ſword in hand) many Poliſh matrons and young women of faſhion fell into the power of his ſoldiers, who being heated and enraged with the

* Lotich. Tom. i. p. 611.

1628. reſiſtance made by the garriſon, and rendered vicious by their late ill-acquired riches, might have proceeded to ſome outrages againſt the fair-ſex; but the king cruſhed all attempts to incivility and rudeneſs in a ſingle moment; telling the troops, *That people who ſerved under his command were to wage war and commit hoſtilities upon their own ſex only, and that the ideas of a ſoldier and a raviſher ought to carry no connexion between each other.* He then diſmiſſed the ladies courteouſly upon the promiſe of their reſpective ranſoms, inſomuch that no one woman received even the ſlighteſt inſult.

Yet theſe digreſſions allowed no one thing to eſcape the attention of Guſtavus. He therefore kept his eye conſtantly fixed on the depredations committed in the Baltic by the combined fleet of Spain and Auſtria, which he ſoon diſperſed and ruined by ſtationing a good quantity of ſhips near Wiſmar: and then, in order to preclude the intervention of Sigiſmond, (of which previous notice had been given him) allowed the elector of Brandenburg ſix months ſpace to deliberate whether he would embrace the Swediſh or the Poliſh cauſe. It is well known the ſaid prince ſecretly favoured the Swedes; yet had ſtrong reaſons, which muſt be obvious to all readers, to wiſh for a laſting accommodation between the two contending crowns, which he helped to effect the enſuing year; nevertheleſs, for the preſervation of appearances, he ſent 600 infantry to Sigiſmond, whom Guſtavus contrived to intercept in their march. Nor was it difficult perhaps to be apprized of the route they intended to take; upon which Sigiſmond broke off all intercourſes of friendſhip with the ſaid elector.

During theſe tranſactions, Conoſpoliſki contrived to retake Brodnitz, which La Mortagne, a French officer of repute, had ſurrendered ſome time before to the Swedes; for which precipitate determination the Poliſh general cauſed his head to be ſtruck off publicly: and then, by way of retaliation, (being very dextrous in matters of ſurpriſe) defeated the rear-guard of the Swediſh army, and took Banditzen priſoner, who was an officer of reputation.

In revenge for this occaſional check, Wrangel, governor of Elbingen, which town the Poles had in a certain manner blockaded, croſſed the Dwina

at

at a ford that was ill-defended, defeated a large body of troops, and seized their cannon and baggage: and again, as he was traversing the country with 8000 men, in order to amass provisions for the army, which was then in no small distress, he surprised near Strasberg, at a small village called Rudovic, a large body of Croatians and Cossacks, and as he discovered them to be irresolute, or at variance in their opinions, he charged them so suddenly that he soon dispersed them, and carried off a convoy of 2000 carts and waggons, which greatly assisted the Swedish army during the remainder of the campaign, which was closed with lustre by a gallant performance of old count Thurn*; though the professed historians of that period have been silent upon the subject. It hath been observed before, that Gustavus had taken Neuburg. This town Conospoliski besieged, and whilst he invested it (Thurn and Teüf- 1628.

* Mathias Henry, count de Thurn, one of the principal personages in Bohemia. He began the religious and civil commotions in that kingdom; nor did he ever submit to the house of Austria, but after the battle of Prague discharged several embassies in the name of Frederick (a sovereign of his own chusing) and Munsfelt, to Gabriel Bethlem, the grand signior, and the Venetians; took a commission under the latter in 1624, and being honourably dismissed when the elector-Palatin disbanded his army, passed into the service of Denmark in 1627. Accepted of a general's commission under Gustavus, and being taken prisoner, was freed by Gallas, with orders, as was supposed, from Walstein; who, out of a capricious gallantry peculiar to himself, had a mind to rob the court of Vienna of so delicious a sacrifice. Some time afterwards, namely in 1634, he made a brave defence at Ratisbon, and had the courage and address to procure his own exception in the capitulation.

This great patriot was supposed by some to be justly piqued, because Martinitz (one of the three judges that was precipitated from the window, in the first insurrection) had supplanted him in obtaining the government of Carlstein-castle, where the crown of Bohemia and all records of consequence were preserved. His speech to the chiefs of his country on the breaking out of the rebellion, as it is delivered down to us by Nani, may keep pace with most of the pompous harangues of the antient historians, and appears to me to have a better chance to be authentic; he concludes it in these words: "Liberty, from this "example of ours, will insinuate itself through- "out the empire, and though there be *some ap-* "*pearance of violence* in our conduct, yet *neces-* "*sity* and *piety* will excuse the fact. There re- "mains now no room for repentance, and no "plea for forgiveness. The die is thrown— "Freedom or the scaffold—Men of principle, "if conquerors, men of conscience and inde- "pendent—But if overcome, poor perfidious "beings, perjured and rebellious."

Thurn, in the German language, signifies a *tower*, and therefore the French writers, conformably to their usual freedom and petulance, alembic the name into count *La Tour*; and Carte and the other English historians, when treating of the affairs of the Palatinate and Bohemia, talk of him very familiarly under that appellation: thus too, by the same rule of French impertinence, I might undertake as an Englishman to discourse of Mrs. *Steel* and her Homer, intending at the same time to be understood as speaking of madam *Dacier*.

There is a large exquisite print of count Thurn by Mirevelt, who engraved Gustavus and Oxenstiern in the same size: the fire of his eyes is inexpressible.

fell

1628. fel being both commanders in it) young Thurn died of a fever. The old man writ to the Poliſh general to deſire leave, as he only ſerved Guſtavus in the capacity of a volunteer, to remove the young man's body, that it might enjoy the rights of ſepulture in a friendly country; but the requeſt was denied. Enraged beyond meaſure at this refuſal, he cut his way through the enemy's lines, by an admirable ſtratagem, with only fifty followers, and carried his ſon's corps to the place where the Swediſh *cancellaria* was then held, never diſmounting (but for the refreſhment of a few moments) in a journey of eighty miles.

At the diet of Warſau, held in the month of July this year, a conſiderable number of the ſenators declared, that it was in vain to wage war againſt Guſtavus, except hoſtilities were commenced againſt the elector of Brandenburg; upon which king Sigiſmond ſent a ſlight meſſage to him, admoniſhing him, in gentle terms, of the allegiance he owed the kingdom of Poland, by Denhoff his ſecretary, being privately determined, in caſe of an evaſion or downright refuſal, to levy money at all events, and purſue his object of deſtroying Guſtavus. It was likewiſe ſuggeſted to the elector of Brandenburg, that his right to Pruſſia was a ſort of feudatory tenure, dependent on the republic of Poland, which ſaid fiduciary poſſeſſion he might render forfeitable or not, in proportion to his future conduct. Nevertheleſs the nuncios of the provinces, and the major part of the ſenators, afforded Sigiſmond as little aſſiſtance as poſſible, upon preſumption or private intelligence, that it was not difficult to obtain a tolerable peace. And thus the war proceeded languiſhingly on the Poliſh ſide.

Two diſagreeable occurrences produced themſelves this year in Germany, each ſufficient to embarraſs any mind but that of Guſtavus: for the one was the ſiege of Stralſund, and the other the congreſs at Lubec. But the king carried his point in the firſt inſtance, and played his cards ſo dextrouſly in the ſecond, as to give himſelf an advantageous opening ſoon after; for theſe two events were a part of the preparatory incidents which helped to conduct Guſtavus into Germany.

Walſtein's great intention in poſſeſſing Stralſund, was to give laws at one ſtroke to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and invade the dominions

nions of the latter without delay. In order to effectuate the tranſportation of his troops, Schwartzenberg was diſpatched to the Hanſe-towns, Lubec particularly, to demand ſuch ſhipping as might be needful on the occaſion, and grant them in the emperor's name ſome viſionary privileges, upon condition they would confine their commerce for the future to the coaſts of Spain, and the countries that depended on the houſe of Auſtria; but the anſwer returned to him was, that the ſaid towns had confederations and alliances with neighbouring princes, (indeed Guſtavus was the principal object alluded to) and that it would be highly imprudent in them to add fewel to particular wars, who ſubſiſted by a general commerce with all mankind. Upon this Walſtein (who affected to be extravagant in all things) procured a patent to be *admiral of the Baltic*, and having conquered Roſtock, Wiſmar, and ſeveral other maritime towns, converted his thoughts to marine architecture, and ſea-preparations. Stralſund alone obſtructed his imaginary poſſeſſion of the Northern ocean; for that city once conquered gave him juſt the inlet he deſired: and as it was well-furniſhed with wealth, ſhipping, ammunition, and proviſions, it was in a ſtate of enabling him (at leaſt as he conjectured) to land in Denmark, and make a conqueſt of the whole kingdom. The immenſe ambition of this project aſtoniſhed Chriſtian, and determined him to ſupport the Stralſunders at any rate: and as he liked no corps in his ſervice better than lord Rea's Scottiſh regiment, he tranſported it thither without delay. This was the firſt ſiege of conſequence that Germany had hitherto ſeen. Walſtein for his own ſake, on account of the vicinity of Stralſund to his new dominions, was reſolved to obtain it, whatever ſacrifice he made. And it is thought by many he had formed a deſign to involve the duke of Pomerania in ſome embroilment with the emperor, whoſe territories (ſuppoſing them to be ſeized under any pretext) lay very commodious for facilitating and extending his vaſt project on the Baltic (not to mention their vicinity to his own dominions * *in caſe of ſome new eventual arrangement:)* and for theſe reaſons he poured regiments into Pomerania, 1628.

* He had lately received the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mechlenberg; but was never *duke of Walſtein*, as the *author of the Annals of the Empire* inaccurately ſtyles him.

like

1628. like ſwarms of locuſts, with this difference, that they not only devoured the product of the earth, but ſqueezed the very laſt dollar from the inhabitants, and made the duke himſelf little leſs than a ſtate-priſoner in his own caſtle. But to return to the ſiege: he firſt proceeded by artful means, and ſent Arnheim, camp-maſter-general of his army, to the magiſtrates to demand winter-quarters for a certain number of men; but a compliance to this requeſt was evaded. He then diſpatched colonel Goëtz to aſk paſſage only for a body of troops through the town; but that petition was not acceded to. Walſtein then, in order to make the emperor a party concerned in his ſyſtem, demanded of the inhabitants a contribution of about 25000 l. concluding naturally enough, that the magiſtrates would ſtill continue in an humour of denial; but they, contrary to his expectations, advanced part of the ſum immediately, and pledged their honour for the reſt, upon condition he erected no fortification near their town, as he had lately done. This prompt advancement of good rix-dollars pleaſed Walſtein's avarice, (for that general was equally avaricious to collect, and profuſe to beſtow) but did not ſatisfy his ambition: he therefore without further ceremony ordered Arnheim to inveſt the town. Upon this the inhabitants implored the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the Dantzickers; and Guſtavus, to all appearances unaſked, (though this circumſtance ſhall not be confidently aſſerted) ſupplied them generouſly, as the ſeas were open, with a good quantity of military ſtores, of which the inhabitants at that time ſtood in great need. Oxenſtiern indeed had partly opened the king's intentions in a conference held with the duke of Pomerania, wherein it was ſuggeſted caſually, at leaſt to all outward appearances, that Guſtavus was determined not to ſee the poor Stralſunders deprived of commerce and liberty at one ſtroke, and that by ſuch an interpoſition he manifeſted himſelf to conſult the emperor's true glory and intereſts better than Walſtein and the whole Imperial miniſtry could pretend to do. Mean while the duke of Pomerania (having fruitleſsly requeſted Oxenſtiern to abſtain from all interpoſition with reſpect to Germany *) attempted to mediate a ſort of convention between his Imperial majeſty and the town; of which the conditions were: that all

* Hiſtorical or Authentic Relat. Tom. i. p. 58.

foreign troops ſhould be diſmiſſed from the garriſon, and the city ar- 1628.
range itſelf under the protection of the ſaid duke, paſſing its parole of honour to be faithful to the emperor, and give no obſtruction to the Cæſarean troops then cantoned in the iſle of Rugen (which was ſeparated from the continent of Stralſund by a ſmall frith of ſea) and erect no new fortifications; with a proviſo of admitting Pomeranian ſoldiers to guard the town. Upon this a treaty * was renewed, for former ones had ſubſiſted between Sweden and Stralſund. Sadler undertook the taſk, and expreſſed his maſter's ſentiments very dexterouſly; for allegiance to the emperor was inculcated ſtrongly upon the inhabitants, and it was recommended to them to pay all due obedience to the duke of Pomerania; foraſmuch as his majeſty of Sweden had no object in view but to preſerve the freedom of the Baltic, and maintain the immemorial rights and liberties of a town in thoſe ſenſes independent. During the attempt finally to adjuſt theſe articles, Walſtein marched with the eagerneſs of a new monarch to Guſtrow, in order to receive the homage and oaths of allegiance from his ſubjects, inaſmuch as the two dukes of Mechlenberg, Albert and Adolphus, had fought under the Daniſh enſigns, and laboured even then beneath that bitter ſort of preſcription, commonly called the ban of the empire, having paid no regard to a previous admonition from the court of Vienna. Colonel Holk had hitherto, at the head of the Daniſh forces, taken upon him the command of the town. The men were obliged to perform forty-eight hours ſervice turn by turn for ſix weeks, and yet Holk, in the midſt of this ſevere ſervice, took it into his head to eſpouſe a young wife, and celebrate his nuptials in a public manner; which all the German hiſtorians conſider as a very unbecoming act of levity.

During Walſtein's abſence, Guſtavus took the advantage to convey ſome forces into Stralſund, which induced the inhabitants to change their language; ſo that the fine airy project of the duke of Pomerania vaniſhed into nothing: that prince then perſuaded the emperor to countermand the ſiege, which provoked Walſtein to ſuch a degree, that he

* It is preſerved by Lotichius, Tom. i. 608, and was to hold in force twenty years. Loccenii Hiſtoria Suecana, p. 560.

1628. ſent a fulminatory letter to the elector of Saxony, whom he ſuſpected to be at the bottom of this project; and what was ſtill more, declined to obey his maſter's orders: and on the contrary, enraged with Arnheim's ill-ſucceſs or remiſſneſs, made a journey to the camp in perſon, and renewed the attacks with incredible fury, ſwearing (according to his common cuſtom of rodomontading) "that he would take Stralſund, though "it hung in the air from heaven by an adamantine chain." This was neither an eaſy nor a prudent taſk; for no place is better ſituated by nature. It fronteth the ſea in a ſort of elliptical figure, and at the two extremities joins itſelf to the main land by a narrow iſthmus. Behind it lies the lake of Franken, which can be paſſed only in one place, by means of an high cauſeway: and what enhanced the difficulty ſtill more on the part of the beſiegers was this, that it was not in their power to obſtruct the entrance of ſupplies into the harbour. I ſhall not give a full detail of this ſiege; it may ſuffice to ſay, that as Walſtein puſhed on his aſſaults with all the fury and induſtry that reſentment could ſuggeſt, the Danes found the defence of the place beyond their ſtrength: but a ceſſation of arms being agreed upon for a fortnight, a ſecond regiment of Scots in the Daniſh ſervice was thrown into the town during this interval, and then Chriſtian, making a private treaty with Guſtavus, caſt the burden off his own ſhoulders, and transferred the danger and glory to his Swediſh neighbour: who immediately ſent Sir Alexander Leſly with a body of choſen troops to defend the town, and Holk for ſome time acted under him. This ſupporting of the poor Stralſunders confirmed Guſtavus in the idea of interpoſing with the affairs of the continent, and giving laws thereto. At length Walſtein, after a ſiege of three months, having half-ruined a numerous army, thought fit to diſlodge, for he found, by dear-bought experience, that it is next to impoſſible to take a city that can at all times receive freſh ſupplies from ſea, eſpecially if the garriſon behaveth with fidelity and courage.

The congreſs, which was held at Lubec this year, created freſh troubles to Guſtavus. The convention of the plenipotentiaries at firſt was more ſolemn than it proved efficacious. On the part of the emperor came the baron Aldringer and count Gronsfelt, both colonels; Rupa, commiſ-

ſary-

ſary-general, and Walmerode: and in behalf of his Daniſh majeſty appeared Frieſe and Uhlfelt, the one counſellor of the kingdom, and the other counſellor to the king; admiral Skeel, the two Rantzaus, (who were both privy-counſellors) Levin, maréchal of the court, and ſecretary Gunter. Theſe politicians, who were all extremely able in their way, eat, drank, affirmed, denied, intrigued and wrangled for ſix months; ſo that the year 1629 overtook them in their altercations; yet nothing of moment appears to have been decided. Much depended afterwards upon an event I am going to relate: Guſtavus had parts enough not to allow a peace to be ſigned under his eye, without concerning himſelf more or leſs in an affair ſo critical: he therefore diſpatched Spar and Oxenſtiern (which latter was a relation of the prime-miniſter) to this aſſembly, with orders to ſee all things reſtored to their antient tranquillity, and ſolicit in particular for the town of Stralſund, and the re-inſtatement of the dukes of Mechlenberg, whom, as relations and neighbours, he had admitted under his more immediate protection. Some weeks before, ſecretary Salvius (who gave ſuch proofs afterwards of his abilities at the peace of Munſter) was ſent into Denmark, to beſeech his majeſty to give introduction to the Swediſh plenipotentiaries at Lubec: but that prince replied coldly by letter, after having taken an undue time to return an anſwer, That as he had received no commands from the court of Vienna, with reference to his Swediſh majeſty, he could not preſume to venture on a ſtep of ſo delicate and dangerous a nature, without being furniſhed previouſly with proper authorities: ſo that if theſe northern plenipotentiaries had any thing to offer which tended to the public utility, his advice was, that they ſhould ſubmit their propoſals to the Auſtrian miniſtry at Vienna. The truth was, he loved not Guſtavus, and dreaded the emperor: and moſt people at that time attributed this repulſe to the haughtineſs of Walſtein. Be that as it will, the king of Sweden reſented this indignity in a manner conformable to his high ſpirit, (for if that prince had any one fault, it was being naturally liable to ſudden tranſports of paſſion) and this affront ſtuck ſo nearly to his heart, that he alledged it afterwards as one of the principal reaſons that induced him to land his army on Imperial ground, and interfere with the ſtate

1628.

1629.

1629. of affairs upon the continent: ſince it is reported by a writer * well-verſed in the hiſtory of treaties, that the Swediſh deputies were interdicted from entering Germany and approaching the congreſs, under pain of death. The reſult of the treaty at Lubec was, that his Daniſh majeſty ſhould content himſelf with the title of duke of Holſtein, without preſuming to ſuggeſt either his wiſhes or diſinclinations to the emperor, with reſpect to the ſyſtem of the Germanic body: that he ſhould relinquiſh his pretenſions to certain biſhoprics on the continent, and reſtore to the Imperialiſts the iſlands of Femor and Neuſtrand, and ſuch other places as he then poſſeſſed by right of arms: this premiſed, by virtue of the ſame treaty he was to re-enjoy his antient poſſeſſions, upon condition the emperor ſhould ſtill retain his old title to Holſtein, Stormar and Ditmar; that the expences of the war ſhould be re-imburſed, and the priſoners exchanged on either ſide. Nevertheleſs the king of Denmark (at leaſt in order to preſerve appearances) had courage enough to refuſe a requeſt that Wolſtein made him, of adding a ſmall ſquadron to the Imperial fleet, under pretext of ſecuring the free navigation and tranquillity of the Baltic †.

By this time Ferdinand had overcome all his enemies in the empire and round it, and erected the houſe of Auſtria into an univerſal monarchy. Which one of Walſtein's deputies in effect acknowledged to the king of Denmark: for being aſked if the Imperial party did not fear ſome check from the united efforts of France, England, Sweden, and Holland, replied unconcernedly, that the perſon who was once maſter of Germany, might deſpiſe the combinations of ſuch remote and inconſiderable enemies. But God (to make ambition its own curſe) has given it certain ideas of acquirable greatneſs that are unlimited, unreaſonable, and (what is ſtill worſe) never to be ſatisfied. Ferdinand therefore, arrived now at the utmoſt height of human vanity, (for all things relating to finite beings have certain rectrictions and limitations) found ſtill a void in his own breaſt, and bethought himſelf of an ulterior glory wherewith to fill up this little niche of vacant fame: and this

* Ambaſſadeur de Wicquefort, Part i. 219.
† Hiſtorical or Authentic Relat. Tom. i. p. 58.

trifling

trifling ſuccedaneum was neither more nor leſs, than the total extirpation of the proteſtant religion in Germany. The undertaking was arduous and hazardous, and therefore he began it gently: and as he was to walk in unfathomable waters, felt his ground ſtep by ſtep, before he obliged himſelf to take the deſperate plunge. 1629.

He made his firſt eſſay warily and cautiouſly enough, upon his own hereditary dominions; and publiſhed an edict to this import, that all perſons of the evangelical perſuaſion muſt leave their poſſeſſions and depart, or conform to the popiſh religion within a time preſcribed. Even one ſixth of Auſtria itſelf was then peopled with proteſtants, and Bohemia, Hungary, Moravia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, boaſted ſtill greater numbers; many likewiſe wavered in their faith, and a good number concealed their ſentiments till ſome general deciſion ſhould put their declarations out of danger. Yet the publication of this edict produced more trouble than was firſt apprehended. The peaſants of Bohemia (where the ſpirit of religious liberty could never be extinguiſhed) formed themſelves into a body, in ſpite of all former decimations and proſcriptions, and concerted a deſign of ſeizing the emperor and his attendants on a hunting-day, when probably they would have given his ambition its deciſive ſtroke. The conſpirators drew lots who ſhould atchieve this deſperate undertaking: but chance or infidelity made an ample diſcovery of the whole plot, and the author eſcaped into Hungary, and then refuged himſelf in the Ottoman dominions.

This prelude of religious tyranny being thus brought to an happy event, the emperor boldly diſplayed his whole game at once, performing what his predeceſſors, from the perverſeneſs of circumſtances in their disfavour, had long fruitleſsly deſired to effect: and publiſhed the famous *edict of reſtitution* *, which at length brought Guſtavus into the empire, and overturned the labours of twelve of the moſt proſperous campaigns that the houſe of Auſtria, or any European power, had ever ſeen. For that little cloud which aroſe in the North, *no larger than the palm of a man's hand*, to make uſe of the words of Holy Scripture, collected its force ſo ſuddenly, and diſpread that force ſo violently, that it blotted

* There is an excellent abrigdment of this edict in Brachelius, 185—188.

1629. out the radiant glories of the houſe of Auſtria from the hemiſphere, almoſt before a man could ſay *there*, *there!*

Ferdinand therefore, ſolicited hourly by the princes of his own perſuaſion, and mighty-well inclined to bigottry on his own part, under pretence of making the formulary of the religious peace, concluded at Augſburg by the common conſent of all the Germanic princes, his rule and guide, gave orders to his men of politics and juriſprudence to compoſe and digeſt this mighty work, of which the publication (that it might be rendered more complete) was deferred till the enſuing year; during which interval application was made to the principal catholic princes to deliver in their opinions on ſo delicate and dangerous a ſubject.

Amongſt a conſiderable number of eccleſiaſtical benefices marked out in a catalogue delivered to the emperor, theſe few following ones were ſelected for the firſt ſacrifice, namely, the archbiſhoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the biſhoprics of Minden, Oſnabrug, Halberſtadt, Verden, Lubec, Ratzburg, Schwein, Camin, and the abbacy of Hirſchfeld; and what was ſomewhat extraordinary, they all afterwards ſhared the fate of ſecularization by the conſent of both religions at the peace of Munſter, excepting Oſnabrug (in which the catholic party reſerved an alternative) and Lubec: which latter had taken its ſhare in the common wreck, if the chapter had not engaged itſelf, one year before the peace was concluded, to chuſe ſix biſhops ſucceſſively from the houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp, to which family the plenipotentiaries conſigned the adminiſtration of the biſhopric.

Thus the papiſts artfully enough paid the proteſtants out of *their own church*, and the latter ſwallowed the bait without any heſitation, though they had been fighting (as they pretended) thirty years for the ſupport and dignity of *that very church*. Magdeburg, Minden, Halberſtadt, and Camin, were all erected into principalities, and given to the houſe of Brandenburg. Bremen and Verden were denominated duchies, and aſſigned to Sweden; Ratzburg and Camin were dignified with the title of principalities, and beſtowed on the duke of Mechlenberg; and

Hirſchfeld

Hirſchfeld was ſtyled a principality too, and conferred on the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. 1629.

At length, to the infinite diſquiet of the proteſtant party, the *edict of reſtitution* was publiſhed, and commiſſaries diſpatched into all the provinces, to effect the reſtoration of the ſeveral acquiſitions which the evangelical party had been ſuppoſed to procure to themſelves ſince the treaty of Paſſau. There was one clauſe in it particularly embarraſſing: for in caſe a papiſt had turned proteſtant ſince that period, yet the poſſeſſion was not to follow its natural and original maſter. Thus confuſion was rendered more confuſed; and what was equally diſagreeable, no prince was out of the reach of the decree; for it affected the friends of Cæſar as well as the enemies. The firſt and principal perſonages in the empire felt a certain diſinclination to relinquiſh rich eccleſiaſtical benefices, which ſerved to make ample proviſion for their children and relations; and ſome princes there were, whoſe acquired poſſeſſions in this very light exceeded their patrimonial ones. It was objected therefore, that long and undiſturbed occupancy ought to be conſidered in good politics as a thing ſacred, and a ſort of title: and it was decreed likewiſe, that the proteſtants ever aſſented in the peace of religion to the inſertion of the article in reference to the reſtoration of the bona eccleſiaſtica; and as a proof of this, appeal was made to the journals of the whole tranſaction: it being plain beyond contradiction, that the ſaid clauſe had been ſqueezed into the inſtrument of peace by the obſtinate perſeverance of the papiſts, and the meer arbitrary violence of the emperor. Here the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg joined iſſue, and requeſted that the difficulty might be referred to a new general diet, inaſmuch as what related to all ought to be examined and decided by all. To this the Imperal party replied, that the determination of the affair belonged ſolely to the emperor, as appeared from ſeveral receſſes * of

* To underſtand this expreſſion the reader muſt obſerve, that what the ſtates eſtabliſh in a diet by plurality of voices, is called *placitum Imperii, a decree of the Empire.* When the emperor approves this *decree,* it then becomes an Imperial decree in form, and is named *concluſum Imperii, a concluſion of the Empire.* And when the aforeſaid acts are *ſigned* and *publiſhed* in the forenſic ſenſe of the word, they are then ſtyled *receſſus Imperii,* or *receſſes of the Empire.*

1629. the empire, and the laſt reſolutions agreed upon by the electoral convention held at Mulhauſen.

Upon this the commiſſaries ſate forth to viſit their reſpective diſtricts, with orders particularly to ſummon before them (at different times and places of hearing) all thoſe who detained church-poſſeſſions, and all thoſe who ſued for their reſtitution; and in caſe unjuſt occupation and detention were once proved, the party delinquent was to be commanded in the emperor's name to make reſtoration; nor was the matter to admit of any adjournment, though it was alledged that the cauſe was then depending in the chamber of Spires, or that it was determined to lodge an appeal in the next general diet, ſince the laſt edict had proviſionally precluded all ſuch obſtructions and interferences. Cathedral and collegiate bodies were referred to the pope's declaration, which was expected to appear daily; and by way of encouragement to thoſe who ſubmitted frankly, and without any reſiſtance, all paſt profits were to be allowed them: whereas at the ſame time a retroſpection in this point was threatened to the refractory, and a prompt interpoſition of the military power. But in this rapid career of arbitrary perſecution, the popiſh party made a falſe ſtep in the very firſt act of partition, for many old occupants expected (which was natural enough) to re-enter into their poſſeſſions, whereas new claimants ſtarted up, equipped with no other title than a free grant from the emperor and the pope.

The firſt difficulty began at Augſburg, which appeared really to be ſomething ominous, as the famous confeſſion had been preſented there. The then biſhop demanded his intire juriſdiction; and a military force ſupported the authority of the Imperial commiſſary. In vain the elector of Saxony preſented remonſtrance after remonſtrance: the proteſtant miniſters were rejected from their parochial cures, and the inhabitants of the ſame perſuaſion prohibited from attending divine ſervice, not only in the city, but in the neighbouring villages and fields. The circumſtance of this tranſaction piqued the elector of Saxony almoſt as much as the tranſaction itſelf; for he conſidered Augſburg, with reſpect to the evangelical religion, as the place of its re-ſuſcitation;

and

and was mortified alſo to obſerve, that matters ſtood now on as bad a footing as they did ſome time before the peace of religion was agreed upon; and what alarmed him moreover extremely was, that the writers of the oppoſite party aſſerted in numberleſs fugitive pieces, that the evangelical religion was not the ſame ſyſtem of belief and practice which had been ſet forth formerly in the Augſburg-confeſſion. This, as he well foreſaw, was laying the axe to the roots of the reformation, ſince if that allegation was once allowed to be true, no perſon of the evangelical perſuaſion, as then profeſſed, had any certain rights or intereſts in the peace of religion. He therefore ſummoned all the eminent civilians and divines of his party to a meeting at Leipſic, and combined their arguments together in one apology againſt the Romaniſts, ſetting forth, that the elector of Saxony, and other proteſtant princes and ſtates, had preſented a clear and well-reaſoned confeſſion of faith to Charles V. (which act, reciprocally authenticated by both parties, had been enrolled in the regiſters of the empire) and as they had perſevered inviolably in the ſame ſyſtem, without any addition to it, or diminution from it, it was therefore abſolutely equitable and reaſonable to expect, that they ſhould not be precluded from the protection and advantages which the peace of religion granted them, as it was compoſed and regulated by the principles of the aforeſaid confeſſion. 1629.

During theſe tranſactions a new perſecution had ariſen in Bohemia of a very extraordinary nature, upon which many unhappy emigrants refuged themſelves in Sweden; for an edict was publiſhed, that all women of the evangelical perſuaſion, that were married to catholics, (whereof there were numberleſs examples) ſhould be expoſed, ipſo facto, to baniſhment, except they retracted. The ſeverity of this decree gave uneaſineſs to the papiſts themſelves, whom it affected: for the firſt officers of ſtate, and nobles of the kingdoms, had intermarried freely amongſt the proteſtants before the breaking out of the civil wars (inaſmuch as the ladies in Bohemia became heireſſes almoſt in the ſame manner as they do in England;) upon this account the huſbands, fearing a confiſcation of their wives poſſeſſions, expreſſed an aukward

1629. ſort of diſlike, and the rather, as no divorce was propoſed by way of ſalvo and indemnification: but the ladies took a nobler part; they exclaimed loudly againſt this matrimonial perſecution, and not a ſingle woman left her houſe and family. Thunderſtruck with ſuch perſeverance the Imperial chamber iſſued out, May 1, 1629, a ſecond edict of the explanatory kind, allowing the fair-ſex a ſort of toleration till the huſband's death; after which event they were deprived from the right of poſſeſſion, and enjoined to tranſport themſelves into ſome other country, under prohibition, during the interval, to exhibit themſelves at any nuptials or other public entertainments, except upon condition of giving precedency to every woman of the catholic perſuaſion. How arbitrary muſt a ſovereign be, who can enact laws of ſo afflictive a nature to the poor females!

Whilſt the commiſſaries executed their office with great ſeverity in the judicial way, and both parties (to change the nature of their former diſputation) engaged with great acrimony upon paper, a new complaint took its riſe, which affected both ſides deeply, though perhaps not equally, and that was the licentiouſneſs, rapine and cruelty of the Imperial army, which Walſtein had augmented to a degree inſupportable: even though 10000 men had been ſent into Poland againſt Guſtavus, and a conſiderable ſupply detached for the ſervice of the arch-duke in the Low Countries; not to mention an army of near 30000 combatants employed in Italy on the reduction of Mantua.

Walſtein adminiſtered occaſion to farther complaint, for all Germany trembled at the thoughts of war, and that general was indefatigable in ſeeking opportunities to create a new one. As he was a punctual man in matters of ſeverity, he ſent colonel Pecker to Magdeburg with a regiment of Croatians, in order to receive the contribution he had impoſed on the town; which was an errand diſagreeable enough to a city not over wealthy, and which valued herſelf upon being by no means the moſt ignoble of the Hanſeatic towns. Upon which the populace (whether with or without the connivance of the magiſtracy cannot be aſſerted) ſeized ſome ſhips of corn that were making their way down the Elbe to Walſtein's army, and committed ſome ſlight acts

of

of hoſtility on the regiment then quartered near the town. The ma- 1629.
giſtrates made ſhew of great external diſapprobation upon this occaſion, but Walſtein, naturally vindictive and of a temper uncontrollable, (bearing them likewiſe an antient hatred, as they expreſſed no joy when he became their neighbour, and was created duke of Mechlenberg) ſent them word immediately, that by way of making their peace with the emperor, they muſt levy a regiment of ſoldiers for his ſervice, and maintain them at their own expence. A memorial was preſented to him with a view to deprecate the ſeverity of this command, but Walſtein rejected their applications with ſcorn, and ordered a part of his army not only to blockade, but inveſt the town. Upon this the Hanſeatic cities took the alarm, particularly Brunſwic, Lubec, and Hamburg, and ſent deputies to him, in hopes to break the force of his anger, and induce him to withdraw his troops. His anſwer was, (and if they knew the man they had reaſon to expect ſomething of that nature) that the corn muſt be reſtored him in the firſt place, and the ſeveral delinquents delivered into his cuſtody; (ſufficient caution being alſo given him for all future good behaviour on the part of the citizens) and that then the contribution levied upon them muſt be diſcharged, and an Imperial garriſon admitted into the town, in order to give laws to the fury of the populace. From that moment the magiſtrates of Magdeburg had a clear preſentment that their deſtruction was determined, ſince a garriſon would always have the power to exact contributions at will, and introduce the edict of reſtitution whenever they pleaſed. Be that as it will, they choſe to wait the event of their ruin, and refuſed glorioufly to admit the garriſon; promiſing at the ſame time to give implicit obedience to the emperor in every other reſpect. They then beſought leave to ſend their deputies to Vienna, but Walſtein denied them that favour, (being advanced by this time as far as Guſtrow) and gave the inhabitants to underſtand moreover, that if they did not receive his garriſon in five days, all future accommodation ſhould be precluded. Nevertheleſs that general, from ſome motive undiſcoverable to us at preſent, (for the inhabitants had made all poſſible preparations for a deſperate defence) contented himſelf with

1629. bare threatenings, and lowering his tone all in a moment, abſolved them even from the payment of the contribution he had before demanded, and requeſted nothing further of them, but to perſevere in affection and loyalty to the emperor. Some ſuppoſe that he dreaded to aſſault a ſet of men rendered deſperate by oppreſſion; but Walſtein was not ſubject to terrors of that kind: others conjecture that he had received a poſitive countermand from his maſter; but ſuch he had often diſobeyed upon other occaſions: therefore my private opinion is, (and that ſeems to me moſt conformable to his character) that he feared to irritate Guſtavus, who then wanted an occaſion to invade Germany, (for Guſtavus was an object of fear even to Walſtein) or that he thought it imprudent to kindle up a war juſt in the neighbourhood of his new-acquired dominions.

Guſtavus was greatly enraged with Walſtein's inſolence at the late convention, for part of the outrage committed againſt his majeſty's dignity was aſcribed to him; and determined to puſh the war with ſuch vigour, as to force the Poles into a compliance. In theſe campaigns he relied chiefly on the connivance and private favour of the elector of Brandenburg, whoſe ſiſter he had married; for that prince ſecretly wiſhed him well as far as he durſt, and permitted him tacitly, in caſe diſaſtrous events might fall out, to retreat and ſhelter his troops in his dominions. It was in this after-game that Guſtavus placed his confidence, upon ſuppoſition any ſignal misfortune ſhould befal his army. Nevertheleſs, a part of the elector's affection could not be concealed from the ſuſpicious and watchful Auſtrians, and that was the free-occupation he granted Guſtavus of the port of Pillau, through which intercourſe the Swediſh army was chiefly ſupported, not only as to proviſions and implements of war, but alſo with reſpect to re-inforcements.

As Walſtein had preſſed the town of Stralſund extremely hard, and Guſtavus had ſent the inhabitants a ſuccour of 500 men, and a good ſupply of ammunition, the court of Vienna grew enraged to ſuch a degree, that in conſequence thereof it was determined to diſpatch Arn-

heim to the aſſiſtance of Sigiſmond *. Him Walſtein diſmiſſed with this extraordinary injunction: "Arnheim, take 10000 men, and drive Gu- "ſtavus out of Poland; and in caſe you cannot perform that taſk, "tell him Walſtein will come and effect it himſelf †." Which vain-glorious rodomontade puts me in mind of a ſpeech that an Iriſhman made to one of our Henrys, who was ſent by a certain Mac-Gilpatrick, chief of Upper-Oſſory, to the king, to complain againſt the deputy of that province; he met his majeſty going to chapel, and delivered his embaſſy in theſe words: "Sta pedibus tuis domine rex; dominus meus "Gilla-Patricius me miſit ad te, & juſſit dicere, quod ſi non vis caſti- "gare Petrum Rufum, ipſe faciet bellum contra te." 1629.

Nevertheleſs the Poles admitted theſe troops into Pruſſia with a ſort of diffidence ‡, notwithſtanding Sigiſmond declared that he had perſonally requeſted ſuch aſſiſtances from the emperor, in order to extirpate the Swedes from Pruſſia, and recover his own hereditary dominion of Sweden. Yet the ſenators entered coldly into his allegations; for Arnheim (as being the ſlave of Walſtein's inclinations) was looked upon as a perſon of ſuſpected faith: and upon this the orders of the kingdom replied, that Guſtavus, on ſuppoſition he was not provoked, was too far removed from their concern: and if his majeſty had carried his zeal for popery, by the advice of the pontifical party, to the very precipice of extremity, it was now his own perſonal buſineſs to recover the crown of Sweden by the ſelf-ſame aſſiſtances.

As the Poliſh ſenators dealt much in plain-dealing and free-ſpeaking, ſo the ſtates of Sweden diſtinguiſhed themſelves in another reſpect, and that was in affection and loyalty: "Repreſenting to their "maſter in the ſtrongeſt and tendereſt manner, that as Sigiſmond had "refuſed the reaſonable offers which had been made to him by the "deputies of Brandenburg and Holland, and inſiſted that Sweden "ſhould reſtore to him all the conqueſts that had been made in Li- "vonia and Pruſſia; as he had requeſted an auxiliary army from his "Imperial majeſty, and as the emperor had inſolently denied admit-

* *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, fol. three Tomes, adorned with maps, plans, portraits, *&c.* engraven by the celebrated Matthew Merian, and publiſhed by Cornelius Danckaertz. Tom. i. p. 51, 52.

† Swediſh Intelligencer.

‡ Hiſt. Authent. Relat. Tom. i. p. 53.

"tance-

1629. "tance to the Swediſh plenipotentiaries at Lubec, they implored Guſta-
"vus, in caſe a deaf ear was turned to his future generous propoſals,
"to commence the war with re-doubled vigour, and fix the ſeat of it
"in ſome foreign country, that being in their opinion the moſt ad-
"vantageous method of carrying on hoſtilities: it appearing to them
"infinitely more dangerous and fatiguing to protect their own coaſts,
"and leſs reputable and diſtinguiſhing likewiſe in the eye of the pub-
"lic." It was then voted, that money ſhould be raiſed conformably to the taxes at that time ſubſiſting; that the recruits to be levied ſhould be continued for two years certain, and that the marine ſhould be placed on the beſt footing that human prudence could deviſe: and to ſtrengthen the fleet particularly, each nobleman, who furniſhed an horſe to the military ſervice, engaged to ſubſcribe about eight pounds. Large ſums were likewiſe promiſed from the India company, and the clergy and people in trade agreed to furniſh out fifteen armed ſhips. At the concluſion of the meeting the king paid a very gallant compliment to three of his officers; for he made Horn, Banier, and Todt, all ſenators.

Some time afterwards arrived an embaſſy from Muſcovy, with full powers to make his majeſty an offer of diſpatching of an army into Poland againſt Sigiſmond *; but the propoſal was declined with thankfulneſs and courteſy: either becauſe the king had ſome preſentment of an approaching accommodation, or becauſe he never reliſhed the aſſiſtances of irregular forces; for he always conſidered war as over-cruel and ſanguinary, even without the intervention of barbarian combatants.

Arnheim by this time had made Higher Pomerania the rendezvous of his troops †. He then marched to Grandrentz, a city of Poland, lying on the eaſt ſide of the Viſtula, in order to join Conoſpoliſki, whom the Imperialiſts conſidered as a warrior of reputation. In twelve days time, the Poliſh general encamped his troops on the eaſtern ſide of the

* Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, Tom. i. p. 56.

† As the operations of this laſt and moſt important campaign in Poland may be treated partially, both by Loccenius and Piaſecchi, the one a Swede, and the other a Poliſh biſhop, I ſhall conduct myſelf chiefly by the plain and ſoldier-like narrative of Sirot, notwithſtanding he then bore arms on the Imperial ſide. *Memoires de Sirot*, 2. Tom. 12°.

Viſtula,

Viſtula, oppoſite to Arnheim, who, as yet, could not reach Grandrentz. 1629.
A bridge of boats was then thrown over the river near Marienverder, in order to promote the junction of the two armies, whoſe reſpective generals, after that was effected, took care to regulate their marches in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch diſpoſitions, as to be prepared for battle in caſe they were forced to engage. The emperor's army always made the right wing, as the poſt of honour. Amidſt their various decampments from place to place, advice was at length brought them that Guſtavus approached. Arnheim and Conoſpoliſki held themſelves in readineſs to receive him, and (to prevent ſurpriſe) marched in battle-array to a little town called Marienverder, about ſix miles from Thorn, where Guſtavus then was at the head of a part of his army, which had made an advanced journey, in order to contemplate the countenance of the enemy. The Imperaliſts being appriſed of Guſtavus's intentions, decamped before break of day, with a view to render themſelves maſters of a difficult paſſage, ſituated in the midſt of a wood, and capable to afford them opportunities of making great reſiſtance. Here, in a ſort of amphitheatre, ſtood a mill, ſituated on the banks of a conſiderable river, near which was a large moraſs, that on one ſide rendered the approach very difficult; the other ſide was likewiſe protected to a certain degree, inaſmuch as a wood was to be traverſed by the aſſailants, and the roads thereof were conſtrained and narrow. It is certain, if Guſtavus had pre-occupied this poſt, according to his own intentions, the Poles and Imperialiſts had been both embarraſſed more than ſufficiently; but fortune favoured the united armies; ſome of whoſe troops arrived there before the Swedes, and made a lodgment by the dint of induſtry; for Conoſpoliſki, who well knew the importance of the poſt, marched all night at the head of nine regiments, beſides two regiments of dragoons and Coſſacks, and began to entrench himſelf by break of day. He then placed a grand guard at the front of the wood, on that approach next the Swedes, for fear of being ſurpriſed in his obſtructed and concealed retirement. A part of his advanced troops, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, diſperſed themſelves here and there through the fields that extended beyond the wood,

1629. wood, and brought intelligence at break of day, that a regiment of dragoons, and another of horſe, were in full march to ſecure the poſt in queſtion.

Theſe troops were conducted by the Rhingrave *, a hot young man, who had like to have ruined his maſter by his impetuoſity; for Guſtavus had ordered him to puſh on and ſecure the paſſage, upon ſuppoſition only that he met with no notable oppoſition †: but the Rhingrave (who afterwards, to do him juſtice, became a more compoſed and regular general) urged his men on with that extremity of reſolution, that the enemy ſoon found it expedient to relinquiſh to him this firſt ſituation; though their number more than counterbalanced that of the Swedes; for he attacked them with that fury and intrepidity, that he allowed not his dragoons an opportunity to diſmount, which was an order the king had given him for particular reaſons.

Had this brave young man ſtopped here till Guſtavus came up, all had been ſafe; and it is probable a ſignal victory might have enſued; yet it no-where appears that his maſter was angry with him; for it was his notion there ſhould be rather too much fire in youth, in order to ſupply proper remains for maturer years.

The Rhingrave advancing briſkly to purſue his point, prepared himſelf to force a ſecond entrance. Arnheim and Conoſpoliſki being informed of this rencounter, and of the deſign of the enemy, imagined themſelves to be out-done both in dexterity and bravery. Upon this inſtructions were given, that a large diviſion of the army ſhould approach, in order to ſuſtain thoſe who defended the paſſage and the mill. The troops marched with ſuch diligence that they ſupported their comrades, who otherwiſe muſt have ſunk under the ſuperiority of the Swedes, who attacked like men poſſeſſed, and whom neither the difficulty of the ground, nor the perpetual diſcharge of muſquetry, could compel to retreat. Nevertheleſs, the Imperial cavalry, after galloping a good hour, was ſo fortunate as to prevent the Swedes from

* His name was Otho Lewis. He performed before a very gallant action in the Daniſh ſervice, at the retreat of Oldenberg in 1626, after the fatal loſs of the battle of Lütter; but made a ſecond miſtake in Germany, which might have proved fatal to him.

† Loccenius, p. 561.

making

making any farther progreſs, and arrived juſt at the point of time when the engagement began to proceed to the laſt extremity: for Guſtavus in that inſtant had juſt joined his men with a re-inforcement of ſome regiments, and ſome choſen troops; but ſoon found that matters were not ſo circumſtanced as to favour his undertaking: but being a man of honour, he was reſolved to bring his ſuffering ſoldiers off with credit; for the Rhingrave had loſt five colours, and 200 men were killed; not to mention the priſoners. At this very inſtant Guſtavus learnt, that beſides part of the Poliſh army, the whole Imperial force was advancing to attack him, (a ſet of hardened and experienced troops, far more reſpectable than the Polanders) which induced him to think of ſounding a retreat; and not engaging himſelf imprudently in a place, and in an attack where he could not ſucceed but by a combination of fortunate circumſtances hardly to be expected: for his majeſty had no intention to draw on a battle that day, but only ſecure a paſs, leaving the better part of his army at a good diſtance behind under Wrangel's care, and having no more with him than 8 or 10000 ſelected men, wherewith to oppoſe an enemy who outnumbered him by two thirds. But at the moment he was meditating to file off and retire, two freſh regiments of Imperialiſts arrived, and diſmounting immediately, fell on with ſuch fury, that they oppreſſed the Swediſh troops by weight and number, and drove them back to the extremity of the wood where the Poliſh grand guard had firſt lodged themſelves. At the ſame time Sirot joined the Imperialiſts with the regiment of Arnheim, ſeven ſelect companies of foot, and two regiments of Coſſacks; ſo that Guſtavus was obliged to retire behind an hill of ſand, about 3000 paces from the entrance of the wood, and range his troops afreſh in a ſituation where one could not readily ſee them, or form a notion of the diſpoſitions then made. After various ſkirmiſhes and attacks on looſe uneven ground, Guſtavus contrived to mount the eminence of an hill, on which there was a large area, protected on one ſide by a marſh and wide lake, and on the other ſide by a deep ditch, which came out of the wood and environed the ſpace, round which was a meadow of no inconſiderable dimenſions: and there Guſtavus

1629.

1629. lodged his troops. After ſeveral rencounters, which took different turns, being of a variable and equivocal nature, the Imperial army at length came up, but was greatly embarraſſed for want of ſufficient room to act in. Amidſt this confuſion, the Poliſh troops that were firſt on the poſt determined to make themſelves maſters of the ſummit of the hill. To this effect, they all advanced in one line, excepting the Coſſacks, who marched a few paces after them at right and left. On this new movement the Swedes redoubled their efforts; but the numbers that acted againſt them were ſo diſadvantageous, and the fire of the muſquetry ſo greatly ſuperior in frequency and quantity, that they reſigned the top of the hill to their adverſaries, who entrenched themſelves there. Guſtavus had ſtrong reaſons for making this ſacrifice, though highly contrary to his natural temper; for he choſe not to lie ſo near a determined enemy, when there was nothing to divide the combatants but the rubbiſh of ſome old ruins.

In this third retreat the Coſſacks incommoded extremely the regiment of the Rhingrave in flank, which obliged him to attack them in ſelf-defence. But unfortunately, in making this movement, he neceſſarily laid himſelf open to Sirot, who, though inferior in point of men, ſeized one of thoſe critical moments in war, (which never preſent themſelves a ſecond time) and made ſo judicious and opportune an attack, that the Swediſh army was obliged to face about. And now regiment oppoſed regiment, in like manner as one man engages another; the irregulars upon the whole did much miſchief, eſpecially upon the right wing of the Swedes. A ſeries of miſapprehenſions and miſconduct in inferior officers had drawn Guſtavus into ſuch a dilemma, that he reſolved for a ſhort ſpace to try what an incredible effort might effect: he fought therefore at the head of the firſt regiment like a common ſoldier, with an intrepidity not to be deſcribed. Sirot miſſed killing him very nearly; nor was the king deficient in returning the like intentions. To comprehend this matter more exactly, it muſt be known, that the gallant Frenchman had ſhot the cornet of the pretorian regiment of guards, and wanted to carry off the colours. Guſtavus, who was engaged juſt by, ſeeing the officer on the ground, and judging rightly of

the French baron's deſigns, inſtead of taking a little path, which would have conducted him more ſafely round the edge of the lake, advanced towards Sirot by a ſhorter paſſage, and lodged a carabine-ball in his right arm, intending to have ſhot him through a vital part. Sirot advancing, made a return with his piſtol, and fired ſo near the king's head, that he burnt his hair, and either the ball, or the motion the king made on the occaſion, cauſed his hat to fall to the ground. Sirot had by chance a domeſtic with him, who being inſenſibly drawn into the combat, and having a deſire, as his horſe was killed under him, to ſeize the horſe of the cornet whom Sirot had ſhot, took up (as he was then on foot) the king's hat, and gave it his maſter. Sirot had not eſcaped ſo cheaply, had it not been for a coat of mail which he wore under his hongreline. He neither knew the king, nor the king him. 1629.

It is ſaid by an author *, (not that I relate that writer's account for matter of fact, having no collateral authorities) that this very impious and heretical hat was ſent by the houſe of Auſtria to adorn the ſhrine of the lady at Loretto; which, ſaith the ſame perſon, is leſs to be wondered at, inaſmuch as the father of critics had the preſumption to bequeath his night-gown to the ſaid holy virgin. Whereupon a wit of that age wrote the following diſtich:

Criticus virilem virgini togam legans
In morte fecit Lipſius ſolæciſmum.

But to return to the action laſt mentioned. Upon the whole, certain it is, that the king always diſliked this loſs of his beaver, and comforted himſelf as well as he could with the following application to the enemy:

——Victor ovat ſpolio, gaudetque potitus.
Tumo tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta & cum ſpolia iſta, diemque
Oderit——.

* New Star of the North, p. 44.

1629. We have no account of the numbers ſlain on either ſide; yet the regiment of Bindhauf, eſteemed the very fineſt in the Imperial ſervice, was intirely ruined: and fourteen enſigns of foot and five of horſe were taken by the Swedes. Who were made priſoners, and who were ſlaughtered, appeareth not, excepting a Swediſh velt-maréchal (whom I ſuppoſe to be Wrangel *) and count John, the Rhingrave's brother. Sirot's men took him, but the Polanders attemped to rob them of their capture, in expectation of a large ranſom. In this tumultuous conteſt the poor young nobleman was unfortunately killed. The king received five muſquet-balls that day on his armour: Conoſpoliſki engaged hand to hand with a Swediſh cornet; ſo violent was his inclination to ſeize a pair of colours in his own proper perſon; but his horſe ſunk under him, being pierced through with ſeveral balls; and, like Guſtavus, he was taken priſoner, and then reſcued. In one part of this ſeries of engagements, he exhibited a practice in war, which will hardly be credited in a Poliſh officer; and very probably it was his own invention; and that was a *maſqued battery*, ſecured by a redoubt †, which made an unexpected and deplorable carnage.

One Soop, a captain of horſe, diſengaged the king, who was fighting amidſt a body of Polanders that knew him not. A Poliſh horſe-ſoldier had clapped a piſtol to his ear, when Soop ſhot him in the very act of attempting to give fire; for Guſtavus was ſullen, and refuſed to aſk quarter, or follow the enemy. Soop then, at the head of his own troop of cavalry, ſoon diſperſed the crowd round his maſter, and ſeizing his bridle by force, compelled him to retire: for which the king created him a chevalier in the public aſſembly at Stockholm ‡.

The two generals determined to give Guſtavus a ſecond attack the next day; but the king's capacity foreſaw the inconveniencies, and a maréchal of his camp reinforcing him by order with 3000 freſh men, gave him an opportunity to retreat triumphantly without the leaſt retardment from the enemy.

* This officer (whoſe chriſtian name was Herman) muſt not be confounded with Charles Guſtavus Wrangel, who made ſo great a figure after the death of Guſtavus Adolphus.

† Hiſt. des Guerres & des Mouvements, &c. ſous le regne de Louis XIII. Tom. iii. 185.

‡ Soop, Henry, commanded eight troops of horſe at the battle of Leipſic.

His

His majeſty's conduct on this occaſion (allowances being made for the Rhingrave's impetuoſity, and for his not poſſeſſing the poſt in diſpute ſome hours ſooner than perhaps it was poſſible for him to have done) had all things to boaſt which a great general can lay claim to. His perſonal bravery was perhaps juſtly blameable; except we conſider, that he was training and forming himſelf in the apprenticeſhip of war; and all commanders at firſt muſt give the troops an high idea of their perſonal valour. His preſence of mind was extraordinary; he never loſt his cooleſt thoughts for a moment; but made the immediate and only proper uſe of every man that came to his aſſiſtance; his diſpoſitions, his changes, his efforts, his attacks were ſuch, that the cuiraſſiers of the Imperial army (who were armed cap-a-pe, and deemed irreſiſtible) could never break him, or force him to fight beyond his choice; and the retreat he made was carried to the utmoſt pitch of glory that the circumſtances could admit of. Sirot took nine pieces of leather-cannon, and two of caſt-metal, from four to ſix pounders. 1629.

The king afterwards earneſtly deſired to have an interview with that officer, and gave him many encomiums with great politeneſs. He preſſed him much to ſerve under him, and, as Sirot only commanded ſome ſelect companies in the Imperial army, offered to place him at the head of as many regiments in the Swediſh ſervice. Sirot at that time made his excuſes, upon the footing of a man of honour, who had engaged his word elſewhere: *Truſt me*, replied Guſtavus, *and quit the party you have eſpouſed; aſſuredly elſe you will be obliged to do ſo in a few years: for if ever a peace be concluded between Sweden and Poland, I that moment will declare war againſt the emperor, conjointly with the king your maſter: and if you chuſe not to comply with my requeſt at preſent, promiſe me at leaſt, when you have delivered back your companies, to give me a meeting**. When the king afterwards had made ſome progreſs in Germany, he writ to Sirot with his own hand: Sirot haſtened to him: but in that interval Guſtavus was killed, and the Frenchman ſerved under the duke de Weymar.

* Memoires de Sirot, Tom. ii.

At

1629. At night Guſtavus retired to his old camp at Marienberg, and the two generals retreated to the poſt they had defended; ſince in truth they could not poſſibly find a more ſecure and advantageous ſituation. Their army paſſed the whole night under arms; but no enemy moleſted them.

The next day two priſoners of the Swediſh army (one of which was named Hume, a Scotſman, who commanded a regiment of German horſe) were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee Sirot wearing the king their maſter's hat: Sirot himſelf being entirely ignorant unto whom it belonged. They wept: they exclaimed: they acknowledged it to be Guſtavus's. They implored in the moſt earneſt manner to be informed if the king was dead. Sirot recounted the tranſaction to them; upon which they recovered a little from their anxiety and ſurpriſe.

Soon after the conjoined armies retired to Marienverder, in order to obſerve Guſtavus's motions. At this time his Poliſh majeſty arrived in the camp; changed the diſpoſitions the generals had made, and the deſigns they had formed: for having ſummoned a grand council of war, he propoſed to ſeek Guſtavus in his entrenchments at Marienberg, and make an attempt to force them; proceeding upon a preſumption, that they could not yet be brought to any notable poſture of defence: but in that circumſtance he little knew the military ſkill, the prudence and diligence of his antagoniſt: who in eight days had rendered his camp unapproachable; being protected on one ſide by a moraſs, and on the other ſide by a little river; and having only a ſmall aſſaultable opening, which Guſtavus had rendered highly defenſible with excellent entrenchments and fortifications: be that as it will, the king of Poland had ſtill an inclination to force his enemy's lines; and having made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, was at length repulſed with very conſiderable loſs. In conſequence of theſe mortifications, Sigiſmond determined to encamp himſelf not far from his old entrenchments. Arnheim quitted the Poles, and taking with him his four regiments of horſe, and four of foot, lodged himſelf at Neuburg, near the Viſtula, where the enemy had erected a fort in a ſmall iſland. Forming a deſign therefore to make himſelf maſter of this fort, he attacked it with a body

a body of ſoldiers, whom he tranſported over in boats; but the enter- 1629.
prize miſcarried improſperouſly enough: ſo that after various unſucceſsful attempts, he connected himſelf a ſecond time with the Poliſh army, and encamping near Guſtavus, gazed upon him inactively during the remaining part of the campaign. It is true, the united generals ſpared no pains to allure Guſtavus to a deciſive battle: but that prince underſtood his profeſſion too well, and had too diſtinct a notion of the ſuperiority of his adverſary's numbers, to enter into any hazard out of pure gallantry: he therefore kept firm to his poſt; nor were they able either to force his lines, or compel him to retire. By this time Arnheim grew indiſpoſed (or made pretences rather of an indiſpoſition, for he was the beſt diſſembler in the world); and thus the command of the Imperial troops devolved on duke Julius of Sax-Lauenberg; and then on count Mansfelt.

Arnheim had diſpleaſed Sigiſmond, by refuſing to attack the town of Marienberg, having no authority, as he alledged, from his court, to invade the territories of the elector of Brandenburg, who owned that part of Pruſſia. What his inſtructions were, cannot well be aſcertained, but this is manifeſt, that his eſtate lay in the dominions of that elector; and there are reaſons to ſuſpect, that he betrayed the Poles, and adverti ſed the elector privately of all their deſigns, ſo far as they bore any reference to him.

In this interval, Sirot made an attempt to force Guſtavus's lines, which the king allowed to be a ſpirited attack, and undertaken like a man of ſervice. The young Frenchman in the firſt place rendered himſelf maſter of an approach called Pozolar, where he defeated four troops of horſe and two of dragoons, commanded by a brother of maréchal Wrangel, whom he killed. He next ſeized the dike of Elbin, and had ſtormed fort Oſbron, where was only a garriſon of fourſcore men; but the water being high, and the foſſé wide and deep, and having no portable bridge, nor ſcaling ladders, he ſent to the new Imperial general for advice and aſſiſtance, who abruptly refuſed them both, and gave him poſitive orders to withdraw. In that interim two Swediſh regiments, with ſome field artillery, arrived to ſuſtain the fort. They

handled

1629. handled the French baron rudely enough, (to make uſe of his own words) nevertheleſs he retired in good order, and with no conſiderable loſs. The king then diſpoſed his troops ſo judiciouſly, ſecuring all paſſes, and bringing ſuch plentiful ſupplies of proviſions to his army, that Sigiſmond and the Poliſh generals had not power, after various efforts, to make themſelves maſters of an inconſiderable city called Stum *.

But the arrival of M. de Charnacé, the French ambaſſador, a miniſter more eſteemed at home than abroad, ſoon put an end to this Poliſh war. He was a man of ſervice as well as a politician †. Nevertheleſs Richelieu, who did not abſolutely confide in his abilities, diſpatched artfully to Guſtavus, uninveſted with any public character, the capuchin father Joſeph, whom he called not improperly *his political right-arm*. De Charnacé made his proper applications to the two contending kings, and induced them to ſend their reſpective deputies to a conference. To this purpoſe tents were erected about 500 paces diſtant from each camp: but his Swediſh majeſty proteſted the conference ſhould not proceed except he ſaw Sirot: ſo great a regard did he always pay to perſons of diſtinguiſhed valour.

De Charnacé having brought the treaty to a conſiſtency, played his cards with a ſort of ſhyneſs mixed with indifference, which put Guſtavus partly out of temper, and partly upon his guard. Nevertheleſs, he made Guſtavus an offer of a ſupply of money, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that the duke of Bavaria, and his confederates, earneſtly beſought the king his maſter to undertake the protection of Germany, and give a check to the progreſs of the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe power began to be equally terrifying both to papiſts and proteſtants. How

* Hiſtorical or Authent. Relat. Tom. i. 53.

† Hercules, baron de Charnacé, was a colonel of infantry, and a captain of horſe. He was the firſt public miniſter who gave the prince of Orange the title of *Highneſs* inſtead of *Excellence*, in the year 1637. He had always a certain abruptneſs in his *manner*; for when prince Henry-Frederic of Naſſau, modeſtly made him his excuſes for omitting a certain enterprize on account of the oppoſition that aroſe from wind and tide, he cut him ſhort by replying; *Sir, be pleaſed to remember, that there is no wind nor tide in France.* At the ſiege of Breda, the ſame prince, by way of return, ſaid to him, as he ſtood near him in the trenches: *If you feel any uneaſineſs, let me beſeech you to withdraw.* Upon which De Charnacé kept his ground out of choice, and was killed by a muſquet-ball.

far this aſſertion was literally true, in each of its branches, cannot di- 1629.
ſtinctly be aſcertained: yet thus much is certain, that De Charnacé had been diſpatched to the elector of Bavaria ſome months before, with a view to reconcile him to the proteſtant princes, and detach him from the emperor; dexterouſly inſinuating at the ſame time, that they, in conjunction with his maſter, would raiſe him to the dignity of the Imperial throne after the death of Ferdinand. But Maximilian did not chuſe to make ſo deſperate a plunge in politics all at once: nevertheleſs allowed certain oblique expreſſions to tranſpire, which tended to ſhew a certain diſapprobation of the emperor's conduct, and a ſtrong diſguſt to the king of Spain, who traverſed him, to uſe his own expreſſion, in all things *. He then harangued more at large on the ambition and inſolence of Walſtein, and paſſed his word not to aſſiſt the emperor to the diſadvantage of the duke of Mantua. From whence it appears, that though the elector had not courage enough to diſmember himſelf at once from the houſe of Auſtria, yet it is plain he had certain inclinations to procure and cultivate a good correſpondence with France, as will appear more diſtinctly in the ſequel of our hiſtory. Guſtavus had no diſlike to this circumſtantial detail, but ſtill ſuſpected that the French miniſter did not act ſincerely and ſeriouſly with him. He had likewiſe a doubt if De Charnacé had any other views than to divine, if poſſible, what might be his future intentions. For theſe reaſons he gave him ſome ſlight glimmerings of hope, and then returned him an anſwer conceived in vague and general terms.

But to return from this ſhort digreſſion. The elector of Brandenburg had his reaſons likewiſe to diſpatch a public miniſter, in order to bring the aforementioned treaty to an happy concluſion; and his Britannic majeſty (ſucceſsful by happening once in his politics to coincide with the inclinations of the contending parties) made uſe of Sir Thomas Roe in the like undertaking, who acquitted himſelf with good temper and diſtinguiſhing capacity. In truth, Guſtavus had a great deſire to ſettle a good correſpondence with England, having conceived certain pre-occupations of good-will to the advantage of Charles I,

* Diſſert. de M. Puffendorf ſur les alliances entre la France & la Suede. 8°. A la Haye 1709.

1629. who had honoured him with the inveſtiture of the garter, and rendered him ſignal ſervices before this period, in compoſing the diſagreeable commotions that had ſubſiſted between him and Sigiſmond, which in one word impeded diametrically the darling project of his life, namely, an invaſion into Germany. Nevertheleſs, it was Charles's misfortune not to keep pace with Guſtavus's expectancies; for inheriting a part of his father's pacific diſpoſition, he at the ſame time ſpirited up Guſtavus, and lent a kind ear to propoſals of accommodation from the court of Vienna: and with a view to facilitate this project, diſpatched Anſtruther afterwards (who had been long the Britannic reſident at Copenhagen) full freighted with conciliatory injunctions to the diet of Ratiſbon.

In a few days the treaty took effect, it being now the month of Auguſt *. It was to hold its force for ſix complete years: [at the expiration of which, in 1636, D'Avaux protracted it for one and twenty years more] and indeed it was high time, on the part of Sigiſmond, to conclude ſomething, notwithſtanding he demonſtrated great unwillingneſs on the occaſion †; for the kingdom of Poland was weakened and embarraſſed to ſuch a degree, that the king found it impoſſible to carry on the war with any tolerable ſucceſs and reputation. Theſe reaſons induced him to connive at the mediating aſſiſtances of France and England: and it was agreed that the Swedes, during this period of reconcilement, ſhould poſſeſs Elbingen, Memel, and Braunſberg, the fort of Pillau, and all the acquiſitions Guſtavus had made in Livonia. Two years and more before the expiration of which truce, his Poliſh majeſty died, (ſix months and a few days before Guſtavus) in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, worn out with inquietudes and fatigues, after a reign of forty-five years, checkered with good and adverſe fortune. His parts were rather acute than ſtrong: he was enterpriſing, artful, and abundant in reſources, and had the talent of ſtruggling through misfortunes without allowing himſelf to be diſmayed by them. Self-opinion and obſtinacy were his greateſt faults, and ſerved to account

* Hiſt. or Authent. Relat. Tom. i. 56. † Loccen. Hiſt. Suec. p. 562.

for the moſt conſiderable part of his miſapprehenſions and miſcarriages. 1629.
His family hath been long ſince extinct.

After this event of the death of Sigiſmond, nothing enſued of importance, except that another treaty was concluded betwixt Guſtavus and the town of Dantzic *. But the firſt conſequence of the truce before-mentioned, was the return of Arnheim and the Imperial army into Germany. It may be aſked, why this general, with a body of 10000 † veteran troops, did not perform his duty better, and obtain greater ſucceſſes? He was a man of artifice and ſtratagem, beloved by the ſoldiery at that period, and endued with great political abilities. But by the way, Arnheim, very juſtly ſuſpected through the whole campaign, poſſeſſed no inconſiderable eſtate in the territories of Brandenburg, which gave him a diſinclination to promote the war with intrepidity and vigour (for then the aforeſaid electorate might have become naturally the ſeat of action;) and upon theſe occaſions prince Vladiſlaüs ſuggeſted his ſuſpicions concerning him to his father Sigiſmond ‡. He was a creature alſo ſubjected to the *ferula* of Walſtein, who, like many other generals, had the ſelf-denial to ſacrifice his glory (great as that glory was) to his private paſſions and intereſts, his caprice and ambition. Walſtein (for reaſons which muſt occur to every ſenſible reader) had no deſire to bring this war to a concluſion by any deciſive ſtrokes; yet I muſt acquit him of having any perſonal views to a conſiderable degree, with reſpect to the private orders he gave Arnheim as to the campaigns of Poland; ſince the true intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria then was (coincidently with Walſtein's intereſt too) to carve out juſt employment enough for Guſtavus, without reducing either him or Sigiſmond to any certain and definite concluſions: for then they knew but too well (even though Guſtavus had been forced to make a peace) that he would turn his arms againſt Germany, and in that reſpect France counterworked them, and over-reached them.

Mean while new circumſtances in the Germanic ſyſtem paved the way for an invaſion more and more on the part of Guſtavus; for it

* Hiſt. or Authent. Relat. Tom. i. p. 57. † Loccenius ſays 7000, p. 561. ‡ Kobierziſki, Hiſt. Vladiſlaüs, p. 925.

1629. was now thought high time at Vienna to take off the maſk a little with regard to the elector of Saxony, who had implicitly, without ſerious reflection, been its obſequious ſervant for many years, with a view to make ſome inconſiderable acquiſitions in Luſatia and Bohemia, which the houſe of Auſtria, meerly by dint of its ſuperior greatneſs, had the power of reſuming whenever ſhe pleaſed. The event I am going to relate ſoon convinced him (though a weak man, who had been ſold by his general and miniſters many times before this period, and many times after) that the emperor had a mind to check him in his career, and give him a thorough mortification once for all, in ſpite of all meritorious paſſed ſervices, and the alliance that then ſubſiſted between them. To explain this point, it muſt here be known, that the chapter of Magdeburg, out of obedience to an Imperial proſcription, in the beginning of this year had diſpoſſeſſed Chriſtian William, marquis of Brandenburg, adminiſtrator of the archbiſhopric, and placed in his room Auguſtus, third ſon living of the elector of Saxony; which young man was then aged about 15. But the court of Vienna, inſtead of ratifying this election in behalf of a family that had ſerved its intereſts aſſiduouſly, (aſſigning no incapacity on account of youth) choſe to make it devolve on the archduke Leopold, the emperor's ſecond ſon*, who was born the ſame year with his brother-candidate. Mean while the ſee of Rome was previouſly applied to, and ſecured upon this occaſion; and when a denial was returned to the elector of Saxony, he perceived forthwith that the court of Vienna could write two ſtyles with equal energy; and that the title of prince *ab utili* (as the politicians then expreſſed themſelves) had an intereſt in her infinitely ſtronger than all paſt aſſiſtance and obligations. This repulſe conſoled the landgrave

* This prince was not ill-provided with church-preferments, both in proteſtant and popiſh countries; for the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg and the biſhopric of Halberſtadt were ſuppoſed to amount each to 50000 l. per ann. and the income of the abbacy and territory of Hirſchfeld was imagined to be half that value. But theſe were only a ſort of commendams, to be preſerved with his other eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. For previouſly to the preſent period he had been created biſhop of Straſburg and Paſſau, by the reſignation of his uncle, the archduke of Inſpruch, who had married the widow of duke d'Urbino. It was moreover intended to have procured for him, in courſe of time, the archbiſhopric of Bremen. He was alſo adminiſtrator of Murbach and Luders.

of Heſſe-Caſſel not a little; for he (who was half an enemy at leaſt to the Imperial family) had loſt the abbacy of Hirſchfeld, which was made an appennage to the archduke aforeſaid: and the elector of Saxony, an inviolable ally and friend of the emperor, met with a treatment juſt as harſh, conducted, from the beginning to the end, with as little ceremony and as much indelicacy. 1629.

His Daniſh majeſty too began to ſuſpect, as he poſſeſſed only one town, namely Gluckſtadt, in the duchy of Holſtein, that to ſupport an equal balance of power in Germany, was a taſk beyond his ſtrength and abilities. It was therefore he inclined a favourable ear to the treaty of accommodation which the emperor had announced to be held at Lubec; for a tedious and unſucceſsful war had chaſtiſed his ambition more than enough, and as omens and diſaſters of prodigy in thoſe days determined moſt men's reſolutions and practices, it happened, whether fortunately or otherwiſe I cannot ſay, that a flaſh of lightening pierced the royal chapel of Copenhagen, and deſtroyed the funeral trophies of all the kings. Chriſtian was ſtruck motionleſs in his military capacity from that moment, and never afterwards recovered the uſe of his warlike faculties.

Mean while Guſtavus, who above all things paſſionately deſired the concurrence of his ſubjects, could not allow himſelf to realize his ideas concerning a German invaſion, till he had firſt collected the ſentiments of the good people of Sweden. But not caring to receive any public check in the ſenate-houſe by way of ſurpriſe, he conceived it moſt proper to aſſemble in his own tent the ableſt men, civil and military, he then had round his perſon. It was there ſuggeſted modeſtly by one or two, who alledged they were not able to comprehend the effects of a war on the continent (whether through deſign, or from pure ignorance, I cannot ſay:) "That the revenues of the kingdom "had been exhauſted in foreign expeditions: that it favoured too "much of punctilio and romance to ſupport the intereſts of any "power, or eſpouſe the cauſe of any religion on the other ſide of the "water: that a good king ought to ſtay at home, and not croſs the "ocean in purſuit of feats of chivalry: that the dukes of Mechlen-

"berg

1629. " berg might be reinſtated better by good counſel than by the dint " of the ſword: that the German electors were the beſt judges of the " affairs of the empire, and beſt able to vindicate them: that the main- " tenance of the proteſtant religion depended on God, and not on " man: and laſtly, that as the ſea was a natural barrier, ſufficient to " protect Sweden from all invaſions; ſo it likewiſe rendered every " interpoſition upon the continent unſeaſonable, expenſive, and in- " fructuous."

It was obſerved farther, " That the emperor had given the Swedes " no lawful occaſion for declaring war, though many inſults had been " offered them, and various injuries committed againſt them: that " the troops ſent to Sigiſmond were ſuppoſed to be hired by the re- " public of Poland; and that this ſuppoſition might be rendered cre- " dible, if a nation choſe to cloſe its eyes a little, in order to obtain " tranquillity and peace: that a ſea-invaſion againſt Sweden was a " thing remote, and of a romantic nature; and an irruption by land " was alike improbable, ſince the kingdom of Denmark muſt be firſt " ſubdued and reduced *; and as to Livonia and Pruſſia, no attempts " could be made there, but ſuch as were incompatible with the Poliſh " truce. The expences of a war upon the continent were next expa- " tiated upon; nor was the immenſe power of the emperor paſſed by " unnoticed; nor the diſpeopling of Sweden, nor the making conqueſts " for other perſons advantages; the whole being concluded with a " pathetic peroration, relative to the ſtate of the kingdom, during the " minority of an infant princeſs, in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to diſpoſe " of his majeſty's life."

To theſe allegations and ſuggeſtions the king, and the major part of the aſſembly, replied to the following effect †:

" That univerſal monarchy, even upon the continent, muſt be re- " preſſed by neighbouring nations, at great hazard and inconceivable " expence, provided ſuch nations are only protected by a ſmall inter- " poſition of ocean; ſince a power of that encroaching and arbitrary " kind muſt, in its own nature, make new and wider undulations

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. p. 563. † Ibid. p. 563, 564.

" every

" every moment, except it be properly checked, and opportunely re- 1629.
" ſtrained: ſo that the fate of a country, removed at a moderate de-
" gree of diſtance from it, is only *res protracta, ſed non ſublata.*"
This preliminary being adjuſted, it was obſerved next: " That the
" Imperial troops were diſpatched avowedly into Poland, and that if
" ſuch inſults and aggreſſions were timorouſly connived at, the cha-
" racter of Guſtavus would be given down to poſterity in an ambi-
" guous light; for hoſtile actions carried more ſignification with them,
" than the diſavowal of courts and miniſters: that invaſions from fo-
" reigners, under certain circumſtances, far from being objects of in-
" difference, were matters of a very caſual and equivocal deciſion: that
" Walſtein, by the aſſiſtance of a Spaniſh fleet, then ſtationed at Dun-
" kirk, had formed immenſe deſigns (to ſay the leaſt of them) againſt
" the marine of Sweden; and that the king himſelf, conſidered in
" the light of a man of courage and an intelligent being, had no choice
" of an alternative with reſpect to peace or war." Yet ſtill it was graci-
ouſly obſerved by his majeſty, " That he ſhould conſign his own glory
" and private ſentiments unto the breaſts of his ſenators, who, in a ſhort
" ſpace, ſhould have full permiſſion to debate publicly the expediency
" or inconveniency of invading the empire." *I know*, cried the king
with ſome emotion, *as well as any one perſon amongſt my ſubjects, the difficulty, the perils, the fatigues, and duration of ſuch an undertaking; yet neither the wealth of the houſe of Auſtria diſmays me, nor her veteran forces. There are powers, even in the empire itſelf, who may not diſlike the favour of a viſit; and I may venture to aſſert, that a certain edict has caſt a damp upon the burning zeal of Saxony. It is moreover underſtood, that the Imperial army ſubſiſts by rapine and military exactions; whereas on the other hand, though the Swediſh revenues are not conſiderable, yet they are paid with punctuality; and my ſoldiers are accuſtomed to temperance, frugality, and virtue. In the worſt of caſes my retreat is ſecure; and my brave troops ſhall never want their daily ſubſiſtence, though it is tranſported to them from Sweden: and if it is the will of the Supreme Being, that Guſtavus muſt die in the defence of his country, he pays the tribute with thankful acquieſcence: it is a king's duty and religion both, to obey the*

great

1629. *great ſovereign of kings without a murmur. I ſhall leave the world with a firm perſuaſion that Providence will ſupport my ſubjects, becauſe they are faithful and virtuous; and that my miniſters, generals, and ſenators, will punctually diſcharge their duties to my child and people, inaſmuch as they reſpected me, and loved their country* *.

I own myſelf at a loſs which to admire moſt in this debate, his majeſty's abilities or his honeſty; for as he had not actually ſettled any eſtabliſhed agreement between himſelf, France, and England, though morally ſure of effecting ſomething on that head, he generouſly diſdained to have recourſe to ſuch perſuaſive and plauſible arguments: and indeed it was always the caſt of his temper, to preſerve ſome reſources by way of ſurpriſe, and perform more than he gave people reaſons to expect. It was only for a man like Guſtavus to quit this common department of the politician: and if Charles I. had thoroughly underſtood this exception in human nature, he would not have ruined, as far as lay in his power, the elector Palatin's cauſe, by inſiſting upon promiſes from Guſtavus relative to the reſtitution of that prince, before he had power to realize them. The true policy had been to have truſted the king of Sweden, and ſuſpected the reſt of mankind; which incidental remark the reader will ſee verified hereafter, by the king's affection and regard for that unfortunate prince, at a time when his Britannic majeſty gave over all concerns for his intereſt.

1630. It muſt be remembered, that this aſſembly was held in Pruſſia; and from thence Guſtavus ſet ſail for Stockholm, in which voyage De Charnacé attended him; and there he renewed his application to enforce an alliance between Sweden and France; but in ſuch high terms, and with ſo great an air of indifference, that men of ſenſe ſuſpected Richelieu (who had been made ſecretary of ſtate and prime-miniſter long before) to want more to penetrate into Guſtavus's deſigns, than to form any real agreement between the two crowns: for De Charnacé threw out his propoſals in a manner ſo extremely general and unreſtricted, that in every inſtance he ſeemed to reſerve for his maſter a ſafe and unconteſted opening by way of retreat: nor was he over-

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. p. 563—565.

modeſt

modeſt in the requiſitions he made; for it was expreſly requeſted by him, that Guſtavus, upon entering Germany, ſhould maintain an army of 36000 men, and oblige himſelf to continue the war, right or wrong, ſix intire years; for which ſervices France ſhould pay him annually 75000 l. ſterling. Guſtavus, conformably not only to right reaſon, but to the natural caſt of his temper, treated every article of theſe conditions with an air of penetration and diſdain: he choſe not to enliſt himſelf as a mercenary general upon ſo contemptible a ſtipend; nor was it pleaſing to him to be excluded from the means of treating with the emperor, upon condition propoſals were offered him ſatisfactory to his own honour and the proteſtant cauſe. He feared alſo leſt the other princes and ſtates, who courted his alliance, or might reciprocally be requeſted by him to enter into engagements, ſhould neglect, contemn, or think ill of his friendſhip, when they knew him to be engaged by France to carry on the war in the empire, at all events, for a limited number of years. A further difficulty yet remained; De Charnacé had forgot to invelop his ſentiments in ſuch clouds of obſcurity, as certain politicians have always the power of creating; conſequently Guſtavus penetrated through the thin diſguiſe, and ſaw plainly that France, whilſt ſhe employed him for a certain number of years irreverſibly in the empire, had a private view to make an advantageous peace with the emperor in Italy. For theſe reaſons the preſent negotiation was ſuſpended; nevertheleſs, not to cruſh it abſolutely in its precarious exiſtence, the ſecretary Nicholaï was ſent to Paris, to inſinuate dexterouſly, that Guſtavus had no diſinclination to an engagement, where the concluſions were reaſonable, and not inconſiſtent with his welfare and dignity. 1630.

During this interval, De Charnacé ſet out with a view to reviſit France, but received orders at Copenhagen to embark again for Stockholm, with freſh inſtructions (as it was generally thought) relative to a new confederacy in reſpect to the invaſion of Germany *; and thus matters were conducted to a more ſucceſsful concluſion.

* MS. letter from Sir Thomas Roe to lord viſcount Dorcheſter, ſecretary of ſtate, Feb. 14, 1629-30.

1630. It hath been aſſerted by Waſſenberg *, an author of ſo great repute, that the famous count de Furſtenberg publiſhed a commentary upon his hiſtory, that Guſtavus, upon the propoſal made him to enter Germany, placed ſo little confidence in French promiſes and ſubſidy-payments, that he inſiſted on his Chriſtian majeſty's ſending ſeven hoſtages to reſide at Amſterdam by way of ſecurity: and it was made a point likewiſe, that the republic of Venice ſhould ſend two hoſtages on the ſame purpoſes to Stockholm; and the Engliſh and Muſcovites ſhould diſpatch a certain number to make their abode in ſuch places as the king ſhould ſpecify. But the ſtates general were truſted upon their bare parole of honour: a mark of confidence which at that time they juſtly merited, on account of their ſincere good-will to the unfortunate elector Palatin, and the proteſtant religion, upon all occaſions then exiſting.

This matter being thus diſmiſſed for a ſeaſon, Guſtavus at length propoſed the final diſcuſſion of peace and war to the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembled in ſenate. Various arguments were then alledged on either ſide, in ſubſtance much the ſame with thoſe already related; but at length it was unanimouſly determined in favour of a ſafe and glorious peace, or a briſk and perſevering war, without admitting any intermediate ſtate of things by way of ſuccedaneum. The ſenate then concluded with an earneſt requeſt to his majeſty not to conſent to a peace, *except he had his helmet on* †; requeſting him at the ſame time to relinquiſh no preſent or future acquiſitions, without maintaining in the higheſt degree the honour and glory of Sweden, the ſovereignty of the Baltic, and the free exemption of the town of Stralſund; not forgetting the reſtoration of the dukes of Mechlenberg, and the re-eſtabliſhment of antient tranquillity in the two circles of Lower and Upper Saxony; keeping a ſtrict and watchful eye to all alliances then contracted, or thereafter to be contracted with foreign princes, and the true preſervation of the rights and dignity of the proteſtant religion ‡.

Upon this the ſtates of the kingdom expedited a deputy to Walſtein

* Florus German. p. 260.

† *Sed tantum ſub clypeo:* but the original words could not be tranſlated literally, according to the uſage of war then in being.

‡ Hiſt. Authent. Relat. in Low Dutch. fol. Tom. i. p. 51.

and Tilly, to whom his majeſty diſpatched alſo a couple of letters *. 1630.
But when the perſon delegated, whoſe name was Nicolas Bielké, (lord juſticiary of the country of Smaland) arrived at Stralſund, he thought proper, for certain reaſons, to ſend his letters and a copy of his inſtructions to the reſpective generals, and complained with great acrimony againſt the violence of Walſtein. It does not appear, that this arrogant commander had the politeneſs to return the king an anſwer; but Tilly made a reply with great reſpect, and modeſtly vindicated both himſelf and his party. The reſult therefore was, that the affair of Stralſund gave Guſtavus pretenſions upon the empire, and paved a foundation for him whereupon he might repoſe his hopes and preſervation: for it rendered him maſter of a ſea-port alike commodious for advancing or retreating.

And now openeth a great proſpect, that is to ſay, the invaſion of Germany; and ſince this point may be juſtly conſidered as the moſt important event in European hiſtory, it appeareth here highly convenient, once for all, to form a ſhort but diſtinct notion of the ſtate of the empire, for a century preceding, and ſomething more, with reſpect to its religious, civil, or military commotions.

Previouſly † to the Bohemian troubles in 1618, about an hundred years, (almoſt to a month) Martin Luther, profeſſor of theology in the univerſity of Wittemberg, began to diſpute publicly againſt the abuſes of indulgencies; and Ulric Zuinglius at the ſame period declaimed from the pulpit againſt the aforeſaid abuſes. The doctrines of Luther in general were extremely reliſhed by the majority of mankind; and he found moreover an excellent patron and protector in Frederic the Sage, elector of Saxony, and John the Conſtant, his brother. This was that very Saxon elector who, in conjunction with ſome other ſtates, *proteſted* againſt the Imperial decree in the diet held at Spires, in the year 1529, from which action the name of *Proteſtant* firſt took its riſe. After that a confeſſion of their faith was preſented to the emperor Charles V. ‡ at the

* Hiſtorical or Authent. Relat. in Low Dutch, fol. Tom. i. p. 51, 52.

† Memoirs communicated.

‡ It has been thought by ſome, that the houſe of Auſtria, in ſucceeding ages, formed its plan of univerſal monarchy upon the practices of this prince,

1630, the diet of Augſburg the enſuing year, and from thence the Lutherans ſurname themſelves to this very hour *Fidei Auguſtanæ addictos*; and as there was great reaſon to fear that the emperor would attempt to reduce them to conformity by force of arms, they thought it both ſafe and convenient to place themſelves in a ſtate of defence, and of courſe formed immediately the famous league of Smalcalden; a ſmall city in the territories of Heſſe.

The elector of Saxony, and Philip landgrave of Heſſe, were the chief perſonages in this confederation. But Francis I. king of France, Henry VIII. king of England, (who had publiſhed a treatiſe againſt Luther, upon the ſubject of the ſeven ſacraments, which procured him the title of Defender of the faith) and the king of Denmark, all aſpired to obtain the good graces and amity of the confederators at Smalcalden. M. de Bellay concluded a treaty with them at Eſlinguen in 1532; and it was then ſuppoſed in France, that a political ſtep of this nature would create the means of giving an oblique check to the immenſe power of the emperor. Yet the new religion unhappily performed that, which the enemies thereof could not effect; for the two communions of Lutherans and Zuinglians (or as ſome affected to call themſelves, *Helvetians)* had the

prince, and ſome traditional ſchemes and ſayings of his, that had been delivered down to poſterity by uninterrupted ſucceſſion. The potentate in queſtion, the moſt powerful and illuſtrious of all the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, trained up to great enterprizes, firſt by Perronet, and then by cardinal Granville, conceived the high idea of becoming ſole monarch of Europe; a title the Auſtrians and Spaniards at that juncture greatly wiſhed to ſee realized! They well foreſaw the difficulties which the princes and ſtates of the empire might throw in their way, and of courſe made the grand attempt to divide them, under pretext of extirpating the doctrines of a Saxon profeſſor. This expreſſion of *pretext* I purpoſely make uſe of, inaſmuch as it was in their power, many years before, to have given the death-ſtroke to the Lutheran cauſe. For ſome writers have thought that Charles V. granted more favours to the proteſtants by the *pax religioſa*, than an abſolute religioniſt could be thought to have done, and have ſuſpected (though perhaps without foundation) that the conference at Worms had made ſome impreſſion on his mind, and wrought therein no inconſiderable change: for when the Spaniards in the Smalcaldic war, on the ſurrender of Wittemberg, after the defeat of John Frederic, elector of Saxony, deſired permiſſion from him to dig up the bones of Luther, and burn them, he replied with great emotion: "Leave the man in "peace, I have no inclination to behold him "again, having ſeen enough of him in the diſ"putation at Worms." And what confirms the matter ſtill farther is, that his laſt words were reputed to be theſe: *In ſolis meritis Chriſti confido* *.

* *Hiſpanicæ Dominationis Arcana*, p. 20 & 26. *Motifs pour la guerre d'Allemagne*, p. 95.

misfortune

misfortune to diſagree in the very infancy of reformation. At firſt the difference was ſlight, relating to little more than ſome inſubſtantial diſagreements in the article of the Holy Supper; but after the Helvetians had adopted the doctrines of Calvin, the ſeparation proceeded to greater lengths. It was the cuſtom of the age to ſurname this latter party *Calviniſts*, but for their own parts they choſe rather to be dignified with the title of the *Reformed*. 1630.

At length the reformation made ſurprizing advances in neighbouring countries; Guſtavus Vaſa eſtabliſhed it in Sweden, and Albert of Brandenburg, firſt duke of Pruſſia, embraced it likewiſe. Chriſtian III. king of Denmark, cauſed the Doctor Pomeranus to come from Wittemberg, in order to eſtabliſh the new religion in the North. This eccleſiaſtic performed the ceremony of his coronation, and compoſed a liturgy at that time, which is made uſe of to this hour in the coronation of the kings of Denmark.

About the ſame time, and with a motion almoſt as rapid as lightening, the reformation diſpread itſelf over all Pruſſia and Livonia, as alſo over Poland, Lithuania, and even Bohemia, Hungary, Tranſylvania, Auſtria, and Carniola.

On the other hand it made its progreſs with the like rapidity through the Low Countries, but was attended there with great commotions and diſturbances (which took their riſe from the anabaptiſts); and then forced its way into the dominions of France, where Calvin threw it into a new mold.

The court of Rome diſcountenanced all diſcuſſions upon this ſubject; and the popes perſiſted in one uniform tone with Charles V. which was, to cruſh the proteſtants in Germany by meer force of power. But the emperor was not of ſo turbulent and ſanguinary a temper, and had reaſons beſides for dealing more mildly with the proteſtants, and more circumſpectly. He had a long and diſagreeable war to ſuſtain againſt Francis I. and the grand ſignior had no leſs ſcheme in view than to raviſh Hungary from the emperor's brother, Ferdinand I; in proſecution of which, he threw all Germany into an alarm, by inveſting the city of Vienna in 1529.

Mean

1630. Mean while the emperor, and many other catholic ſovereigns, requeſted a free council of the popes, but unſucceſsfully. Perhaps his Imperial majeſty might have done better to have convened a national council by way of *ſuccedaneum*: but that not being the caſe, at length pope Paul III. exhibited, what may juſtly be termed a farce or interlude to all Europe, a convening the aſſembly of Trent, which was ſuppoſed to repreſent an œcumenical council: but the proteſtants kept themſelves upon their guard, and were not over-reached.

That being the caſe, the emperor, after the concluſion of the peace at Creſpy in 1544, found himſelf in a capacity to turn his arms againſt the confederates of the Smalcaldic league, and two years afterwards publiſhed an Imperial proſcription againſt the two principal perſonages concerned therein, namely, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe. He then defeated the elector at the famous battle of Muhlberg, April 24, 1547, and took him priſoner: commanding that day in perſon, though extremely incommoded by the gout. Yet ſo great was this prince's paſſion for glory, when placed in the balance againſt other ſentiments, that he transferred the electorate of Saxony to prince Maurice. And hence it is that the electoral dignity is paſſed into that branch of the family which is called Albertin. Mean while the landgrave, in order to obtain his pardon, was obliged to come to Halle and perform the ceremony of genuflexion at the emperor's feet, who ſtill detained him priſoner, though Granville his great chancellor had given ſtrong hopes to the contrary. Hence aroſe a new war; and this may be called the moſt ſhining epocha in the reign of Charles V. Inſomuch that a ſuſpicion hath ariſen in many minds, as if he intended, after the reduction of the proteſtants, to have given a new caſt to the form of the empire.

Be that as it will, it grieved him particularly to have made his brother Ferdinand king of the Romans; ſince thereby he precluded himſelf from having the power of aſſociating to the empire his ſon Philip; a young man whom hiſtory might have pronounced fortunate, had he chanced to inherit his father's genius! But ſoon afterwards he acted an unbecoming part in England upon eſpouſing Mary, who had juſt then ſucceeded her brother Edward, and in the tranſports of enthuſiaſm overturned

turned that reformation, which his brother-in-law had taken care to introduce. 1630.

But at that very time, when the emperor Charles V. concluded himſelf ſovereign diſpoſer of the fortunes of all the proteſtants in Germany, Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, formed a freſh league, in order to ſecure the liberty of religion; and Henry II. king of France, who had lately ſucceeded his father Francis I, availed himſelf of this critical conjuncture with a view to make a powerful revulſion, and of courſe concluded with the confederate princes the famous treaty of Chambor. The elector of Saxony marched an army ſuddenly againſt the emperor in 1552, who at that time was without troops in the country of Tyrol, and ſuſpected nothing. His eſcape was fortunate; for the confederates miſſed little of ſurprizing him in the city of Inſpruck. Mean while Henry II. declared war againſt him, and ſurnamed himſelf the protector of the Germanic liberty; a title the French kings have ever affected to aſſume ſince that period! As if there was an opiate in the ſound, which might ſerve to lull the empire to ſuch a degree, till it dreamt itſelf into a ſtate of ſlavery!

At the ſame time the princes of Farneſe took the alarm in Italy, and cloathed themſelves in armour: inſomuch that the emperor, perceiving himſelf embarraſſed on all hands by a ſeries of revolutions quite unexpected, concluded immediately a truce at Paſſau with the proteſtants, in order to employ all his forces againſt the king of France.

This truce was at length ſucceeded by the *peace of religion* *, agreed upon at Augſburg, anno 1555, in a general diet of the empire, wherein Ferdinand king of the Romans preſided in the abſence of the emperor his brother, who employed himſelf at that time in the Low Countries, having already planned out to himſelf the ſcheme of relinquiſhing the

* The moſt eſſential article of this pacification was, "That no perſon thenceforwards "ſhould be proſecuted in the Roman empire "for the ſake of religion." The treaty itſelf, commonly called the *pax religioſa*, was concluded in the year 1552, between the emperor Charles V. and the elector of Saxony; to which the elector of Brandenburg and the landgrave of Heſſe, &c. were admitted parties. It received a renſion *three* years afterwards at the diet of Augſburg, and conſiſts of thirteen general articles; of which the reader may peruſe a clear diſtinct abridgment in Brachelius, Hiſt. noſtr. temp. 12°. 186, &c.

throne,

1630. throne, and paſſing the remainder of his days in retirement and tranquillity.

And here it muſt be obſerved, that the *peace of religion* did not then extend itſelf to doctrinal points; it eſtabliſhed only a full and fair equality between papiſts and proteſtants *in rebus civilibus:* and of courſe the *latter* were left in quiet poſſeſſion of all the biſhoprics and other eccleſiaſtical benefices, with which they had inveſted themſelves till this period. Nevertheleſs, king Ferdinand inſerted one clauſe at the ſolicitations of the catholics, which was, "That whenever a pre-"late of the Romiſh perſuaſion ſhould think fit to embrace the pro-"teſtant communion, he ſhould then be obliged to relinquiſh his be-"nefices."

This ſhort clauſe is called the *Reſervatum Eccleſiaſticum*; and hath been conſidered by the Romaniſts as the bulwark of their church. The proteſtants exclaimed aloud againſt this perplexing limitation, and with greater reaſon, as it happened to be inſerted contrary to their knowledge, and without their permiſſion *. Thus a few ſtrokes of the pen gave birth to innumerable diſcords, altercations, and inteſtine commotions, which were never truly compoſed till the peace of Weſtphalia.

When the prelates arrived at the council of Trent, they had no inclination to enter into debates in the neighbourhood of a reſpectable army; and making theſe appearances a pretext for withdrawing, retired to their reſpective homes April 22, 1552.

France extracted no ſmall advantage from the wars and confuſions then ſubſiſting; for ſhe procured the poſſeſſion of Metz, Toule, and Verdun; and the delicious taſte of theſe three little morſels quickened her appetite to ſuch a degree, that ſhe at length ſwallowed down the three reſpective biſhoprics that appertained to them.

The council of Trent aſſembled a third time in the year 1562, and publiſhed its decree the year enſuing. But, in ſpite of all the anathe-

* As the proteſtants had never intereſt to procure this clauſe to be expunged, a freſh one was inſerted by way of counter-balance at the treaty of Munſter, whereby it was ſtipulated, "That a proteſtant prelate, upon profeſſing "himſelf a Roman catholic, ſhould be deprived "of his dignity and his revenues."

mas then thundered out, the emperor Ferdinand * confirmed the *peace of religion* throughout the empire, and the number of proteſtants augmented under his reign, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors Maximilian † and Rodolphus II ‡, in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and in all the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany: and the latter prince in particular granted ſome notable privileges to the proteſtants of Bohemia, and the annexed provinces, under the title of *Literæ majeſtatis.* 1630.

* This prince, brother to Charles V, in all but what related to the *Reſervatum Eccleſiaſticum*, diſcovered no outrageous ſpirit againſt the proteſtant religion, and was pleaſed to ſay, a ſhort time before he died, that he had laboured to compoſe the animoſities between Chriſtians, and had attempted to compel no man to believe contrary to his private ſentiments. What confirms this is, that he and the elector of Saxony agreed very well in their general opinions, and his ambaſſador at the council of Trent gave attention to the marriage of prieſts, and the communion under both kinds: ſo that the council in general appeared to be much better ſatisfied than his holineſs the pope. *Motifs pour la guerre d'Allemagne*, 96.

† Maximilian, ſucceſſor to Ferdinand, decently obſerved all the forms of popery; but there are reaſons to think his heart had no inſuperable difinclination to the oppoſite religion: for the proteſtants owe to this prince the favourable conſtitution granted them 1577, in which he diſpoſed of all their *Bona Eccleſiaſtica*, in a manner contrary to the ſentiments of his own party.

‡ Rodolphus, brother to Maximilian, behaved well to the proteſtants, even in the hereditary dominions. He allowed a Lutheran doctor to come from Brunſwic and inſtruct ſuch of his ſubjects as were of his perſuaſion. This anecdote was acknowleged by the Imperial miniſter, count Lamberg, and others, in his own houſe, at the congreſs of Oſnabrug, 1648. From which ſeries of remarks, by way of notes, it appears plainly, that the houſe of Auſtria was never ſo ſincerely bent upon becoming abſolute, as *at the time* Guſtavus thought fit to enter the empire.

Under theſe above-named emperors, the court of Spain had no great aſcendant in Germany. The two firſt were its concealed enemies more or leſs; and Rodolphus, piqued at the infanta's being given in marriage to archduke Albert, his brother, always maintained a ſecret hatred to Spain, notwithſtanding he had been educated in the court of Philip II. Theſe reſentments continued ſo ſtrongly upon him, that ſome years afterwards he gave the Spaniſh ambaſſador a box in the ear, and baniſhed him from his court, for making a very petulant and lively remonſtrance to him: and this Volmar, the Imperial plenipotentiary, confeſſed at Nurenberg to the French miniſter.

During all this period the crown of Spain received no conſiderable aſſiſtances from the emperor or the empire. But matters took another turn in 1612, when Mathias aſcended the Imperial throne. Good correſpondence and intelligence was immediately formed between the two courts; and the ambaſſador of the latter ſoon found means to create and foment diviſions in the empire, upon the plan of Charles Vth's memoirs, and wakened the ſleeping fires in Bohemia to their full activity, by diſcovering the uneaſineſs of the proteſtants, and then exhorting the court of Vienna to purſue the moſt arbitrary and perſecuting methods of reducing them to obedience. Thus, by adminiſtering breath to a few latent ſparks, a furious flame was raiſed, and the conflagration did not ceaſe in leſs than thirty years. [*Motifs pour la guerre d'Allemagne*, 96, *&c.*]

1630. Queen Elizabeth not only re-eſtabliſhed the reformation in England, but ſupported it likewiſe in France and the Low Countries, where the indiſcreet zeal of Philip II. paved the way for thoſe future revolutions, which adminiſtered a ſeries of opportunities, all tending to the diſmembering and enfeebling of the houſe of Auſtria; whilſt, on the other hand, the love of liberty took root imperceptibly in the United Provinces, and derived its chief ſupport and nouriſhment from the treaty of Utrecht concluded in 1579.

But in France the reformed religion made more rapid advances, and miſſed little of aſcending to the regality in the perſon of the king of Navarre. But the particular league, ſo much talked of, compelled this prince at length to pay his attendance at maſs in the commencement of the eighteenth century *.

Soon after the tempeſt began to thicken all over Germany, in a very formidable manner: for the proteſtants being alarmed at the perſecuting ſpirit of Ferdinand II, to which the Spaniards took care to adminiſter fewel, and dreading extremely what a perſon of ſo furious a temperament might undertake, whenever he mounted the Imperial throne, had the precaution to combine themſelves under the denomination of *Unioniſts*; and on their parts, in order to counter-balance the machinations of the papiſts, formed an immenſe project, which had the appearance of extirminating the Auſtrian princes from the empire, or depriving them at leaſt of the better part of their dominions. This aſtoniſhing revolution broke forth at Prague in 1618.

But their expectances from England, France, Holland, and Denmark, all proved fallacious, or unavailing. James I. hated king-making, and had an averſion, as the foreigners tell us, to a drawn ſword. The proteſtants in France were ſoon depreſſed, and had the power of contributing nothing, except their good wiſhes and their prayers. And the catholic party there overturned the union by their intrigues; for that kingdom, at the period I am now ſpeaking of, under the miniſtry of the conſtable Des Luynes, by a contraſt of politics remarkably ſingular, cultivated the friendſhip of the Spaniards, and advanced their intereſts.

* Memoirs communicated.

Thus the Auſtrian affairs being arrived to the very zenith of power, out came, almoſt at one ſtroke, the fulminatory edict of reſtitution, which ſounded afreſh the alarm to war, and carried it to the amazing duration of thirty years. In the various edicts publiſhed by the court of Vienna on this occaſion, it was expected by the emperor, that the reformed had no title to be comprehended in the *Pax religioſa*, and that the proteſtants in general ought to reſtore all the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions which they had appropriated to themſelves ever ſince the concluſion of that treaty; and this ſingle ſtep brought the great Guſtavus into the empire. 1630.

I ſhall now attempt to deſcribe in a few words the ſituation of things at this important period. It appears from what hath been premiſed, that the houſe of Auſtria had continued in the higheſt ſplendor ever ſince the time of Charles V. At this important juncture, ſhe was miſtreſs of Spain, Portugal, the treaſures of America, the Low Countries, the Milaneſe, the kingdom of Naples, Bohemia, the incorporated provinces, Hungary, its own hereditary dominions, and, to a certain degree, of all Germany: ſo that if ſo many ſtates had united under one chief of that family, there is reaſon to think that the proteſtant religion muſt have been exterminated, and all Europe enſlaved. And the houſe of Spain, at that time, conſidered itſelf to be all powerful; ſince in a Latin manuſcript memorial *, or letter, which I have in my poſſeſſion, addreſſed to Louis XIII, it is there ſaid, that his Catholic majeſty, Philip IV. had the preſumption, and one may add the impiety likewiſe, to place this lemma under his inſignia, SINE IPSO FACTUM EST NIHIL; which expreſſion, if it doth not border on blaſphemy, the reader muſt judge; for it is applied eminently and deſervedly to our bleſſed Saviour by St. John. The emperor too, by means of his own proper forces, and thoſe of the catholic league, had by this time cruſhed every prince and ſtate that preſumed to oppoſe his ambitious deſigns. He had reduced Bohemia and the annexed provinces after their revolt, and

* This treatiſe is written in very elegant Latin, with uncommon ſpirit and freedom of ſentiment, and contains eleven pages in folio. He concludes with theſe remarkable words to Louis XIII. *Agnoſce teipſum & victor eris.*

1630. had conſtrained their unfortunate prince not only to relinquiſh his new kingdom, but his patrimonial territories: for after a mock-reign of eighteen months, the deciſive battle of Prague un-kinged him, and ſent him to ſeek his bread and his fortunes in other countries, ſince his Engliſh father only ſupplied him with peaceable advice and ſcholaſtic quotations, inſtead of money and legions.

Upon this the emperor doled out in parcels the dominions of Frederic to ſeveral potentates that were in his intereſts. But the greater ſhare was transferred to Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, as the perſon among them the moſt reſpectable in rank, and the moſt conſiderable in point of ſervices. To him therefore was conſigned the whole Upper Palatinate (excepting only a trifling part) and the electoral dignity. Alarmed and aſtoniſhed at theſe tranſactions, his majeſty of Denmark formed an alliance with ſome German princes his neighbours, and commenced a freſh war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which proved upon the whole ſo unſucceſsful, that he was obliged to accept ſuch conditions of peace as the Imperial party thought fit to preſcribe: and Ferdinand on the other hand, elevated with ſuch a ſeries of proſperous events, [which gave him pretext to raiſe a very conſiderable army, and pretences to continue the ſame army on foot, with appearance of extirpating his enemies, and maintaining a general peace throughout the empire] determined to develop to the public, the myſterious object of all his wiſhes, which, though many ſuſpected, yet few poſitively believed. And in order therefore to place ſuch princes as were ſuppoſed to entertain unfavourable ideas of him, beyond the bare poſſibility of obſtructing his future deſigns, publiſhed the ever-memorable edict; which, joined to the inſolence, outrages, depredations, and depopulations of Walſtein's army, that lived every where at diſcretion, and made but a barely perceptible diſtinction between friends and foes, alarmed even the catholic powers, as well as the evangelical; for the former began to perceive at length, that the plan formed by the houſe of Auſtria was too exorbitant, and likewiſe too tyrannical: for Walſtein is ſaid to have drawn 300,000 l. ſterling from the electorate of Brandenburg only

only *. Nor did George William himſelf (the prince then reigning) greatly reliſh the edict of reſtitution, inaſmuch as it portended no leſs than an annihilation of the biſhoprics of Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Lebus †. 1630.

In ſupport of this remark, it may be worth obſerving, that the elector of Bavaria himſelf was not devoid of ſuſpicions and jealouſies, who (indeed principally on his own account) had thought fit, by one and the ſame ſtroke, to preſerve the emperor, and ſecure to himſelf that delicious morſel the Higher Palatinate. Here he wiſhed ſecretly to ſtop; but as ſuch a check appeared to be rather too bold and abrupt, he contented himſelf with clogging the wheels of the Auſtrian machine, by projecting at a diſtance, the diſgrace and ruin of Walſtein, and paving the way remotely to an under-ground intercourſe between the courts of Munich and Verſailles. And as he was the moſt refined and myſterious politician of any prince in thoſe days, he made one ulterior attempt of ambiguous appearance, but of poſitive deciſion; for under the ſhew of prudence, œconomy, and not giving any undue umbrage to the proteſtants, he induced the court of Vienna to engage itſelf in an enterprize, much more prejudicial to her project of abſolute power, than the removal of Walſtein could be; and that was, to march 30000 men into Italy, in order to take poſſeſſion of Mantua and Cazal in the Imperial name, as alſo to diſband a veteran corps of proteſtants, who fought under the Auſtrian banners (for this prince with all his policy was a determined bigot by profeſſion): and laſtly, to pare away ſomething from the immenſe number of the catholic forces, ſince a leſs ſuſpicious quantity of ſoldiers was ſufficient in all conſcience to give laws to the empire at that conjuncture; which we will acknowlege to be true, if ſuch a cotemporary prince as Guſtavus had not happened to exiſt: but whether Maximilian privately wiſhed for his interference, or whether he over-looked him or deſpiſed him, (as a perſon ſo very remote from the Germanic ſyſtem) is more than I can take upon me at this diſtance to determine. Be that as it will, the Imperial forces and thoſe of the league, which conſiſted of 125,000 men, were reduced

* Memoirs of the houſe of Brandenburg. † Ibid.

(garriſons

1630. (garriſons excepted) to about 70000 combatants; a quantity of ſoldiers ſufficient to have enſlaved the empire at that time, if unforeſeen accidents had not happened to interfere.

On the other hand, the neighbouring princes and ſtates took umbrage at the immenſe and ambitious projects of the houſe of Auſtria, and after various reflections, in conſequence of the ill ſucceſs that had attended his Daniſh majeſty's irruption into Germany, found no perſon upon whom they could repoſe their hopes but Guſtavus: and him they were obliged to extricate from that diſagreeable war which engaged him in Poland: for the fate of Europe ſeemed to depend upon this one political negotiation: and as all parties, without conſulting each other, were convinced his Swediſh majeſty alone could perform the taſk, England, Holland, and France, alike intereſted themſelves in propoſing an accommodation. The laſt more particularly, as ſhe was neareſt in ſituation to the emperor, and moſt a rival to him in power: and the rather as Richelieu, who then ſate at the helm, and directed the whole political machine, had adopted the ſyſtem which *Henry* IV. formerly deviſed, of humbling and debaſing the houſe of Auſtria. A ſyſtem France, ſince that period, hath contrived to execute too ſucceſsfully!

The Swediſh and Auſtrian parties at this critical conjuncture both ſought the aſſiſtance of the king of Denmark: but that politic and wary prince, long exerciſed in misfortunes and diſappointments, expreſſed a deſire to continue neutral; for in truth the emperor had terrified him half out of his ſenſes on the one hand, and he had conceived a cold and invidious jealouſy of ſo powerful and enterprizing a neighbour as Guſtavus on the other hand.

And here it may be aſked by ſome perſons, how far, and in what reſpects, the preſent commotions may be denominated a war of religion? As Guſtavus was a prince who had a vital and ſincere affection for the preſervation of the evangelical doctrine, it is not to be doubted but that theſe ideas made ſome impreſſion on his mind; but upon the whole I think it is certain, that he would have oppoſed the domination and arbitrary views of the houſe of Auſtria, even if ſhe had made profeſſion

profeſſion of the proteſtant belief: ſo that I have been prompted ſometimes to think, that religion had leſs to do upon the preſent occaſion than is commonly imagined, and that it was only a ſort of half-pretext: as the electreſs Palatin, Louiſa Juliana, (no inconſiderable ſtates-woman) uſed always to aſſert. 1630.

Nor muſt I here omit, that the people of the cabinet conſtantly kept peace with the men of the ſword: for previouſly to the breaking out of the Bohemian troubles, the proteſtants had violent ſuſpicions that the Imperial court, then ſuppoſed to be under the influence of the jeſuits, had a mind to violate the grand *pacificatorium* of Paſſau, and erect itſelf by degrees into an univerſal monarchy. With a view to give death to theſe inſinuations, the elector of Bavaria, after the battle of Prague, ordered his *jus-publiciſts* to ſet forth an impreſſion of the *Anhaltine Cancellaria:* (a collection of ſtate-papers found amongſt the plunder of the prince of Anhalt's baggage, which were alledged to contain no leſs deſigns, than to extend proteſtantiſm from the Baltic to the Mediterranean *:) to which a counſellor of the elector Palatin made a reply; and one Keller, a jeſuit, under the name of Fabius Hercymannus, printed a ſort of rejoinder in behalf of the catholic ſide. Various controverſies enſued afterwards: at length Camerarius, prime-miniſter to the ſaid elector, (or next at leaſt in conſequence to the chancellor Grun) thought it high-time to enter the liſts, and gave the public, by way of counterpoiſe, a *Cancellaria Hiſpanica.* Ruſdorf afterwards beſtowed the high finiſhing touches to what his maſter and preceptor in politics had left unaccompliſhed; and that not only in his *Vindiciæ Cauſæ Palatinæ*, but in his *Cancellaria Bavarica*; a work I have ſpoken of elſewhere in the higheſt terms of applauſe. And whilſt I have the former part of that performance in my eye, I cannot help obſerving, that the tranſlation of electorates hath been three times unproſperous to the Imperial houſe of Auſtria. Once in the perſon of Charles V. who found no enemy more determined againſt him than the duke of Sax-Maurice, whom he had inveſted with the honour of the bonnet: once again in Ferdinand II. who

* Amongſt theſe papers was found the prince's military journal in his own hand-writing, concerning which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in another place.

having

1630. having diſobliged Walſtein by transferring the Palatin dignity, and diſplaced him from his ſupreme command as general, in order to pay court to Maximilian of Bavaria, opened thereby an entrance to the ſword of Guſtavus;—and a third time in a later inſtance, which bears no connexion to my preſent hiſtory.

Theſe preliminary foundations of the ſtate being thus adjuſted, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that the proteſtant princes of Germany, in a manner indiſtinct and concealed, and with a ſort of air, ſomething betwixt diſtreſs and reſerve, (for their terrors of the houſe of Auſtria were inexpreſſible) had beſought Guſtavus to make ſome advances in their behalf; inſinuating, that Ferdinand in general aimed at an abſolute ſovereignty over the empire, and intended to render the whole Germanic body hereditary in his own family. It was ſuggeſted likewiſe, that his troops occupied every territory, and committed depredations and outrages unheard of; an Imperial garriſon being lodged in almoſt every town of common importance: that religious and military perſecution advanced by equal ſteps, and that princes, free cities, biſhoprics, and eccleſiaſtical communities of all ſorts among the proteſtants, were obliged, by the edict of reſtitution, to ſurrender all church-poſſeſſions; which ſaid edict then ſubſiſted, and was carried into operation with the utmoſt rigour of ſeverity. It was added farther, that his Imperial majeſty had diveſted the dukes of Mechlenberg of their dominions (who by the way were nearly related to Guſtavus) meerly for preſuming to take part with Chriſtian king of Denmark, and conferred their territories on Walſtein by his own plenitude of authority: and laſtly, that he, to augment the number of the catholic votes, had annihilated *that* of Frederic elector Palatin, and created it anew in the perſon of Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, which made an alteration of two electoral voices in favour of the Romiſh religion.——It was then thrown out obliquely and at random, that both Saxony and Brandenburg had interceded with the emperor in behoof of Frederic their collegue, and declined long to acknowlege Maximilian in his new electoral capacity, inaſmuch as he was choſen contrary to the orders of the golden bull (for no elector can be proſcribed or depoſed without the unanimous conſent of the diet in

body aſſembled :) but that the court of Vienna had paid no regard to theſe remonſtrances. 1630.

Any perſon would naturally imagine, that a ſeries of repreſentations like theſe, voluntarily produced almoſt a twelvemonth before Guſtavus entered Germany, would have induced a prince, even of a more diffident temperament than he, to have undertaken the enterprize, in hopes of a frank and vigorous co-operation from the proteſtant part of the empire: but great was his majeſty's uneaſineſs, and ſtill greater his diſappointment, when he received no encouraging anſwers from the electors and other German princes for many months after he had addreſſed his reſpective letters to them; of which the ſubſtance in abſtract was, "A clear induction of the injuries and motives which had tempted "him to make an invaſion into the empire: after which he beſought "each elector to uſe all his intereſt, and exert the whole of his addreſs, "to induce the emperor to reſtore things to their antient ſituation; "adding, that any peace, except a weak and inglorious one, was pre-"ferable to a war ſuppoſed to be juſt in many reſpects. But if his "Imperial majeſty perſiſted to refuſe him and his friends reaſonable "conceſſions and conditions honourable, he conſidered himſelf as com-"purgated of all tranſgreſſion before God and man, and was deter-"mined, for the ſake of Europe in general, to ſupport his own reputa-"tion and the cauſe of liberty and religion to the laſt moments of his "life."

It likewiſe raiſed his indignation, to diſcover, that the terrors of the houſe of Auſtria had ſo far poſſeſſed his proteſtant well-wiſhers, that they durſt not make uſe even of explicit terms, and had been ſo unbecomingly timorous as to omit the regal titles in addreſſes to him: for the emperor had the aſſurance to teach them to underſtand, that Sigiſmond alone was king of Sweden. Nor was he much leſs chagrined at his Daniſh majeſty's conduct, who had not interfered one half ſo much as was expected, contenting himſelf coldly, after many remonſtrances made, to have procured a mock congreſs at Dantzic, where the Imperial miniſters rejected all accommodations in a very peremptory tone *.

* Hiſtorical or Authentic Relat. in Low Dutch, Tom. i. p. 100.

1630. Yet Guſtavus was not to be diſmayed with a ſet of obſtructions and retardments that aroſe from fear, rather than convenience, and never once loſing ſight of his object, puſhed on conformably to his firſt plan, being well-convinced in his own private judgment, that theſe princes muſt join him, when he once came to make a ſhining figure in Germany; and that the king of Denmark would be obliged at leaſt to obſerve a neutrality. Nay he took the alarm ſtronger when he reflected, that the houſe of Auſtria was determined to fix her footing on the other ſide of the Alps; and had no patience to conſider how ill the generals of the kings of Denmark and Bohemia had acted, and how poorly their Britannic majeſties had exerted themſelves in ſupport of the unfortunate prince laſt mentioned.

The king took ſome time (notwithſtanding he was thoroughly exaſperated) to return his anſwer to the German princes; "and reproved "them with an air of dignity for the omiſſion of his royal titles: *titles*, "ſaid he, *which I have received from God and my anceſtors, and having* "*maintained them with reputation for twenty years, will never be induced* "*to relinquiſh even in the laſt moments of my life.* He continued then to "inform them, that he had once an intention to have re-ſealed their "letters, and returned them back, but that he peruſed them at length, "and preſerved them in his poſſeſſion, meerly upon a preſumption "that their amity ſhould not be interrupted by any ſubſequent omiſſion "of the ſame nature. He then commended them for approving his "earneſt deſires to effect a peace, and gently reprimanded them for not "diſcovering their good wiſhes on that head; inſinuating at the ſame "time, that they muſt not be uneaſy, if he ſought elſewhere for ſuch "remedies as tended to preſerve his own reputation, and maintain his "allies and friends in a ſtate of ſecurity.——But that he had no diſin-"clination to form friendſhips with his Germanic neighbours, provided "ſatisfaction was made him for the extraordinary freedom lately taken: "and laſtly, that the affairs of Germany and the evangelical religion "concerned them much more than they referred to himſelf."

Nevertheleſs, it will appear a matter of aſtoniſhment to poſterity, that Guſtavus ſhould invade the empire; no ways certain of the aſſiſtance of

the proteſtant princes, and not ſecure of the co-operation of France. 1630.
To the firſt point I have ſpoken already, that he expected their aid from a principle of convenience; and from the latter difficulty I hope likewiſe to extricate myſelf. For people who have a moderate knowlege of the ſubject of the hiſtory they undertake, and the characters of the perſons concerned in it, may arrive at truth very often by the meer doctrine of veriſimilitude. It may be remembered therefore, that we left the negotiation between Guſtavus and the French ambaſſador upon a very abrupt and indeciſive footing, and if we follow the general track of hiſtorians, we ſhall find no reconciliation of opinions till the concluſion of the treaty at Berewalt, in the month of January the year enſuing: yet ſtill one cannot diveſt one's ſelf from apprehending, that a prudent and politic prince like Guſtavus would never have entered the empire till he had brought France to ſome degree of conſiſtency, and for this reaſon, obſerved incidentally in the proper place, that the Sieur Nicholaï was diſpatched to Paris to negotiate ſomething more reaſonable and more practicable than what De Charnacé had propoſed; and though nothing might be ſigned in the due form of treaty, yet it is manifeſt the ſubſtance and ſpecification of articles were agreed upon under parole of honour. And though Puffendorf *, who writes profeſſedly on the alliances between France and Sweden at this period, maintains a profound ſilence on the occaſion, yet a Swediſh hiſtorian † luckily ſteps in to my aſſiſtance, and ſays, that an agreement was made between the kings of the two reſpective nations, (it might probably be verbal only, upon the common principles of political good faith) whereby it was ſtipulated, that the former power for ſix years ſhould allow the latter annually, either 66,000 l. or 82,500 l.; for the author pretends not to mark out diſtinctly the preciſe ſum. Be that as it will, its deſtination was to maintain and carry on a ſufficient war in the German empire. And about this period Sir Thomas Roe, in a letter to lord viſcount Dorcheſter, regrets that a contribution of money was not given to the king of Sweden, with a view to facilitate an invaſion of Germany, " inaſmuch as De Charnacé, the French ambaſſador, had

* Traité des Alliances, &c. 12°. † Loccenius, p. 565. 4°.

1630. " made ſome offers to that purpoſe *. And in another † to Sir Dudley " Carlton, nephew to lord Dorcheſter, and reſident in Holland, obſerves " more minutely, that De Charnacé had offered Guſtavus 50,000 l. an- " nual contribution, attended with a commiſſion to add 17,400 l. more; " and that Mr. Meldrum, a Scots gentleman, was gone expreſs to the " king of England to carry the propoſitions of a treaty."

What confirms me in my opinion, that the king of Sweden would never have ventured on a German invaſion without eſtabliſhing a good correſpondence with France, is this, that preparatory to the grand deſign, he omitted not to impart his inducements and motives to moſt of the proteſtant princes and ſtates in Europe, hoping thereby to obtain their aſſiſtance, or at leaſt penetrate into their affections and inclinations. For theſe reaſons he expedited Sadler (ſome time after the writing of certain letters above-mentioned) to ſeveral German princes, and then to the Swiſs cantons; commiſſioning him in this latter reſpect to open the whole ſcheme, frankly and without reſerve; and paint in proper colours, " The juſtice of the undertaking on the one hand, and the " neceſſity of counterbalancing the immeaſurable greatneſs of a certain " power on the other. That the Helvetic leaguers in particular ought " to have for their object the reſtoration of German liberty, ſince the " houſe of Auſtria had dormant claims to produce againſt them, which " ſhe would be ready to realize at the point of her ſword, when other " countries had been ſufficiently chaſtized.—That attempts againſt man- " kind in general were to be repulſed by the united efforts of all.—And " that his majeſty hoped to behold with extreme ſatisfaction the reſuſci- " tation of the antient Helvetic ſpirit ‡.

But Sadler not being able to diſcover any correſpondent operations of liberty in that mixed body to whom he was commiſſioned, (not to mention the reciprocal jealouſies of religion interſecting and counteracting each other) and perceiving on the contrary a certain dread of the houſe

* MS. letter of Sir Thomas Roe, dated Feb. 26, 1629-30.

† Second letter, May 17, 1630.

‡ *Mercure Suiſſe*, p. 9. This excellent book was publiſhed anonymouſly in 1634. Its author was *Frederic Spanheim*, who writ *Le Soldat Suedois*, and the *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*.

of

of Auſtria, mixed with ſome attachments of convenience, judged it pro- 1630.
per, like a prudent miniſter, to make his private attempt here and there, and ſuppreſſed his very ample commiſſion directed to the general aſſembly of the ſtates. Nevertheleſs Guſtavus, indefatigable and undiſmayed in all his ſolicitations, reſolved to make a ſecond attack upon the Swiſs before he entered Germany; and diſpatched the chevalier Rache, privy-counſellor, and counſellor of ſtate, with orders to apply once more to the body of the league in general, and to ſome proteſtant cantons in particular. But this miniſter had ſo many political digreſſions to make in the courſe of his journey, that he arrived not at Baden (where the thirteen cantons and their ſeveral allies were aſſembled) till the decline of the year 1631, of which we ſhall ſpeak more at large in its proper place.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, Guſtavus determined irreverſibly to maintain his point, having obtained the full conſent of all the ſtates of the kingdom convened at a final aſſembly at Stockholm. He there declared his wife regent of the kingdom, and his daughter Chriſtina lawful heireſs of the crown; conformably to a preceding act of ſtate made ſoon after her birth, with a view to mortify the king of Poland, and cut off his pretenſions. It is true ſome few ſenators obliquely ſuggeſted, that a prince ſo paſſionately beloved and honoured by his ſubjects would do beſt to continue in his own kingdom, and commit the war to able and experienced generals; in which they ſhewed themſelves no very profound politicians, by judging ſo ill of their maſter's diſpoſition and temperament of mind; who confuted them without heſitation in a ſpeech equally animated and well-reaſoned, exhorting them to bear in mind the bravery and conſtancy of their anceſtors, and returning them his beſt thanks for their ſervices, concluded with a tender and affectionate farewel. He then ſtepped aſide a moment, and bringing in his daughter by the hand, preſented her to the houſe in dumb ſhew, which drew many tears even from northern eyes.

After that he delivered a manuſcript treatiſe, of his own and the chancellor's compoſing, to the ſtates of the kingdom, containing directions in all ſuppoſable matters of difficulty, in caſe the throne ſhould become vacant; and joined to them by way of preſident (particularly in regard

to

1630. to the finances and the adminiſtration of juſtice) his kinſman prince John Caſimir, count palatin of the Rhine, father to Charles Guſtavus, who afterwards aſcended the Swediſh throne.

This body of laws, ſixty-five in number *, was ſealed up and repoſited afterwards in the public chancery. I have a beautiful MS. of it in my poſſeſſion, which appears to have been copied immediately after the ratification of the ſenate, June 29, 1634. This great work of Guſtavus and Oxenſtiern may be conſidered as the reduction of eventualities to one uniform ſyſtem. Nor is it poſſible to place their political characters in a ſituation more advantageous. The pacquet, as I apprehend, received the following inſcription on the outſide, from the hand of the chancellor: REGIMINIS SUECICI CONSTITUTIO——QUAM REX INVICTISSIMUS GUSTAVUS SECUNDUS ET MAGNUS ULTIMAE VOLUNTATIS INSTAR REGNO POPULISQUE SUIS STATIONE HAC MORTALI FUNCTUS EXHIBENDAM VOLUIT. But be that as it will, we have thought fit to publiſh the extraordinary performance in our APPENDIX.

As Guſtavus had received ſo many inſults and injuries from the emperor, he diſpenſed with himſelf from declaring war in form; for he conſidered Arnheim's march into Poland as an expreſs declaration on the Imperial ſide †. Nevertheleſs the invaſion of Germany muſt not be conſidered as an abrupt and unceremonious attack; for Guſtavus had given more than glimmerings of an hoſtile diſpoſition againſt the houſe of Auſtria, by ſending Sir Alexander Leſly to Stralſund the preceding year, and in the month of April of this preſent year, had ordered him, being then governor of Stralſund, accompanied by colonel Dewbatel ‡ and

* See the Appendix.

† This precedent may ſerve to ſhelter the Engliſh nation from the reſentments of my good friend M. de Voltaire, who expreſſes great diſpleaſure againſt our kingdom for commencing the preſent war, without publiſhing a formal declaration of hoſtilities: whereas the operations of the French in America, and the tranſactions of the Imperialiſts in Poland, are circumſtances nearly if not ſtrictly parallel: and the words of Loccenius, with reſpect to Guſtavus, on this occaſion, deſerve well to be tranſcribed: Cæſari vero indicare bellum, rex non neceſſarium eſſe putavit: quum vim ſibi ab eo prius haud denuntiatis armis, illatam arcere, natura ipſa permitteret; & hoc ipſo ſatis denunciatum bellum a ſe eſſe crederet..... Lib. viii. p. 567.

‡ No one trifling circumſtance in the preſent hiſtory has puzzled me ſo much as finding out the real name of this warrior; for we read promiſcuouſly in all hiſtorians of *Dewbattle*, *Tupadel*, *Tubal*,

and ſome other officers of leſs note, to embark from Stralſund, and make a lodgment in the iſle of Rugen *, where they ſoon drove Goëtz, the Imperial commander, to the laſt extremity; who, after various unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, was obliged to ſave himſelf by water to Stetin, and leave the whole iſland to the diſcretion of the Swedes. 1630.

Guſtavus had a much finer army at this time than the world could well imagine. He had trained up a ſet of young generals (for few, except Oxenſtiern, were elder than himſelf) who were all ſelected and choſen geniuſes: each eminent for one or more diſtinguiſhing qualities: nor were his common ſoldiers novices, as ſome people vainly ſurmized, ſince the very Swediſh forces had been ſeaſoned by a ſucceſſion of ſevere campaigns. But the major part of his troops were men of conſummate experience, for he had gleaned up, at various intervals, all that was good in the diſperſed armies of Mansfelt, duke Chriſtian, the kings of Denmark and Poland, and the troops that belonged to the town of Dantzic. He had likewiſe 10,000 Engliſh and Scottiſh ſoldiers, all well-nurtured and experienced in the preceding ſervices of the empire; a ſet of men he always principally confided in, conferring on them the glory of every

Tubal, Dubalt, Du-wall, &c. [As to Haubald, he was certainly another perſon.] Yet after all this, his true name was not *Dewbatel*, (though I call him ſo, in order to correſpond with other authors) but *Mac-Dougball*; being deſcended from a Scottiſh father in the Swediſh ſervice and a woman of Lifeland. The king loved him extremely from the time he knew him in the capacity of a common ſoldier, making him colonel of his own guards on the death of Teüffel and governor of Ruſſelheim. Being taken priſoner near Nurenberg, the Imperial general Walſtein diſmiſſed him without ranſom, and entruſted him to negotiate an accommodation with Guſtavus. Acquitting himſelf well in various commands of importance, he was at length betrayed by Arnheim in Bohemia, but Walſtein releaſed him generouſly, and defrayed his ranſom a ſecond time. He then roſe to be ſerjeant major general under the duke de Weymar, but forgetting the obligations he had to his deceaſed maſter, deſerted the cauſe of Sweden at a period his aſſiſtances were chiefly wanted; becoming a fatal, but we hope an uncommon proof, that the brave man, and the man of honour, are not always to be predicated upon each other.

* This iſland belonged to the duke of Pomerania. It is twenty miles ſquare, and lies about two miles from Stralſund. It was *infeſted*, ſaith an hiſtorian, rather than *guarded* by the Imperial troops; for Guſtavus afterwards told the emperor by letter, who had accuſed him ſharply of invading Germany, that he did not *conquer* the iſle of Rugen, but only *took poſſeſſion* of it. This iſland was confirmed to the Swedes at the peace of Weſtphalia as a diſtinct principality. The allies conquered it with great difficulty in the year 1715. But by the peace of the North 1720, it was reſtored to Sweden, very much ſhattered, and in extreme ill plight.

critical

1630. critical and trying adventure *. He had likewiſe, to a certain degree, the power of picking and collecting from the armies of Walſtein and Tilly; for many of the Auguſtan confeſſion choſe to ſerve under them rather than ſtarve, and a good number relinquiſhed their party upon having received ſome injuries, either real or imaginary.

No troops were ever better calculated for ſervice than the Swediſh, being naturally brave and hardy, patient of fatigues, frugal, induſtrious, obedient, and ſober; verifying to the life the remark made by Vegetius; *Septentrionales populi largo ſanguine redundantes, ſunt ad bella promptiſſimi*; and another by Lucan,

Omnis in Arctöis populus quicunque pruinis
Naſcitur, indomitus bellis & Martis amator. Lib. vii.

And Tacitus applies this high idea of the ſtrength and bravery of northern nations to the country of Sweden particularly, as a territory *quod valebat viris & armis.*

The whole dominions of this kingdom, at the time Guſtavus poſſeſſed the throne, meaſured, according to ſome writers, about 1500 miles in length by 1000 miles in width: an immenſe tract of country, but not ſo well-inhabited, as there are reaſons to conjecture it had been in the times of the antient Goths, of whoſe populouſneſs many manifeſt traces yet remain, even in the woods and foreſts, and of which more convincing proofs may ſtill be produced by the four incredible emigrations made from thence into other countries. But an author who publiſhed an account in the year 1633, relative to the king's invaſion of Germany †, tells us, that this kingdom, excepting only ſome remoter provinces, was comprized under the old denomination of *Scandinavia*, which vaſt peninſula, if one may be allowed to call it ſo, was ſuppoſed by Pliny to be a tract of land *incomperti magnitudinis*; is at preſent imagined to meaſure length-ways about 1200 miles, and 540 miles in breadth. And here it muſt be noted, that under the deſignation of *Scandinavia*, are com-

* In the grand campaign of 1632, Guſtavus had ſix Britiſh generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one lieutenant-colonels. *See Monro's Liſt.*

† Diſcours de l'Eſtat & Couronne de Suede, 8°. 1633.

prehended

prehended the kingdom of Sweden, properly ſo called, and thoſe of Gothland and Norway, excluding the part that belongs to Denmark. To which may be added Beärmia, Scrifinia, Lapland, Bothnia, Finland, Carelia, great part of Livonia, the town of Stralſund, and the iſland of Rugen. Thus ſtood the poſſeſſions of the crown, when the king of Sweden made his firſt appearance in Pomerania; and yet perhaps all theſe vaſt tracts of territory did not contain many more inhabitants than the kingdom of England ſingly *. 1630.

Nature ſeems to have formed the Swedes expreſly for war; for they are brave, ſober, patient, compliable, well-principled, and induſtrious; every common ſoldier being at the ſame time a peaſant, a pioneer, and a mechanic. Guſtavus had likewiſe more reſources than could well be imagined, having a fleet, which contained above ſeventy ſhips of notable force, and being capable at a fortnight's notice to produce 40,000 choſen infantry, and a good body of cavalry, wherever he pleaſed; and, what was more, made them follow him implicitly. It is true, the horſes of the country in general were ſmall, but alert and vigorous. Nevertheleſs, his majeſty, who was one of the talleſt and moſt graceful perſonages in

* The kingdom of Gothland, ſaith the author laſt cited, which occupies the ſouthermoſt-part of the peninſula of Scandinavia, is about 450 miles long, and 300 broad. It is divided into three parts, Eſtergothia, Weſtergothia, and Gothia meridionalis or Smaland: the firſt contains the provinces of Teuſchia, Bravichia, and Kindia: the ſecond, Dalecarnia, Vermland, Marchia, Falonia, Voſbogia, Ridvegia, Frochinia, Gudhumia, Cachinnia and Warthopia; and the third, Verendia, Motingia, and the dioceſe of Vexo. As for the iſland of Gothland, it belonged to Denmark.

The kingdom of Sweden, ſtretching itſelf from South to North, extends 900 miles from the river Motala to the confines of Beärmia, and contains eleven dutchies, namely, Sudermania, Roden, Geſtritia, Halſingia, Midelpadia, Angermania, Coperdalia, Weſtermania, Upland, Fieringia, and Neritia.

Swediſh Norway is the weſtermoſt part of Scandinavia, divided from Sweden and Gothland by one continued chain of mountains, in moſt places inacceſſible.

The province of Beärmia is the very northermoſt part of Sweden.

Scrifinia lies betwixt Beärmia and Finomarchia, but advances ſomething more to the ſouthwards.

Of *Lapland* we ſhall ſay nothing, as Scheffer's hiſtory hath rendered it known to moſt readers: and *Bothnia* is a large province, which occupies the northern part of that huge body of water, which the Baltic ocean diſembogues into the center of Scandinavia, commonly called the gulph of Bothnia.

Finland is a very conſiderable province plentifully peopled; Carelia is large, but not ſo populous; Livonia, Stralſund and the iſles of Rugen are better known. *Diſcours de l'Etat et Couronne de Suede*, p. 5—59.

1630. the whole army, could hardly be carried by one of them, when he was completely cloathed in armour.

Matters being now advanced to a criſis, Guſtavus determined to realize his intentions, and ſo far the rather, as the ſituation of his dominions removed him at ſuch a diſtance from the houſe of Auſtria, that he had no reaſons to fear any military reprizals from that quarter: for the Baltic ocean was ſpread between him and the emperor's generals, and as to naval ſtrength he was greatly ſuperior to his adverſary.

He therefore publiſhed his grand manifeſto once for all *; and cauſed it to be printed in Latin and German, in order to diſperſe it more advantageouſly throughout the empire: but though it was a very ſenſible and well reaſoned performance, I ſhall not trouble the reader with a long declaration of all the cauſes, which induced our hero to carry this invaſion into Germany; as many of the material ones have been already treated on in the courſe of our hiſtory. Nevertheleſs, there is ſomething very ſolid, and at the ſame time not unartful in the beginning of it, where he inſinuates, "That whoever lives near "a powerful and ambitious monarch, can enjoy peace no longer, and "in no greater quantity, than that monarch thinks proper to allow "him."

The ſubſtance of it was to this effect: "That his Swediſh majeſty "had ſincere intentions for the preſervation of the evangelical doctrine: "—that in the year 1625, his letters from Poland to Gabriel Bethlem † "had

* It is preſerved in the *Appendix*.

† Such was that prince's true name, and not *Bethlem Gabor*, as the Engliſh hiſtorians affect to call him. For the Tranſylvanians place the ſurname after the Chriſtian; and *Gabor* ſignifies Gabriel. If ever an unaccountable man deſerved a note, it may be beſtowed on this potentate, and the rather as he had many tranſactions with Great Britain. From a ſimple gentleman he mounted to the government of Tranſylvania, and from an inſignificant portion of ground in the European ſyſtem, negotiated at once with all the proteſtant princes and ſtates, half the popiſh ones, and the grand ſignior into the bargain; ambitious, artful, reſerved, and treacherous, who ſerved all, ſold all, and betrayed all reciprocally. Formed in the court of Gabriel Battori, he paſſed his life in arms from the ſeventeenth year of his age, and lived for ſome time at Conſtantinople. He had been preſent in forty-two battles; and often declared, that his circumſtances were ſo mean, even when he was thirty years old, that a merchant of Caſſovia refuſed to lend him eighteen pounds for want of ſecurity. He was affable, polite, intriguing, but capricious and mutable beyond imagination; talked Latin with tolerable fluency, and loved the ſociety of men of letters. His memory was aſtoniſhing,

" had been intercepted by the emperor's means; that the matter of them 1630.
" had been ſhamefully miſinterpreted, the contents falſely publiſhed,
" and the courier treated like a common criminal:—that the emperor
" had privately fomented the differences between him and Sigiſmond,
" and beſides ſupplied his adverſaries with great quantities of corn, and
" diſpatched two armies with orders to act publicly againſt him in Po-
" land; one conducted by Adolphus duke of Holſtein, in the year
" 1627, and the other commanded by Arnheim in 1629, denying him
" at the ſame time the common favour of enliſting men in the empire:
" —that he had diſpoſſeſſed his kinſmen, Adolphus Frederic, and John
" Albert, dukes of Mechlenberg, of their territories, without citation
" or trial, and beſtowed them capriciouſly on Walſtein through his
" own plenitude of power, unſupported by any concurrence of the
" Imperial diet:—that he poſſeſſed ſeveral havens on the Baltic coaſts,

aſtoniſhing, and nothing delighted him more than to reaſon about the reformed religion, which he profeſſed. He took great delight in fine cloaths and jewels, copying the Hungarian faſhion in the flowing length of his robes, and the ſhort cut of his hair; but modelling his beard according to the French mode. His firſt wife, Carola, though well deſcended, proved the beſt œconomiſt then in Europe, for ſhe was his head-cook, and kept the key of his Tokay; inaſmuch as he had negotiated himſelf with the houſe of Auſtria into the poſſeſſion of that vintage. On Carola's deceaſe, he married in his advanced age a young beautiful princeſs, ſiſter to the wife of Guſtavus, to whom he aſſigned three ſignories on his deceaſe (in one of which grew the vineyard we have mentioned) as likewiſe 100,000 ducats, as many rix-dollars, and as many florins; which made in all about 77000 pounds ſterling. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having paſſed the whole time of his exiſtence in one continued ſtorm of his own creating. Nature, to make his diſtempers correſpondent with his life, united a ſort of contradiction in them; for he died of a dropſy and St. Anthony's fire; a fine circumſtance for the German poets, who value an antitheſis more than a patrimonial fortune! And to maintain his inconſtancy and capriciouſneſs to the laſt, he bequeathed a fine horſe, and 20000 pounds in ſpecie, to his old enemy the emperor; the ſame ſum to Ferdinand king of Hungary, and the grand ſignior, recommending however his young wife and country to his Imperial majeſty.

He was ceremonious and jealous of his honour to the higheſt degree; for having diſpatched an ambaſſador to the court of London, he gave him orders to make his appearance before the king without uncovering his head during the courſe of the audience; which punctilio created ſome confuſion in the Britiſh palace.

In a word, his reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit never allowed him to be idle a ſingle twelvemonth; for he was one of thoſe princely tormentors of mankind, who love to poach in diſturbed waters; no power of treaty-language could bind him; nor could even money ſecure him; ſince he either changed for the ſake of changing, or flattered himſelf that he could always make a better bargain. I have ſeen letters from him to the cham of Tartary, where the rodomontade is a ſort of comedy.

1630. " and aſſumed a ſovereignty over that ſea, to which Sweden had a juſt " claim from time immemorial, interrupting all commerce betwixt the " ſubjects of that kingdom, and the inhabitants of Colberg, Gripſwald, " Roſtock, Wiſmar, and ſeveral other Hanſeatic and Vandalic towns, " now enſlaved by the Imperialiſts:—that he had confiſcated the mer- " chandizes of Swediſh traders; attempted to throw all commerce into " the hands of the Spaniards; and, when that attempt failed, had hired " Poliſh and Dantzic ſhips, and made the Baltic a ſeat of piracy:— " that the iſland of Rugen, which the Auſtrian troops had lately in- " vaded, had conſigned itſelf to his protection conjointly with Stral- " ſund; and that in ſuccouring the aforeſaid town, he had done no " more than his Daniſh majeſty had ſhewn him an example:—that " he had rejected Salvius the Swediſh ambaſſador at the treaty of Lu- " bec, when a peace was negotiating between him and Chriſtian king " of Denmark:—and to conclude, had caſt ſeveral neglects and af- " fronts upon him at the general aſſemblies of the empire, and de- " clared him, in ſo many words, a profeſſed enemy to the Germanic " ſyſtem."

As kings, whenever they have the condeſcenſion to oblige the public by their writings, are the fitteſt critics to paſs a reviſion on the conduct of kings, it may be worth while juſt to remark here, that a ſuppoſed R—— hiſtorian treats this manifeſto as a complete piece of monarchical ſophiſtry. For my own part, I acknowledge myſelf at a loſs to penetrate into the reaſons, which induced ſo clear-ſighted a writer, to paſs ſo harſh and unlimited a cenſure: nevertheleſs, it may not miſbecome a perſon like me to imitate the humility of an antient rhetorician, who did not chuſe to engage in a diſpute againſt the maſter of twenty legions.

At the time Guſtavus prepared to embark, all men's eyes were turned upon prodigies. Chemnitius *, an hiſtorian of the very beſt credit, mentions

* *Lib.* i. *in fine.* The firſt volume of this work, originally ſet forth in German, was tranſlated into Latin, as is ſuppoſed by the author, and publiſhed in folio the ſame year, 1648, containing 386 pages.

The ſecond tome, which takes place after our period, was compoſed not only upon Oxenſtiern's memoirs, but hath been imagined by ſome

mentions ſome; but as the part of his work, which relates to the preſent period, was not compoſed directly under Oxenſtiern's inſpection, it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe the great high chancellor to have given implicitly into ſuch a belief. Armies were beheld embattled in the air in various parts, and the very claſhing of armour was ſuppoſed to be heard at Nurenberg. Three ſuns were ſeen at Ratiſbon, and a ſoldier of Tilly's ſweated blood very profuſely, having no actual diſtemper, but complaining of a certain weight upon his ſpirits. And at Magdeburg (which exceedeth all) the ſeat afterwards of the moſt tragical ſcene in the whole thirty years war, a child was reputed to be born with boots and ſpurs of fleſh, in dragoon faſhion, and an helmet of the ſame materials, with two balls in a pouch of ſkin on the left-thigh. And all theſe circumſtances, with numbers more, are related by hiſtorians, who, I believe, in other reſpects, would not have publiſhed a known untruth upon any conſiderations: but different ages have their periodical malady of believing too much, or believing too little. 1630.

And here one cannot but regret, that ſome few days after his majeſty ſet ſail for the empire, the intrepid and ſenſible politician Sir Thomas Roe, found himſelf obliged to return for London *; the abſence of which ſtateſman is greatly to be lamented by all admirers of national glory; for England behaved afterwards with no great reputation in reſpect to Germany.

His majeſty left Stockholm at the head of 130 ſhips of different ſizes, and, if ſome accounts which I have ſeen be true, divided the care of conducting the five ſeveral ſquadrons (for of ſo many his fleet conſiſted) between the land-commanders and ſea-officers, reſerving to himſelf the honour of being admiral ſupreme, and appointing lieutenant-general Banier (the perſon next to him in authority) to take the command of the third diviſion. This enterprize of croſſing the ocean

ſome to have been committed to writing in the preſent form it ſtands by the miniſter himſelf, who gave Chemnitius [Bogiſlaus von Chemnitz] the honour of being its father. As far as I know, it hath not been tranſlated, and was publiſhed at Stockholm 1653, making 1046 folio pages. The reſt of the work is in the archives of Stockholm.

* By his own papers it was June 1, or 2, 1630.

carried

1630. carried with it from beginning to the end a very diſagreeable and unpromiſing aſpect; for it was five weeks before Guſtavus reached the ſhore of the iſle of Uſedom, being confined to one port for a whole month.

On the king's right-hand (for the fleet was drawn up in a ſort of battle-array) ſailed high admiral Gildenheim, who was natural ſon to Guſtavus's father; and on Banier's left ſailed the watchmaſter-general of the navy; a ſmall body of ſhips by way of reſerve being conducted at ſome diſtance behind them by the vice-admiral.

His majeſty had the foreſight or good-fortune to reach Pennemond harbour in the iſle of Uſedom, juſt at the approach of evening, and was a little ſurprized to ſee the whole country all in a flame at one inſtant. Nevertheleſs, he ordered his infantry to debark in large flat-bottomed boats prepared for the purpoſe, aſſigning 200 men to each veſſel, and two ſmall field-pieces. It is to be remarked, that he piqued himſelf upon being the firſt perſon to ſet his foot on German ground, and taking a pick-ax in his hands immediately began to open a trench, ordering half the men to labour, and half to ſtand to their arms interchangeably. In this debarkation he made choice of the propereſt place in the whole iſland, it being a ſpot, where the Daniſh troops in the late war had thrown up an imperfect redoubt in the year 1628; and as this firſt ſtep was of a very hazardous and critical nature, his majeſty exerted ſo much induſtry and dexterity on the occaſion, that he conveyed eleven regiments to ſhore, and took care to ſee them entrenched before break of day, near a ſmall village, from whence the harbour took its name.

A ſecond, but ſmaller diviſion of troops he conveyed to Stralſund, and diſmiſſing the fleet, commanded all the ſea-officers to return to Stockholm for new ſupplies of proviſion and forage, being determined to oppreſs the inhabitants of the empire as little as poſſible.

There was one thing caſual, yet not devoid of particularity, with reference to the time when Guſtavus firſt ſet his foot in Germany, for it happened preciſely that very day, upon which, juſt a century before, the confeſſion of Augſburg had been preſented to the emperor Charles V.

Immediately on landing, after having given ſome ſhort neceſſary orders to the generals that ſerved under him, he retired a few paces from them and his men, and falling down on his knees offered up a moſt fervent prayer to the Supreme Being *; and then turning round to his officers, who ſome of them teſtified ſurprize in their countenances at ſo uncommon an example of piety, told them with an alert and chearful air, *That a good Chriſtian would not make a bad ſoldier. The man*, continued he, *that hath finiſhed his prayers, hath completed one half of his daily work* †. It was not indeed the king's firſt intention to land his army in the iſland of Uſedom: he knew Rügen to be a larger and more fruitful diſtrict, and purpoſed to make it his magazine of proviſions, and his ſure aſylum in caſe of a defeat. But Leſly made himſelf maſter of it beyond expectation, and joined his maſter with a part of the Stralſund cavalry, with his own and half Hall's regiment of infantry, and four troops of Dewbatel's horſe ‡. 1630.

As this voyage had been protracted at leaſt a month beyond the king's expectations, he frankly told his men, *That as they were veteran ſoldiers, and had experienced hunger with him as well as plenty, he beſought them to continue their patience for a ſhort ſpace, and he would ſoon ſubſiſt them well at the expence of their enemies.* After which generous proof of affection and ſympathy, not a ſingle murmur was heard throughout the army; nor did the meaneſt ſoldier conceive a notion of plundering the inhabitants even for ſubſiſtence; well knowing, that he ſerved a maſter, who, though he compaſſionated the hardſhips his troops might ſuffer, yet never could be induced to diſpenſe with any infractions of natural juſtice and military diſcipline. It was upon this

* It is preſerved in the Hiſtorical or Authentic Relat. Tom. i. p. 166.

† Arnilahæi Arma Suecica, p. 19. Swed. Military diſcipline, 31.

At a country-ſeat in the middle of Sweden, which belonged formerly to the noble family of De la Gardie, but is now conferred on count de Teſſin for life, is a hall adorned with hiſtorical paintings, portraits, and emblems, all relating to the actions of Guſtavus Adolphus. In one little compartiment the preſent ſtory is ſet forth, and the heads of the generals, who ſtand round, are all ſuppoſed to be painted from nature. In larger compartiments are to be ſeen Guſtavus on horſeback, and the principal actions of his campaigns, comprehending likewiſe the ſcene of his death. The generals heads are in leſſer ſquares, and at bottom are emblematical deſigns relative to the character of each officer. *Memoirs communicated.*

‡ Chemnitii Bellum Sueco-German. Tom. i. p. 44.

very

1630. very occaſion that Guſtavus likewiſe told his men, *That they muſt not be alarmed at the Imperialiſts, and conſider them in the light of new antagoniſts, ſince they had fought with ſoldiers of the ſame ſtamp in Poland and Pruſſia; and that the ſample and the piece were of one colour and one contexture* *.

And here it may be worth while for a moment to take a ſhort ſurvey of Guſtavus's marine; and the rather, as the tribe of hiſtorians, like the herd of commentators, uſually paſs by theſe more curious reſearches and enquiries. This prince in general neglected nothing; and amongſt other things kept an attentive eye to the ſea as well as the land: for at the very period we are now conſidering, he was maſter of fifty fighting ſhips, from 20 guns to 40, and 6000 regular ſailors, chiefly Finlanders, Angermanians, Dalecarlians and Hollanders; which made his power with reference to the houſe of Auſtria as indiſputable in the Baltic, as it proved afterwards in the empire. The quantity of royal artillery was at that time amazing, except we conſider the vaſt reſources of metal in the Swediſh mines. It is ſuppoſed by many, that Guſtavus was owner of 8000 pieces of ordnance †. And under this ſame article it may not be improper to obſerve, that Sweden at that time ſupplied the king with a certain number of land-forces; for each province maintained a conſiderable body of regular troops, to which the modern reader may give the name of militia, or what other denomination he thinks fit. For example, Sweden, properly ſo called, and Gothland, ſupported at the leaſt 16000 infantry, and 5500 cavalry, who, though fed by their reſpective provinces, were cloathed by the king; received a monthly ſtipend from him, and paid for nothing but with an exemption of duties. It is true, this military conſtitution or eſtabliſhment in times of peace was extremely frugal: for though each company of infantry contained at leaſt 500 men, yet only one captain was aſſigned it, and one lieutenant, who received their raiment and food from the royal bounty. The captain had a ſalary of five pounds fifteen ſhillings a year; and the foot ſoldier had three ſhillings

* Chemnitii Bellum Sueco-German. Tom. i. p. 44. † Bertii Commentaria, 4°. p. 357.

and

and ſixpence per month. About one third more was allowed the cavalry: and every ſoldier made priſoner in war was to be exchanged, or redeemed at the king's expence. And here likewiſe it muſt be obſerved, that Finland, Livonia, and all other provinces, contributed towards the general ſyſtem of a perpetual army, according to their wealth and tract of country in the ſame proportions. Thus Sweden under Guſtavus may be conſidered as a true military government, like that of the Romans in their better days*. 1630.

Such an original baſis of national forces having been thus eſtabliſhed by the laws of Sweden, his majeſty ſuperadded to it out of his own revenues, and conformably to his own voluntary pleaſure; and thus much is certain, that he hired and employed more foreign troops, than the contingents of his own dominions could poſſibly amount to: ſo that we may reckon his own army, at leaſt during the three grand campaigns in Germany, to amount to 60, or 70,000 fighting men. And yet, though the revenues of Sweden could not be magnificent, this wonderful man neither borrowed money nor diſtreſſed his ſubjects, nor left behind him any one conſiderable national debt, notwithſtanding all the treaſure was ſpent abroad: nor does it ever appear that his army wanted pay a ſingle month; nay, on the contrary, it was generally his cuſtom to advance one third of pay on the firſt, eleventh, and twenty-firſt days of every month†.

There is a certain illuſtrious prince now in being, who copies Guſtavus in this part, as well as many others, and who guides himſelf by facts and obſervations relative to him, which are not to be found in every page of a common hiſtory: and indeed Guſtavus was one of thoſe genius's which ſhine proportionably both in the *great* and the *leſſer* degrees of excellency. Alike conſiderable, if circumſtances could be ſuppoſed equal, as common ſoldier, financier and proveditor; or as an engineer, politician, and generaliſſimo: nor do I throw out theſe encomiums rhetorically and at random (the common method of adorning characters) but interſperſe them occaſionally as they riſe from facts.

* Bertii Commentaria, p. 355—358, &c. † Swediſh Military diſcipline, 4°. Lond. 1632.

1630. Indeed it is impoſſible to aſcertain what the revenues of Guſtavus might be at this period, ſince my Swediſh friends at the preſent moment profeſs themſelves unable to afford me any warrantable informations. All we can learn from cotemporary writers is, that he had ſome royal demeſnes, as well as a patrimonial poſſeſſion *; that he had a ſole right in particular mines, and a tenth from all; he had likewiſe ſome peculiar taxes appropriated to his own coffers, and the tythes of the kingdom, great and ſmall, (as the eccleſiaſtics term them) including thoſe of fiſh, cattle and furs; which latter, from Lapland eſpecially, made no inconſiderable object; and in times of war new requiſitions were made from the provinces †.

As to his men, the Swedes from the days of Tacitus were remarkable from their *obſequium erga regem*. Neither Roman nor Grecian invaſions could ever reach them; whereas they, on the contrary, at various times over-ran all Europe with the rage and rapidity of an unexpected torrent. The ſoldiers of Guſtavus were patient of cold beyond expreſſion; nor was it uncommon for a centinel in extremity of winter to remain eight ſucceſſive hours on his poſt without being relieved: but the king took conſtant care to cloath them accordingly, and allowed each man, beſides his regimentals, a long warm cloak of Swediſh manufacture, lined with Lapland fur. There was another unſpeakable advantage in Guſtavus's army; for every perſon was his own tradeſman, his own artizan, and his own mechanic. And hence it happened, (to name only one particular inſtance) that when the king wanted to erect his extemporaneous bridge acroſs the Lech, he had 2000 very tolerable carpenters amongſt his ſoldiers. It was the ſame likewiſe when pioneers were wanted, or in matters of maſonry and fortification.

As to the cavalry, the Swediſh horſes were ſmall but well figured, making up in velocity and vigour what they wanted in height and bulk; it being poſſible for them, relieved only by a ſlight refreſhment, to keep in action forty continued hours. Nevertheleſs, as the ſize, weight and

* This he had beſtowed on the univerſity of Upſal.

† Bertii Commentaria, p. 355, &c.

preſſure

preſſure of horſes are of no ſmall conſequence in the day of battle, 1630.
Guſtavus generally choſe to mount his troops upon ſuch as were the produce of Germany and Denmark *. But what was equal to moſt other advantages, his officers both reſpected and feared him; for he ſaw their faults with a ſingle glance, and drew concluſions from them with the greateſt preciſion; and on the contrary, whenever they acquitted themſelves well, he beſtowed his honours, pecuniary rewards, and encomiums liberally: for I have not hitherto diſcovered (though the caſe be common even in the ableſt commanders) that he ever conſidered any one general, that acted under him, in the light of a rival; nor deſtroyed a ſingle man of conſequence either through jealouſy, or reſentment, or the juſt ideas he had formed of military diſcipline, if we except only colonel Mitzval. But though his heart was equally humane to all perſons upon every occaſion, yet it is very certain his *private* maxim *was*, to be reverenced by his generals †, and beloved by his common ſoldiers: and indeed they devoted their hearts paſſionately to him, for no man balanced between certain death and the inclination of his maſter, who never made the meaneſt ſervant a ſacrifice to his pride, his obſtinacy, or his vanity. And perhaps one may judge of the temper of the ſoldiery from the ſlight circumſtance I am now going to relate. The Livonian regiment of Denhoff had a ſtandard of black ſilk damaſk, whereon Abraham's offering of Iſaac was depictured with this inſcription:

" *Ut Abrahamus vult immolare filium,*
" *Pro Rege ſic nos parati ſumus mori* ‡."

* Bertii Commentaria, p. 355, &c. Diſcours de l'Etat & Couronne de la Suede. 4°. 1632.

† This is corroborated from the idea, which De la Gardie, his general in chief and military preceptor, had formed of him: for when that commander was invited to a conference with the Czar, the Muſcovite courtiers told him, he muſt leave his ſword in the anti-chamber. " Gentlemen," ſaid he, " you may give countenance to ſuch forms as you pleaſe; but the " prince your maſter has had ſome obligations " to this warlike inſtrument during the campaign wherein I aſſiſted him by my ſovereign's " orders againſt the Polanders: and be the diſappointment of the interview ever ſo great, " no monarch upon earth ſhall make De la " Gardie reſign his ſword, except Guſtavus." *Memorab. Suec. Gent.*

‡ Vide Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 39.

1630. But to return to the preſent embarkation, his majeſty contrived to bring with him ninety-two companies of foot, and ſixteen cornecies of horſe, (one half of which conſiſted of Engliſh, Scottiſh and German forces) which troops in thoſe times, ſuppoſing them to be full, made about 13,800 men, whom the king in a month's time augmented to 20,000, if not more: not to mention 6 or 7000 ſoldiers which had been conveyed to Germany ſome time before, in order to re-inforce the garriſon of Stralſund, and take poſſeſſion of the iſle of Rugen. And indeed it may be conſidered as an uncommon inſtance of prudence and precaution in his majeſty to diſlodge the Imperialiſts from this iſland; for as it lies contiguous to Uſedom [between Uſedom and Sweden] of courſe his retreat, if fortune had favoured the enemy, could never have been rendered ſecure, whilſt Rugen remained in any perſon's poſſeſſion except his own. But Leſly, the Swediſh commander there, took care to aſſure his maſter, about the time he approached the German coaſt, that all things were reduced to his majeſty's ſatiſfaction, which determined Guſtavus to advance to Uſedom.

And here, in order to animate his army a little at firſt, the king gave his ſoldiers all the lawful plunder belonging to the Imperialiſts, and allotted a body of troops and two men of war to protect the iſland, being determined not only to make it his ſea-port and magazine of war, but his ſure retreat in caſe of misfortune or diſappointment: and concluding it likewiſe highly convenient to refreſh his troops, who were not a little fatigued with a tedious and diſagreeable voyage, he had the goodneſs likewiſe to allow them two days uninterrupted reſt, and in that interim contrived to land his horſes and his artillery, as alſo ammunition, proviſions, and military utenſils. It was his next buſineſs to take particular care of the poor inhabitants; and having publiſhed a proclamation to aſſure them of the moſt perfect peace and protection, he diſtributed food and raiment to the hungry and naked: and thus by turns exerciſed the three glorious characters of an able general, a wiſe politician, and a good Chriſtian; ſo that in the whole courſe of the war he injured the Imperialiſts as much by his clemency and generoſity, as by his prudence and magnanimity.

Having

THE BALTIC SEA

MAP OF POMERANIA &c. Relative to the Wars of Gustavus Adolphus.

British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree

German Miles 15 to a Degree

T. Kitchin Sculp.

To front pa. 180. Vol. I.

Having taken theſe military and civil precautions, his majeſty on the third morning made an excurſion over the better half of the iſland, at the head of 1000 horſe and 3000 *commanded* * muſqueteers, in which expedition he drove the Imperialiſts before him without difficulty; for in truth they had no appetite to conteſt with him. 1630.

And here it may be aſked not improperly, where Walſtein was at this conjuncture, the command in theſe parts being his proper and reſpective department? To which queſtion one may readily reply, That he employed himſelf at the preſent conjuncture in other matters of more immediate importance to his own well-being, firſt in Bohemia, and then at Memmingen, in order to avert the diſgrace that threatened him at the diet of Ratiſbon. Tilly too, carefully declined to enter that military walk which belonged properly to Walſtein, whom he feared on account of his ambition, and loved not by reaſon of his inſolence and uncommunicative temper: for theſe reaſons he choſe to occupy himſelf in Franconia, and about the borders of Lower-Saxony, in giving the finiſhing ſtroke of reduction to the princes and ſtates which had aſſiſted the king of Denmark in the late war.

Or perhaps I may explain this paſſage more diſtinctly, by tranſcribing another paragraph from my original materials, where it is obſerved, that nothing could be better judged than the time which Guſtavus ſeized for invading Germany. For though the houſe of Auſtria and the leaguers juſt before this period had an inconceivable number of veteran troops on foot, yet one part had been diſbanded out of pure reſpect to the complaints preferred at Ratiſbon; another army had been diſpatched to form the ſiege of Mantua; Walſtein lay inactive in the circle of Suabia (we mean in a ſoldier-like capacity) in order to watch the motions of the diet, where his ruin was meditated; and Tilly bent his thoughts on reducing the only rebel to the majeſty of the empire, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and bringing ſome parts of

* *Commanded men*, in the language of thoſe times, were the better half of a regiment ſelected from their companions, and conducted by the reſpective colonel; ſo that in this particular the troops, upon enterprizes of importance, were doubly *colonelled*. We ſhall ſpeak more of this invention of Guſtavus elſewhere.

Weſtphalia

1630. Weſtphalia and Lower-Saxony into obedience; where he had grants given him of great poſſeſſions as a reward for his ſervices; and particularly the lands belonging to that gallant youth Chriſtian duke of Brunſwic and biſhop of Halberſtadt.

Yet after all this, it is ſtill ſurprizing, how many *armies* his Imperial majeſty and his aſſociates had then on foot, all well ſeaſoned troops, accuſtomed to victory. The forces of the league, conſiſting of *thirty thouſand men*, acted in Weſtphalia and Lower-Saxony under the command of Tilly, Pappenheim, and other generals in ſeparate diviſions.——A ſecond body of troops *nearly equal in number* attended Aldringer, Colalto, and Gallas, in the Italian expedition, and all returned in a few months.——Montecuculi and Oſſa, in conjunction with the archduke Leopold's forces, (making in the whole a body of *ten thouſand men)* gave laws to Suabia and Alſatia, extending their dominion more or leſs from the Valteline to the town of Straſburg.——Then their good allies the Spaniards took the lead, and diſperſed *ten thouſand* Walloons over the whole Lower-Palatinate and the countries adjoining.——The influence of the three eccleſiaſtical electors ſucceeded next, (who preſerved about *eight thouſand* men in their own territories) and thus a boom of conqueſt was ſtretched out from the ſource of the Rhine to the circles of Weſtphalia and Lower-Saxony, or, in other words, from the feet of the Alps to the ſhores of the Baltic, where Tilly and Pappenheim were ſuppoſed by all men to be next to invincible.

At the ſame time the interior parts of Germany ſecured themſelves: for as the houſe of Palatin was by this time exterminated from its hereditary poſſeſſions, the other few proteſtant princes had ſubmitted by agreement, or been diſpoſſeſſed by force.

Nor was the eaſtern ſide of the empire diſmantled of protection, though the elector of Saxony appeared not then diſaffected to the Auſtrian intereſts, nor indeed was he; for Baltazar di Marradas commanded *eight thouſand men* in Bohemia, where Walſtein likewiſe was all-powerful, like a ſovereign ruler; and Tieffenbach and Goetz conducted another army *of the ſame magnitude* in Sileſia and Luſatia.——So that

if any part was *weak* (and *that* we may attribute to the extraordinary 1630.
ſagacity and courage of the perſon that attacked it) it was the long extended duchy of Pomerania, and the ſhore of the Baltic thereto belonging: yet the duke of Pomerania was a meer ſhadow of power, being in effect a ſtate-priſoner, and at beſt maſter of a few broken regiments; and as to the elector of Brandenburg, it is well known he was proprietor of no more than four or ſix thouſand ſoldiers, not over well paid, and but poorly diſciplined; whilſt Torquato di Conti, at the head of *ſixteen thouſand* inſolent and unmerciful veterans, had reduced either country to ſuch a ſtate of ſervitude, that the inhabitants durſt not truſt the idea of Guſtavus even to enter into their private thoughts. Yet that *great man*, ſure of no one German alliance, and expecting none, except from a conſciouſneſs of his own lenity, prudence, dexterity, and fortitude, had the aſtoniſhing reſolution to croſs the ocean, and fix his footſteps in a hoſtile empire, repoſing all his hopes on the narrow baſis of *thirteen thouſand eight hundred* ſoldiers (for the garriſon of Stralſund muſt not be computed as any real aſſiſtance, except under its own walls) wherewith to confront *nine ſeveral armies*, which (ſuppoſing thoſe troops to be divided in eight ſimilar portions) were each equal (if we except only a few men) to the whole force of his majeſty at his firſt landing. And to the Imperial field-troops, &c. may be added likewiſe the Imperial garriſons; for in thoſe days every town in Germany being more or leſs fortified, required a protection. So that in truth, the king had more than one hundred ſtrong cities and fortreſſes to beſiege; and though the moderns may ſay that the ſtrength of a fortification was in thoſe days nothing, yet at the ſame time we ought to remind them, that ſtrength is a term relative to the arts of inveſting and attacking, which then ſubſiſted; nor could Guſtavus have conquered the empire in twice the number of years, if he had not (by a ſort of pre-occupying genius) managed his artillery conformably to the inventions of the ſucceeding century; and this juſtice Tilly allowed him at the reduction of Magdeburg, for he had but one excellent engineer in all his army, and that was Farenbach, who had learnt his profeſſion under Guſtavus, and then deſerted.

Mean

1630. Mean while his majeſty, undiſmayed by difficulties, and no ways deterred by diſproportionable numbers, taking the advantages of Walſtein's avocations, and Tilly's jealouſies, croſſed the ſmall frith which divides Uſedom from the continent; it being little more than the mouth of the river Pene; and leaving ſerjeant-major-general Knip-hauſen to guard Pennemond-fort and the reſt of the iſland, marched directly to the town of Wolgaſt, and cutting to pieces two hundred Croatians out of a larger number that oppoſed him, made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong fort at the water's edge ſword in hand, and left Banier to maintain it. Nevertheleſs, during this ſlight attempt on the town of Wolgaſt (for it merits not to be called a military operation in good earneſt, the intent being only to feel the real ſtrength of that important city) Torquato de Conti *, chief commander in thoſe parts, an elder officer than Walſtein (who was at that time undeprived) but not ſo dexterous nor ſucceſsful, and beneath him too in rank and authority, marching at the head of three German regiments †, made a fruitleſs attempt to raiſe the ſiege.

For upon all occaſions this general ſhewed himſelf to be no great commander. By meer dint of extortion it is true he wreſted from the duke of Pomerania the ſtrong towns of Gartz and Griffenhagen, but miſcarried in his attempt on Stetin, though he diſpatched colonel Walſtein thither, who carried a letter of ſummons from his kinſman and nameſake ‡. Indeed it has been matter of difficulty to ſome, why Torquato did not attempt to oppoſe Guſtavus at his firſt landing, or

* Bougeant calls him Torquato Conti; but to ſpeak properly he ſhould be called Torquato de Conti: *Torquatus de Comitibus*, according to the tenour of the Imperial patent. He was originally deſtined to the church, but choſe rather to carry arms; and ſerved firſt in Lombardy among the Spaniſh troops as captain of horſe, and then under Bucquoy in the Hungarian wars. He was little beloved, and leſs confided in, by the ſoldiers: and on account of his exactions and ſeverities, the common people always ſurnamed him *The Devil*. Nevertheleſs, before he paſſed into the Imperial ſervice, he was the firſt man who diſcovered Mazarine's genius, and recommended him, when he was about twenty-three years old, to his holineſs the pope. Upon his abdication of the Imperial ſervice, he obtained a freſh employment at Rome, which ſuited better with his age and infirmities; for he was made captain-general of the eccleſiaſtical forces.

† It muſt be obſerved that the German regiments were much larger than the Swediſh.

‡ Chemnitius de Bello Sueco-Germ. Tom. i. 37.

give

give him battle at leaſt a few days after his arrival? Nevertheleſs, of this difficulty one may ſafely venture to give a ſolution. The whole country had been depopulated by the Imperialiſts; nor could their general with certainty tranſport proviſions to his army from the parts of the empire which lay to the ſouthward; whilſt Guſtavus for the firſt two months, having the ocean open at his pleaſure, derived ſure and moderate, though not abundant ſupplies from his own country. It was upon this account that Torquato fell back and formed two camps at Gartz and Stolp, almoſt at the two extremities of Outer-Pomerania, making Landſberg, which forms the ſouthern point of the triangle, a ſort of intermediate place of reſidence, by the emperor's expreſs orders. 1630.

And here I ſhall digreſs for one moment, in order to obſerve, that it was one great error in this general (not the leſs abſurd for being common) to deſtroy, in the manner he did, all cattle, proviſions, barns, hay-ſtacks, and mills, merely with a view to deprive the Swedes of ſubſiſtence at their firſt arrival. If the houſe of Auſtria had previouſly *paid* for theſe things, and then *deſtroyed* them, the conduct had been admirable; but in the other view of the queſtion, ſhe loſt the hearts of the common people irrecoverably: for we muſt take human nature from the higheſt to the loweſt as it really is, and though a peaſant may greatly eſteem his prince and country, he is weak enough to love his family, and his little dearly-earned acquiſitions ſtill more. The event ſoon juſtified the obſervation, for Guſtavus from that moment wanted nothing at the market price.

And here I may ſtill give the reader a better idea of Torquato de Conti's inabilities; for about this time, (namely, at or near the landing of Guſtavus) Sigiſmond king of Poland informed him by letter what ſort of warrior he muſt expect to find in the perſon of his Swediſh majeſty; and how much it behoved him to keep a ſtrict eye to the preſervation of Pomerania. But Torquato, who, though a native of Italy, had more Spaniſh faſtuoſity in his temper than Roman cautiouſneſs, returned him a ſhort contemptuous anſwer, (conformably to the language then uſed at Vienna) which he never afterwards took

1630. care to verify; namely, that Guſtavus ſhould find enough and enough employment againſt men of ſervice, and learn by dear-bought experience, that he had left his laurels in the groves of Pruſſia *.

From Wolgaſt his majeſty returned to Uſedom, and gave ſome little attention to matters of politics, employing his troops at the ſame time in the total reduction of that iſland, and a ſmall one contiguous to it called Wollin.

His firſt buſineſs was to give audience to the miniſters of his couſins the dukes of Mechlenberg †, and the deputies from Stralſund; and ſome private intercourſes paſſed between him and the duke of Pomerania ‡; for the latter terrified by the menaces, and diſmayed by the ſeverities of the houſe of Auſtria, had made ſome overtures to his Swediſh majeſty on the ſubject of returning home, and leaving the empire to be the ſole arbiter of its own repoſe.

For this prince well foreſeeing which way the ſtorm of the north pointed, had ſent to Guſtavus juſt before he embarked, to beſeech him to make ſome other country than Pomerania the ſeat of invaſion: many memorials and replies paſſed between the Swediſh and Pomeranian miniſters; at length the king told the latter, juſt as he was going on ſhip-board, *That he would carry his anſwer in perſon to the duke their maſter.*

Rightly therefore concluding, that theſe difficulties proceeded more from fear than any real diſinclination to his expedition, he advanced directly to the ſtrong fort of Schwein, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, and maſtered it without reſiſtance; for the Imperial garriſon thought fit to diſlodge at firſt ſight, and croſſed the river into the iſland of Wollin: which little diſtrict (for it is ſomewhat ſmaller than Uſedom, being about twenty miles long by ten or twelve broad) is formed into an iſland by the ſea, the Friſhoff-lake, the mouth of the Oder, and a ſmall frith, that is half rivulet and half moraſs. Guſtavus having found ſome boats, ſoon purſued the Imperialiſts acroſs the water, who

* Kobierziki, Hiſt. Vladiſlaüs, p. 931.

† Adolphus Frederic of Schwerin, and John Albert of Guſtrow: the former born in 1589, and the latter in 1590.

‡ Bogiſlaüs duke of Pomerania died aged ſeventy-ſeven in 1637, the laſt of a family which had enjoyed that duchy 700 years.

in their flight ſet fire to a fine caſtle belonging to the elector of Saxony's ſiſter, and ſoon evacuated the iſland, leaving behind them their cannon, baggage, and a part of their horſes. Here were found two beautiful leopards confined in a cage, being deſtined by Walſtein as a preſent to the emperor: for as he had the vanity to conſider himſelf as admiral of the Baltic, he thought it neceſſary to give ſome proofs at Vienna of his commercial correſpondence. 1630.

In theſe two iſlands the king repoſed himſelf near a fortnight, not from any affection that he bore to a ſtate of tranquillity, or inactivity, but merely to procure means to himſelf of tranſporting his artillery, troops, and baggage over the lake of Friſhoff, a paſſage of about twelve miles in length, which gave him entrance into the large mouth of the Oder, and thence to Stetin: of which enterprize we ſhall ſpeak more diſtinctly hereafter.

During the interval of preparation and reflexion neceſſary to an enterprize of this nature, we will caſt our eyes for a few minutes on the diet of Ratiſbon, which ſubſiſted at this very time, and had been convened before Guſtavus arrived in Germany; or, to ſpeak more properly, previouſly to his landing. But after his embarkation the ſtates of the empire, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the proteſtants, had aſſembled themſelves at Ratiſbon, in order to deliberate about the means of reſtoring their country to its ancient tranquillity. But upon the grand event of his Swediſh majeſty's arrival in the iſle of Uſedom, *Ceſar*, as the Germans affect to call him, gave indications of his ſupreme will to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, commanding them to ſupply his numerous army with proviſions and military ſtores; and upon theſe conditions generouſly promiſing them to make ſome mitigations in their favour (by way of acknowledgment) in the edict of reſtitution. Guſtavus likewiſe notified his appearance in Germany to the latter of theſe two electors, and expounded to him the reaſons that induced him to make an attempt upon Pomerania (that country being contiguous to the electorate of Brandenburg) preferably to any other part of the empire, making him at the ſame time an offer of ſecurity and protection, provided he did not oppoſe him in an hoſtile manner.

1630. It is much to be doubted whether it was in the emperor's power, conſiſtently with common prudence and external appearances, to have put by this general convention of the Germanic body. The proteſtant princes had been almoſt ruined, and complained ſo loudly, that it was neceſſary to make them ſome oſtenſible conceſſions: for military executions on the one hand, and the forenſic executions on the other hand, had forced the edict into full activity, and many princes, the duke of Wirtemberg in particular, had allowed the monks, nuns, and clergy to repoſſeſs their ancient eſtabliſhments. The elector of Saxony likewiſe was particularly anxious to maintain his ſon Auguſtus in the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg, which the emperor had aſſigned in imagination to his ſecond ſon Leopold. Upon this account the elector promoted privately the aſſembly at Heidelberg in 1629, from whence a petition for the revocation of the edict was addreſſed to his Imperial majeſty, and a ſlight ſort of confederation projected between the proteſtant powers; nor were certain oblique and indiſtinct innuendos omitted with reference to Guſtavus. But what was ſtill worſe, many princes of the catholic perſuaſion wiſhed for peace, inaſmuch as their countries had been terribly haraſſed even by the armies of their victorious friends. Of this claſs was the duke of Neuburg, deſcended from a younger branch of the Palatine family. The archbiſhop of Saltzburg too had withdrawn his contributions for no better reaſon, but becauſe no deſirable ſpot of proteſtant ground bordered upon the edges of his territories, at a time when his neighbours were all making new acquiſitions. The elector of Tryers * likewiſe grew ſick of the depredations of the Spaniſh troops, and the elector of Cologn, brother to the duke of Bavaria, joined with him in remonſtrances on the ſame ſubject; yet not one of theſe princes would conſent to annihilate the edict of reſtitution.

Nevertheleſs, certain ſuſpicions, or glimmerings of ſuſpicion, were ſuppoſed to prevail amongſt theſe princes; for though the real object of the houſe of Auſtria was the demolition and deſtruction of the proteſtant party, that being conſidered as a work of no extraordinary dif-

* Philip Chriſtopher Van Scottem.

ficulty;

ſkulty; yet a traverſe ſcene was to be drawn behind this outſide one, and the deep deſign at bottom was to humiliate the catholics in their turn, and eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy in the empire. Count d'Ognata, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, unfortunately opened himſelf once upon this ſubject, and ſaid, "That the epiſcopal gowns in Germany "were ſomething of the longeſt, and wanted paring." 1630.

Upon the occaſion of this diet the emperor made a magnificent entry, attended by his wife and ſon, the king of Hungary and Bohemia. All the catholic electors appeared. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, though perſonally written to by the emperor, implored him to liſten to the repreſentations of Sweden and France, and conclude an univerſal peace. Of which the real reaſon was (though the elector of Brandenburg complained that fourteen regiments complete had been quartered on him alone, and the Auſtrian regiments were then extremely large) that both theſe electors declined to ſee the emperor in perſon, as they did not chuſe to elect his ſon king of the Romans: nor was the duke of Saxony by any means ſo poor as he pretended; and what was ſtill more, they had maintained an indiſtinct but timorous correſpondence with Guſtavus, and had a conſciouſneſs that ſomething of that nature might take air during the tranſactions of the diet.

Each of theſe princes pleaded poverty in order to be excuſed attendance, and mentioned the ſeemingly incredible ſums which the Imperial officers had extorted from their ſubjects*. Such public expilations had never been known or read of; and beſides all this, a lively picture was drawn, not only of the avarice, but of the cruelty and inſolence of the commanders †; and by way of concluſion it was ſtrongly recommended upon ſuppoſition a laudable peace could not be procured, that new laws ſhould be made with regard to conqueſts, contributions, and plunder; and that a freſh ſyſtem of diſcipline and regularity ſhould be inforced by the ſtrongeſt penal ſanctions that could be deviſed. It was requeſted alſo that ſome more effectual method of paying the army might be propoſed to the public; and

* Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburg.

† Publiſhed by the duke of Pomerania in High Dutch and in Latin.

that

1630. that a better application might be made of the Germanic money collected and ſet apart for this purpoſe: in which latter clauſe the catholic electors all agreed; for the Imperial armies made little difference between friends and foes.

Great part of the military licentiouſneſs and forenſic irregularities above complained of was attributed to Walſtein, whom the world in general agreed to ſtyle the *German Dictator*. The confederate princes and electors hated him as a new raiſed man, who from a Bohemian gentleman, by the emperor's indulgence and facility, roſe to be firſt a count, and then duke of Fridland, Sagan, and Mechlenberg. His manner of living diſguſted them too, for he maintained finer retinues, and kept a more magnificent table, than moſt of them could afford to imitate. But in generoſity, and a more than princely affectation of rewarding valour and merit, he exceeded them all; for it was a maxim with him, that a prince who deſired to be ſerved cheap, had always cheap ſervices done him. There were other circumſtances peculiar to this unaccountable perſon, which produced freſh uneaſineſſes; for being uncommunicative by nature, and reſerved by choice, he familiarized himſelf with none of his aſſociates, neither imparting his own deſigns, or collecting the ſentiments of others, except at ſuch diſtance as was unobſervable: ſo that upon the whole, at leaſt to external appearances, he overlooked all men's opinions, and neglected all men's advice, if we except only his Imperial majeſty. For theſe reaſons he levied contributions, granted protections, diſpoſed of troops in garriſons and into winter quarters, without ever conſulting the princes in whoſe territories theſe deſtinations were made; and upon any complaint or remonſtrance from them, his anſwer was, *That he had offended formerly by an improper condeſcenſion; but perceiving mankind to be devoid of gratitude on that head, he for the future ſhould change his mildneſs into aſperity.*

It may next be obſerved, that beſides the electors and their deputies, many perſons of great conſequence paid their attendance at this diet, as Sir Robert Anſtruther from England, M. Brulart and Father Joſeph on the part of France, and Ruſdorf in the behalf of the elector Palatin.

latin. Indeed the diet in general was the moſt pompous and magnificent that had ever been known, (a circumſtance that ill became the deplorable miſery and poverty of thoſe times); and it is thought the expences of the duke of Bavaria alone, though that may not ſound high to the ears of an Engliſhman, amounted to near 25,000 pounds a month *. 1630.

Tilly likewiſe, and Anholt †, the two generals of the catholic league, made each of them an extremely handſome appearance. The former ſpoke of Guſtavus in the higheſt terms of reſpect, and, inauſpiciouſly for himſelf, compared the grand event of a war to a ſingle fortunate caſt upon the dice: but Walſtein, who then did not think his revocation ſo certain, rivalled even his maſter in point of ſhow, being attended by 600 horſemen finely mounted and richly habited, which inſpired no ſmall envy into the electors, and paved the way to his future diſgrace.

It may juſtly be imagined, that all parties here aſſembled had their reſpective games to manage. The houſe of Auſtria aimed at univerſal monarchy over papiſts as well as proteſtants; and wanted likewiſe to give a check to the interpoſition of all foreign powers in the affairs of the empire: and a third grand object ſtill remained behind the ſcene, which was to cauſe Ferdinand, the emperor's ſon, to be then appointed king of the Romans. The elector of Bavaria had his reaſons for traverſing indirectly this laſt attempt, and deſired likewiſe to ſubſtitute Tilly in the room of Walſtein. The proteſtant electors co-operated with him in this reſpect. Their deputies harangued largely on the inſolence and expilations of Walſtein duke of Fridland (for few people cared to give him the title he derived from Mechlenberg) and remarked in the courſe of their invectives, that he had waged war upon countries againſt which no war had been ever declared. In this combination againſt the general, the Spaniſh miniſters and the Hiſpaniolized

* Mercure François in annum 1630. This diet began about June 19, and ended November 13.

† Le Barre, (Hiſtoire d'Allemagne, Tom. ix. p. 589.) in other reſpects a moſt exact hiſtorian, ſays, Tilly, and the prince of *Anhalt*, who entered into no ſervice, after he received his pardon and reprimand on account of the Bohemian wars. The perſon here meant is John James count of *Anholt*, next in command to Tilly, and watch-maſter general of the Bavarian army, who died the November enſuing.

Auſtrians

1630. Auſtrians moſt heartily concurred. France interfered too upon its old principle of firſt diſturbing the waters, and then purloining a good part of the prey. The elector Palatin acted purely out of form, without any hopes of ſucceſs; and the Britiſh ambaſſador appeared in the character of a preacher more than a negotiator. As to the eccleſiaſtical electors, they aimed at nothing but at Walſtein's diſmiſſion, and the full continuance of the edict of reſtitution.

The emperor promoted and carried on the intrigues of this aſſembly very artfully; for though he determined to grant the proteſtants no one advantage, yet at the ſame time he well foreſaw, that the appearance of making ſome conceſſions bore the air of plauſibility and mildneſs. Moreover, he had reſolved within himſelf to inſinuate, that as France, Holland, and Sweden, all caballed againſt the empire, and ſent both men and money into it, it behoved the proteſtants, as well as catholics, to unite in one common ſyſtem, and fruſtrate ſuch public attacks on the Germanic body in general. It was argued ſpecifically, that the elector Palatin had given no ſigns of compunction, and therefore it was neceſſary to paſs an irreverſible ſentence upon him: that the Dutch had long ſhaken off all filial duty to the Ceſarean throne, and had rendered themſelves maſters of ſeveral towns which appertained to the empire, not without intentions of replacing the elector Palatin in the Lower-Palatinate: that the French king had interfered both in Italy and Germany, without ſolicitation on one part, and without giving previous notice on the other part: and, laſtly, that Guſtavus was worthy of blame above meaſure, ſince he had never received the leaſt provocation from the houſe of Auſtria; there ſubſiſting in truth no one diſpute between him and the emperor but the affair of Stralſund, in the accommodation of which matter he had neglected to liſten to Dhona, the Imperial ambaſſador, as alſo to a public miniſter on the part of Denmark, who had undertaken the office of a mediator. One cannot preſume abſolutely to contradict this laſt aſſertion; yet it is plain enough to the clear-ſighted and intelligent, that the king of Denmark's friendſhip to Guſtavus carried with it an inſincere aſpect, which naturally created miſtruſt and ſuſpicions. That prince

prince juſtly triumphed, it is true, in prefiguring to himſelf, that the houſe of Auſtria might happen to be humbled to a certain degree; yet it did not pleaſe him to behold the Swedes in poſſeſſion of Stralſund; nor did he like the eſtabliſhment Guſtavus had made for himſelf in the iſland of Rugen, which gave him an unlimited command on either ſide of the Baltic ocean. He had a ſecret joy however in predicting to his nation, that Sweden and Auſtria would at length weary and torment themſelves into a ſtate of inactivity. Theſe ideas joined to a good degree of caution, intermingled with timidity, kept him in a ſort of ſuſpenſe, which he thought fit to ſurname a neutrality: yet at bottom he dreaded Guſtavus, and hated him too, and in ſpite of all obligations which the proteſtant religion might be ſuppoſed to have on his mind, preferred the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria in his more reſerved and ſecret wiſhes. 1630.

On the other hand, it appeared plainly, that the Imperial miniſters made peace only a plauſible pretext in the firſt article of the ſeveral propoſals produced by them; for the five ſubſequent ones breathed nothing but menaces, chaſtiſements, and hoſtilities; of which we have a clear proof: for when all the proteſtant deputies implored the emperor to put a ſtop to ſuch unmerciful proceedings, cardinal Kleſel*, who had relinquiſhed politics, except with a view to humble Walſtein, replied coldly and unconcernedly: *It was the decree of heaven, that people ſhould bear patiently what they had deſerved* †. To recapitulate all

* Melchior, archbiſhop of Vienna, prime miniſter and favourite of the emperors Rodolphus and Mathias.

† We cannot but ſuſpect that hiſtorians have made this ſpeech proceed from a wrong mouth: ſince this firſt perſonage in the Auſtrian cabinet was generouſly enclined to the Bohemian proteſtants, and no great friend to the Spaniſh faction. For when in the year 1618, he perſuaded Mathias to uſe mild and lenient methods towards the revolters in Bohemia and the annext provinces, and diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt lights the miſerable effects of perſecution and inteſtine wars, Ognata the Spaniſh ambaſſador made no ceremony to conſider him as a traitor; and the archduke Ferdinand (next year elected emperor) roundly told him, *He would rather ſee the kingdom ruined, than damned.* Hiſt. Eccl. Bohem. 12°. p. 152.

From theſe hints the cardinal archbiſhop ſoon concluded his downfal to be inevitable, and as he went to court conjured his domeſtics to ſtand upon their guard. The apoſtolic nuncio attended him. When he entered the antichamber, a chamberlain of the archduke's made his maſter's excuſes for not receiving him. The emperor likewiſe compelled him to wait ſome time (the council-door being bolted, and he and Ognata

1630. all the ſeveral offences of the proteſtant princes will be difficult; but the duke of Pomerania's irremiſſible crime was, that he had wiſhed the emperor ill-ſucceſs in a bumper of white ale.

As to the ambaſſadors from foreign countries, it may ſafely be ſaid, that Anſtruther at leaſt did nothing, having in truth nothing meritorious in his power to perform: for though he had certain authorities to treat with the Imperial commiſſaries and the electoral princes, yet it is evident, that no good could be produced from ſuch attempts, as the houſe of Auſtria aimed only at cajoling his maſter, and procraſtinating thoſe dormant good wiſhes which he bore to the Palatinate and the proteſtant cauſe. Nevertheleſs, by the artful interpoſition of Spain, who pretended to ſtand in the character of a third perſon between their Britannic and Imperial majeſties, he was received politely and courteouſly by the emperor, who perhaps at that time had ſome fears of an alliance then tranſacting between Charles and Guſtavus.

Anſtruther's ſecond inſtructions, bearing date July 22, 1630, carried the ſame conciliating pacific air, which thoſe of James I. had formerly borne, and are filled with remonſtrances and deprecations inſtead of menaces and reſentment. They have all one tone; *Armis ſemotis, noſtro exemplo:* and his Britannic majeſty declares in them, that the elector

in cloſe conference) and then baron de Preüner came out and told him, (whilſt Dampier and Colalto waited below with an armed force) that he had committed great miſmanagements in the government, and muſt retire with him: to which ſtep the then pope Paul V. had given his conſent. The cardinal put himſelf into great emotion at ſo abrupt an attack, and talked very loudly in his own juſtification; upon which Preüner preſented him with a riding coat and black hat, compelling him, much againſt his will, to quit his red hat and pallium: and having conducted him privately down a back ſtair-caſe, Dampier received him in a cloſe poſt-chariot, and conveyed him to Inſpruck, the court obliging him to ſign a reſignation of all his preferments. And thus room was made for cardinal Ditrichſtein.

In vain Mathias lamented his diſgrace, for he loved him entirely, and confided in him above all men; nor was he made privy to the ſtratagem. All the anſwer he could receive from Ferdinand and his adherents, was, that the meaſures taken had a view purely to his glory. He then requeſted a promiſe from them in writing, that they would not injure the cardinal's life or fortune; but they only gave him their engagements of honour. When Urban VIII. examined this great miniſter's cauſe, he was found to have neither money nor poſſeſſions. A diſculpation was then paſſed in his favour: nevertheleſs, he declined all concern with ſtate affairs, except with regard to the diſmiſſion of Walſtein; and died in 1630, aged ſeventy-ſeven.

Palatin

Palatin had conſigned to him implicitly the management of all his affairs (an aſſertion which may perhaps be liable to ſome queries and explanations) and that notwithſtanding his father and himſelf had ever proved unſucceſsful in their interpoſitions on Frederic's behalf, yet that he ſhould ſtill continue to purſue the ſame pious work and ſalutary meaſures: and the rather, as his catholic majeſty exhorted him to perſevere in this plan, giving him reaſons to expect the moſt equitable condeſcenſions from the emperor: and for fear theſe advances might not prove conſiderable enough, Anſtruther had powers likewiſe to become reſponſible for the Palatin's ſubmiſſions *. Nevertheleſs it no where appears, that theſe powers were derived from their proper ſource of authority, that is to ſay, from the elector Palatin himſelf. 1630.

Some few weeks after the date of this ſecond commiſſion, I believe towards the concluſion of the month of Auguſt, (for we will not violate the chronological ſeries of hiſtory without acknowledgment, though upon the whole it appeareth beſt to me to conſider the affairs of the Palatinate under one general article as much as poſſible;) the ſaid ambaſſador from England was admitted to an Imperial audience at Vienna, (not being able to procure ſuch admiſſion at the late diet) where he made a long ſubmiſſive and plaintive ſpeech †, which carried with it more the air of an elegy, than the ſpirited repreſentation of a powerful kingdom. Its purport was, (for I care not how little time we employ in analyzing it) "That the king his maſter acknowledged with grief and ſhame, that "his brother-in-law the elector Palatin, without any regard to *his* opi-"nion and concurrence, had acted formerly (in reference to the crown "of Bohemia) not only raſhly, but unadviſedly; which imprudent "meaſures ought chiefly to be attributed to the ambition and inattention "of youth; and that it would highly become the emperor, conſiſtently "with his accuſtomed clemency, to receive his ſubmiſſions, and re-inſtate "him into his dominions, inaſmuch as ſuch an act of free and gratui-"tous favour would oblige the kings of England to all poſterity.

* Fœdera. Tom. 19. p. 172.

† We have thought fit to publiſh it verbatim in the APPENDIX.

1630. It then proceeded to remark, " That his majeſty of England (not-
" withſtanding a pretence for war appeared ſelf-evident) always choſe
" to prefer the amicable adjuſtments of treaty, ſo often eſſayed, and
" negligently regarded by all his friends! repoſing himſelf in every
" emergency upon the known candor and *manſuetude* of the houſe of
" Auſtria.—In the next place the folly of this ſpeech is equal to its ab-
" jectneſs; ſince war is there conſidered as the moſt unchriſtian act in
" human nature, and the moſt uncertain. Mention is then made of the
" kind interpoſitions from the courts of Madrid and Bruxelles: (than
" which nothing could be more impudently or infamouſly inſincere;)
" and the *merites non petits* of James I. towards the houſe of Auſtria are
" ſtrongly inculcated.——No pretenſions of right are ſo much as glanced
" at: on the contrary, all is referred" (as if one was addreſſing the
ſupreme being) " to the free gratuitous unconditional mercy and cle-
" mency of the Imperial throne. Laſtly the diſtreſſes, the poverty, the
" exile of the numerous Palatin family are depictured with all the pa-
" thos of an affecting tragedy *, and then a petition is preferred for an
" allowance juſt ſufficient to keep them from ſtarving, which, ſaith
" Anſtruther, by preſcription of right as well as the laws of piety can-
" not be denied to any perſon conſiſtently with common juſtice."

Thus, as an Auſtrian hiſtorian obſerveth †, he flattered and trembled like a criminal pleading his cauſe before Pluto. Walſtein's aſſociates joined with Anſtruther upon theſe repreſentations, partly to prevent England from combining with Sweden, and partly to play the elector Palatin's re-eſtabliſhment againſt the immeaſurable ambition of the duke of Bavaria. But all theſe attempts were eluded with politely giving them a patient hearing; and the unhappy Anſtruther ſate himſelf down contented; for the Auſtrians knew the extent of Charles's hereditary patience to an hair's breadth, and had received likewiſe indirect but tolerably certain aſſurances, that he had been tampering for ſome time

* Que voſtre majeſté, &c. daigne auſſi jetter les yeux benins de ſa grace ſur une tendre, numereuſe, & innocente famille Palatine, & ſur une troupe d'autres leur parents & alliez, qui embraſſent en ſuppliant les autels de voſtre clemence & bonté Imperiale!

† Laurea Auſtriaca.

with

with Guſtavus, whom he had inveſted with the order of the garter, 1630.
ſeveral years before at the ſiege of Dirſchau.

It may be worth obſerving here, that Frederic was more political and heroical than his brother Charles; and Ruſdorf *, his firſt agent at the diet, gave proofs of ability and firmneſs far ſuperior to what Anſtruther could pretend to imitate. His maſter, the elector Palatin, had taken the precaution to convey letters to each elector, all written with his own hand, in which he beſought them to interpoſe their good offices with the emperor in his behalf. To theſe repreſentations his Imperial majeſty replied artfully enough, That he had private diſpoſitions in that unhappy prince's favour, whereof he ſhould ſoon behold the benign effects, if he would perſonally aſk his pardon, renounce the crown of Bohemia and his own electorate for himſelf and his heirs; and enter into no future alliances or intrigues either with German princes or foreigners; and *then* only, and *upon theſe conditions*, promiſed from the mere inherent motives of bounty and clemency reſiding in his breaſt, to reſtore to him the part of a province, and a penſion ſuitable to the dignity of a prince.

Theſe propoſals ſerved to amuſe the king of England very well; but Frederic rejected them like a man of honour and ſpirit, laughed at them, deſpiſed them, and deteſted them: for though this prince was no great hero in the field, he had a juſt ſenſe of his parentage and ſtation; and declared peremptorily, that he would have *all* the Palatinate or *none*:

* One of the ableſt prime miniſters of the elector Palatin, who reſided many years in a public capacity at London, where he collected all the negotiations and ſtate-tranſactions relative to Great Britain and the continent: which MS. work, conſiſting of ſeveral volumes in folio, is ſtill preſerved in the archives at Heſſe-Caſſel: and from a ſyllabus of the contents tranſmitted to me deſerveth highly to be rendered public; ſince it is certain the affairs of the Palatinate influenced all our meaſures more or leſs during the reigns of James I. and Charles his ſon. As to the ſtyle of Ruſdorf (for the collection I am ſpeaking of is compoſed in Latin) the reader may eaſily form an idea from the other performances he has thought fit to publiſh, the *Vindiciæ Palatinæ* being one of the completeſt works the world ever ſaw, and in the ſingle articles of method, brevity, and perſpicuity may diſpute the palm even with Thomas Aquinas's Summæ, ſo juſtly celebrated for theſe perfections. It is here we may admire him in the character of a politician, jus-publiciſt, and civilian; and as to his claſſical abilities, witneſs his beautiful elegy, entitled, QUERELA FREDERICI MISSA UNIONI, written with all the elegance and ſpirit of the antients. And if one may form any conjectures from ſimilitude of thought and language, it was he that compoſed the *epiſtle* from the city of Heidelberg in the character of an unaſſailable virgin, to general Tilly in 1621, when the Engliſh garriſon behaved ſo gloriouſly. It begins, *Siccine virgineum*, &c.

1630. *nor ſhould any worldly motive induce him to cut off his children's birth-right and leave them penſioners to the houſe of Auſtria, if they were of a tame diſpoſition; or vagabonds and mercenary ſoldiers, if they were of an heroical one.*

In return to this, it is remarked by ſome, that the emperor alledged by way of compurgating himſelf, that the better part of Frederic's dominions were depoſited in the hands of the infanta Clara Iſabella *. But the elector Palatin gave no ear to ſuch ridiculous cajolements and excuſes.

But to return to Anſtruther's oration: it is amazing, that our hiſtorians know nothing of this *ſpeech*, nor *the four extraordinary conditions* required by the emperor, though the reigns of James and Charles I. can never be underſtood with any common degree of clearneſs, except we comprehend far better than we do at preſent the whole tranſaction relative to the Palatinate with reſpect to ourſelves as well as the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Bruxelles. The reader therefore may have ſome ſlight obligation to me for producing this *political threnody* after the expiration of a century, and one fifth of another; yet ſtill it will be hard to aſcertain *what theſe four indigeſtible propoſitions truly conſiſted of.* I once mentioned the affair tranſiently to a German nobleman, who at preſent is the brighteſt luminary of the court he ſerves, and than whom no one is more intimately converſant in the depths of hiſtory; and upon the whole it appeared highly probable to me, that the propoſals from the Auſtrian miniſtry were to this effect: (1) That Frederic ſhould reſign the upper Palatinate forever to the family of Bavaria: (2) And accept a penſion for his own life. (3) That his elder ſon ſhould be bred a catholic at Vienna, and having eſpouſed an arch-ducheſs of Auſtria, be re-inſtated at the father's death into the lower Palatinate. (4) And, laſtly, that the

* Iſabella Clara Eugenia, wife of arch-duke Albert. This great and political princeſs was born at Segovia in 1566. She fixed herſelf in the Low-Countries at the beginning of the laſt century, and governed ſingly for twelve years. She lived to the age of ſixty-ſeven. There are many fine pictures of her: his grace of Devonſhire hath a good one. It is ſuſpected by many that ſhe was rendered *barren* before ſhe was created arch-ducheſs; for when Philip II. conſigned the ſeventeen provinces to her by way of dowry (which ſeeming act of diſmemberment gave his ſon no ſmall diſquiet,) he anſwered like a politician formed in his own Coimbrian college, Promiſiſſe ſe quidem eas provincias, ſed multas rationes & cauſas poſſe inveniri, quæ eum hoc promiſſo abſolvant. *Arcana Dominat. Hiſpan.* 124.

elector

elector Palatine in aſking pardon ſhould ſubmit to the *odious* circumſtance of genuflection. 1630.

As this prince, whoſe affairs explain the ſecret hiſtory of Great-Britain for fourteen years, appears to be known chiefly by hearſay to the Engliſh hiſtorians, I ſhall venture to obſerve concerning him, that the unhappy Frederic ſeems to have been born to nothing but turmoils, troubles and diſappointments *. The dukes of Neuburg and Deux Ponts diſputed ſtrongly, during his minority, the adminiſtration of the Palatinate; the one by virtue of the late elector's will, and the other as being the neareſt relation to him. At length the emperor Rodolphus decided in favour of the duke de Deux Ponts, who exerciſed the office of guardian, as guardians uſually do, that is, ſeverely and inſolently enough. Our young prince was ſon of Frederic IV. and the celebrated Louiſa Juliana, whom Spanheim's pen hath rendered immortal in one of the moſt curious pieces of hiſtory we have extant †. Formed at Sedan under the duke de Bouillon, and moſt virtuouſly educated, he underſtood Latin extremely well, and talked all the modern languages; he was likewiſe uncommonly verſed in hiſtory, and conſulted with peculiar ardour the peace of the empire. For he had three excellent miniſters, Camerarius, Grun, and Ruſdorf.

The moment he was diſengaged by age from the incumbrance of a guardian, he haſtened into England, and eſpouſed Elizabeth daughter of James I. The Engliſh, who are ſeldom indifferent upon any occaſion, took it into their heads to be extremely tranſported with this proteſtant match; and to do them juſtice, indeed they had reaſon. Univerſal joy ſeized the whole nation: the balls, carouſals, and feaſtings were innumerable. The very poets were called in from every quarter: ſuch magnificence of the ſcene hath rarely been beheld in the moſt expenſive and extravagant times. Jonſon and Davenant held the pen; Lawes compoſed the muſic; Inigo Jones contrived the theatrical architecture, and the beſt painters on this ſide the Alps garniſhed the ſcenes with their pencils ‡.

* Schaunat, Hiſt. Abregée de la Maiſon Palat. 8°.

† Memoires de Louiſe Juliane Electrice Palatine, 4°. a Leyde 1645. [By Fred. Spanheim.]

‡ So that by a calculation which hath fallen in my way, it appears that his Britannic majeſty (including Elizabeth's dowry of 40,000 l.) expended on theſe nuptials from the beginning to the concluſion 146,572 l.

Theſe

1630. Theſe honours, to which the order of the garter was added, lulled Frederic into a ſort of dream, and rendered him a viſionary in ambition, to which the ſpirited and magnanimous temper of his wife did not a little contribute *. He forgot his own dominions, (in themſelves the moſt beautiful, and at that time the moſt flouriſhing in the empire) and caught incautiouſly, though honeſtly, and with ſome diffidence, at what he imagined to be a moſt plauſible acquiſition, the crown of Bohemia.

Had this prince been bleſt with a caution and penetration that rarely fall to a young man's ſhare, had he well known his own comparative weakneſs, or the ſtrength and fury of his enemies, had he ſeen ever ſo little into the mutability, inſincerity and timidity of his father-in-law, who never held but one tone, namely, *abſtineto ab armis fatuis*, he might then by a mere act of intuition have rejected the offers made him by the proteſtants in Bohemia, who ſought him not as a ſure protector and ſafeguard, but as the only one that could then be found.

Amongſt other things, this unhappy young man, conformably to the cuſtom of that age, allowed himſelf to be influenced by judicial aſtrology; and as the book of fate was a volume which every ſtar-gazer could read his own way, backward, forward, ſideways or downward, it happened that one of theſe genius's gave the deciſive fixture to Frederic's irreſolution: who was hardly warm in the regal throne, when the battle of Prague put an end not only to his power, but even to his expectations. Thus vacating a throne which he never enjoyed, he retired into Holland for an aſylum, and lived twelve years an exile upon public charity. His friend and relation the king of Denmark was too unfortunate in war, to be able to render him any aſſiſtance: and his father-in-law paid him only with ſchool diſtinctions and adages, inſtead of well conducted troops and letters of exchange.

As a warrior it muſt be acknowledged he made no great figure, for he committed a notable error in creating Anſpach generaliſſimo, and ſecretly favoured Hohenlo, whom all men ſuſpected, and who afterwards deſerted him. He wanted neither courage nor firmneſs; but they were

* Joh. Nadanyi Florus Hungaricus, 12°. Amſt. 1663. p. 361.

more

more of the reflective than military caſt: for juſt before the battle of Prague, he conveyed his eldeſt ſon and declared ſucceſſor out of the kingdom of Bohemia, which caſt a damp upon all men's ſpirits; he left the field of action like a diſcomfited colonel of Croatians, and not with the dignity of a retreating prince, loſing his order of the garter in the precipitation of retiring, and upon this account the Imperial beaux-eſprits affixed a programma on the gates of Prague to the following effect: namely, "That great rewards ſhould be beſtowed on the perſon "who could give any tydings or intelligence of a certain run-away "monarch, in the flower of his youth, of a complexion inclining to "the florid, diminutive in ſtature, with a beard entirely juvenile, and "eyes ſquinting a little: of himſelf a well-conditioned and worthy "young man, but ſeduced by evil-minded and ſeditious adviſers *." This is the firſt hue and cry after a fugitive king that I remember to have met with either in antient or modern hiſtory. 1630.

Yet this prince, in all other reſpects relating to civil and political life, appears to be ſtedfaſt and unſhaken: for he remonſtrated in the election of the king of the Romans, that if the Auſtrian ſucceſſion was not interrupted *then*, when the right line failed, there remained no hope hereafter, when that honour was conferred on Ferdinand, who, having iſſue, would make it an appendix for ever to the Imperial throne; and inſtead of ſinking under the oppreſſions of the houſe of Auſtria, he rather ſeems to riſe upon them, preſerving a clearneſs of judgment as well as an uniformity of temper under the ſevereſt trials †. Yet part of this may be attributed to the conduct of Elizabeth of England his conſort, who was intrepid and heroical beyond all the reſt of her family; for when young Thurn undertook to defend Prague a ſingle day, in order to facilitate her eſcape, ſhe generouſly refuſed to force the brave ſon of her beſt friend to fall into the hands of an unforgiving enemy. And though it is certain that her Bohemian majeſty never gave countenance to any intrigue, yet ſhe had a violent inclination to be adored at a diſtance. She was not to be called a conſummate beauty, though then in the height of her bloom,

* Riccio de Bellis German. L. i. p. 46.

† See his letter to James I. preſerved in the Cabala, which may be conſidered as a maſter-piece in politics.

1630. being aged about twenty-three years; but her figure was both of the majeſtic and attractive kind *, and ſhe certainly poſſeſſed what the French call the *manners and the graces*. Her very courage and preſence of mind provided her admirers; half the army being her paſſionate inamorato's. Theſierce Chriſtian duke of Brunſwic was her tractable ſlave †; and ſo were young Thurn and lord Craven. They all fought for her, as much as the cauſe, and the latter when he left the wars (all hopes, of recovering the Palatinate being cut off by the death of Guſtavus) carried his enthuſiaſm ſo far, that he built the fine houſe of Hampſted Marſhall, on the banks of the river Kennet in Berkſhire (a tract of country not unlike the Palatinate, nor ſuperior to many parts thereof in beauty) as a ſort of aſylum for his injured princeſs ‡.

It is certain that poſterity, which uſually draws concluſions from the ſucceſsful or unfortunate nature of events, may blame Frederic for accepting the throne of Bohemia prematurely. Yet that prince had excellent miniſters, who judged rightly according to the probability of ſecond cauſes: but his pacific father-in-law deceived every expectation of the young prince: and the Bohemians, as much as they languiſhed for liberty, declined to advance all pecuniary aſſiſtances. Nevertheleſs, it muſt not be diſſembled, that a pamphlet was publiſhed at that period, namely, in the year 1620, ſome few months before the battle of Prague, which for ſpirit, elegance, and political acumen ſurpaſſeth any thing relative to the times in queſtion, which I have peruſed ‖, and contained true ſuggeſtions no way diſadvantageous to the proſperity of Frederic.

" The drift of this work was to prove, that his Bohemian majeſty " had paſſed the Rubicon; that the die of his fortune was caſt, it being

* There are two pictures of Elizabeth at Hampton-Court, one when princeſs of England, and one when electreſs and queen of Bohemia; the latter by Vanſomer.

† Elizabethæ conjugi Frederici ereptam de manibus Chirothecam pileo ſuo accommodans, juraverit; non demiſſurum ſe ſymbolum illud è capite, priuſquam regem Fredericum ſolio Pragenſi redditum vidiſſet. *Brachel. Hiſt. noſtr. temp.* p. 58.

‡ It was a piece of architecture in the true taſte of the reign of Charles I, and coſt lord Craven (though he never lived to finiſh the inſide) about ſixty thouſand pounds. The author, when a child, was a melancholy ſpectator of its deſtruction by fire in the year 1718, or thereabouts.

‖ It was entitled a *Free Diſcourſe*, or ſecret inſtructions with reference to the affairs of Germany, Bohemia and Hungary, addreſt in a letter to the elector Palatin.

" in

" in his power to *fall*, but not *deſcend*: that he might periſh by his 1630.
" *friends* more probably than by his *enemies*, as the whole race of Alexan-
" der was extinguiſhed by the generals of Alexander: that not four
" monarchs had proſpered in new acquired dominions from the times
" of Julius Ceſar to Ferdinand II; but had been deſtroyed through
" envy or hatred; nor had any king ſate on the throne of Bohemia,
" who hath not experienced ingratitude and rebellion. " Believe me,
" Sire, continueth the author to Frederic, " every man that *deſpiſeth*
" life, is maſter of yours; conſider well your *declared* enemies, your *true*
" friends, and your *concealed* ones. Amongſt the firſt are the houſe of
" Auſtria, the pope and their allies; to overcome ſuch powers, you
" muſt have brave officers, large reſources, and perſeverance in abun-
" dance. Hannibal gained three illuſtrious victories, and ten ſmaller
" ones, and yet at length becoming both tributary and exile, tarniſhed his
" whole character of bravery, by deſtroying himſelf with a draught of
" poiſon. You want his army and his ſupplies; and have therefore
" refuged your ſelf under the protection of men who *believe* themſelves
" at preſent your true friends. But reflect a moment; may they not be
" obliged to contribute more than they like? may they not deſpair of a
" proper remuneration? may not diſcuſſions and competitions ariſe
" among them? may not ſomething hinder them from ſupplying their
" contingent? may not unforeſeen wars ariſe and demand their aſſiſt-
" ance at home? and, laſtly, may not your power, merely conſidered
" in itſelf, become odious unto them and matter of jealouſy? Nay, in
" length of time, they may propoſe counſels contradictory to yours,
" and deſert you at laſt. This happened in the reign of Charles V.
" when the princes gave up the cauſe of the cities. The houſe of Auſtria
" hath cards of exchange to play in her very laſt diſtreſs. She can cede
" the annext provinces * to the king of Poland, upon his promiſe
" to repulſe you, and guarantee her rights in other dominions: ſhe can
" make a peace with the Venetians, and grant them Friuli, Carniola
" and Carinthia, upon ſuppoſition the republic will re-inſtate her in Bo-
" hemia and the above named incorporated provinces; ſhe can reſign

* Sileſia, Luſatia, Moravia.

1630. " ſomething remote to France and Spain, and make a juſt demand up-
" on their aſſiſtances. Thus, Sire, you may be ruined in the high career
" of your proſperity: parts and induſtry contribute to deſtroy thoſe,
" who are predeſtined to be unfortunate.

" If you have *any* friends, they are your father-in-law, your wife, and
" the maréchal de Bouïllon. As to your *concealed* or *nominal* friends the
" Bohemians are the firſt; they declared you king by mere neceſſity,
" having made a previous tender of the crown to the electors of Saxony
" and Bavaria, and even to the prince of Tranſylvania. It was their origi-
" nal intention to have created you a *ſtadtholder of Holland* or an *advoyer of*
" *Berne*; but the unforeſeen election of an emperor forced them to change
" the *conſul* into the *king*. You have taken *oaths* like an inconſiderable
" dependant; the ſtates are *your accuſers*, *your witneſſes*, and *your judges*.
" They can wage war when they *pleaſe*, but you *cannot*: they can levy
" an army *againſt* you, whilſt at the ſame time you are not maſter of
" an *arſenal*, a *magazine*, or a *ſingle regiment*. In a word, Sire, you are
" a tree that is *propped*, but not *rooted*. One may add alſo, that the Lu-
" theran party diſlike you in private, and the Huſſites likewiſe.

" Venture not to imitate the example of your uncle Maurice. No
" prince ever waged war with more difficulties and greater ſucceſs; no
" ſon ever afforded more ſincere pleaſure or reputation to the ghoſt of a
" father; thoſe whom he conquered adored him, and made him a pro-
" miſe of eternal affection. Yet at this moment, if he had not pre-
" vented the malice of certain ill-wiſhers, nothing had remained of him
" but a *name* in hiſtory, and Barnevelt had reigned: for the war between
" *liberty* and *monarchy* is inextinguiſhable. It is juſt thus in Bohemia.
" You deſire to be a king *in ſubſtance*, and not *in ſhadow*. You want
" *ſubjects*, and they requeſt a *ſervant*.

" Nor have you better reaſons to rely upon the friendſhip or fidelity
" of Gabriel Bethlem. He is piqued at miſcarrying in the Bohemian
" election: contented now to fix his foot in Hungary by your means,
" to put in for a half ſhare of the general wreck of the incorporated
" provinces, or upon any good occaſion join with the emperor, and
" make the ſame diviſion with him, as he now wiſhes to effect with you.

The

" The inconſtancy and duplicities of this prince are well known: I 1630.
" here incloſe two original letters that paſſed from him to the grand
" vizir, the latter of which is dated ſince his alliance with the Bohe-
" mians *, and there you may ſee he makes no ceremony of betraying
" you to the Turks upon a proper occaſion. As to the Venetians, your
" Bohemian ſubjects will acquire no good ſentiments in your behalf, by
" entering into an alliance with determined republicans. The free-
" towns of Germany will diſlike you, when their preſent apprehenſions
" are compoſed. Worms, Spires, Francfort, Ulm, and Nuremberg
" thought you too powerful before. Remember to practiſe what Cicero
" adviſed the *novos homines:* farewell."

The age we are ſpeaking of, hardly ever afforded a more ſpirited, or more ſenſible remonſtrance than the preſent; and it is a pleaſure to me to ſnatch from oblivion a fragment of hiſtory of ſo uncommon a caſt. It is all truth more or leſs; and it is likewiſe a very compendious ſort of truth, powerfully and forcibly pointed; and happy had it been for the unfortunate elector Palatin, if he had paid regard to a ſyſtem of politics which perhaps came from a determined enemy: but the influence of his evil ſtars gained the aſcendancy, to which ambition at length contributed ſome ſmall quantity of aſſiſtance, at places and moments that were deemed convenient.

Had Guſtavus lived, the elector might in all probability been re-eſtabliſhed at laſt: but on the death of that prince he ſoon followed his generous deliverer, labouring under no other malady than a broken heart; and died at Mentz in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, leaving behind him a conſort of unparalleled reſolution and ten children under age.

It is true, the Bohemians alledge in their defence, that this prince was too œconomical to preſerve a kingdom that had been generouſly offered him: but this is only taking the advantage of being the firſt accuſers, and transferring the fault to him, which was more peculiarly their own. For as to generoſity he performed vaſt works with reſpect to the palace of Heidelberg, which any one will ſoon acknowledge when he knows the

* Preſburg, November 24, 1619.

rock

1630. rock upon which it ſtands; and perfected with immenſe expence the fortifications of Manheim, begun by his father Frederic IV. And in regard to his mildneſs of government, it is certain, that the common people loved him extremely: and amongſt other reaſons, that which a poor peaſant gave, was not a contemptible one; "Friend," ſaid a Spaniſh general to an inhabitant of the Palatinate, "what makes you "adhere ſo pertinaciouſly to an exiled and nominal ſovereign?" "Why, "Sir," replied the fellow, "that prince, when he preſided over us, "raiſed fewer taxes in a year, than you extort from us in the ſpace of "a month*."

Yet be theſe matters as they may, it was the fate of this unfortunate prince to be ſubſtantially unhappy, and amuſed at intervals with momentary glimmerings of hope to the very laſt. Before the battle of Prague, he appeared to have all things at his devotion. Two years afterwards the great Mansfelt, who was a warrior caſt in a particular mold, retrieved his affairs a ſecond time: whilſt the journey he made through France incognito, and the quarters of arch-duke Leopold's ſoldiers, highly merits to be well repreſented: but the loſs of three deciſive battles, and three ſeveral armies, in the ſpace of two months and eight days, reduced him at length to ſign the *following extraordinary diſmiſſion of his troops*, which diſcovers more greatneſs of mind than deſpondency. Nor can I abſtain from attempting to recover a fragment of hiſtory ſo extremely curious.

"BE IT KNOWN TO ALL:"

"That the illuſtrious princes, the captain-general of my forces, and "the general lieutenant under him; namely, the prince and count of "Mansfelt, and prince Chriſtian duke of Brunſwic; AND all the co-"lonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and other officers of every deno-"mination at preſent ſerving under them, HAVE each ſingly and con-"jointly to the utmoſt of their power rendered the elector Palatin faith-"ful ſervice in war: BUT now being deſtitute of all human aſſiſtances, "HE perceives it impracticable to make further uſe of them, except to "their own great inconvenience and detriment. HE therefore with all

* Arcana Dominat. Hiſpan. p. 186.

"due

" due reſignation of mind alloweth them to ſolicit their diſmiſſion in the 1630.
" dutiful and reſpectful manner they have done: and like a friend with
" all imaginable tenderneſs and humanity not only *abſolves* them *from*
" *the oath*, they have taken to him, but permits them, according to their
" prudence, to conſult their ſafety and intereſt, as far as may be poſſi-
" ble, elſewhere * ."

This document he ſubſcribed with his own hand, and affixed his ſeal to it July 13, 1622.

But to return from this digreſſion, which we hope carries novelty enough with it to procure its pardon, we will reſume the negotiations at the diet of Ratiſbon, where Brulart † the French miniſter diſcharged his duty with parts and induſtry: for (not to mention his private tranſactions and intrigues) he ſet himſelf in public only to prove this one propoſition, That France had not only an inherent affection for the empire, but power likewiſe to render it important ſervices; and that her interference formerly, now, and upon all future occaſions, had, did, and ever would proceed from the glorious and diſintereſted principle of doing good to her neighbours. An oſtenſible doctrine ſhe hath followed faithfully and invariably ever ſince!

Father Joſeph, cardinal Richelieu's better half in matters of politics, made his appearance at this diet, intruſted with a ſeparate commiſſion, whereby he was commanded to exhibit a long deduction of the reaſons that had induced France to afford protection and aſſiſtance to the duke of Mantua. He was charged likewiſe with one private inſtruction, and that was to traverſe the deſigns of Walſtein's faction, whom the cardinal conſidered as a perſon too haughty and too intractable. To

* Laurea Auſtriaca, fol. p. 551.

† Charles Brulart, ſurnamed de Leon, paſſed from an eccleſiaſtic into a negotiator, and gained during his reſidence at Venice 25,000l. by means of carrying on a ſecret commerce with the merchants of the Levant. After having diſcharged this duty, he was appointed ambaſſador into Switzerland, and from thence removed to Ratiſbon. Richelieu did not love him; and when Brulart's natural ſon carried to Paris the reſult of his father's operations at the diet there, the cardinal diſpatched him back with this ſtudied and malignant introduction to his verbal orders: *I beg you, Sir, on my part to inform your father — I mean, Sir, pray tell the ambaſſador — Brulart* bequeathed by will five gold crowns to every perſon of his name who appeared at the anniverſary celebration of his birth-day. *Memoires Hiſt. & Polit. d'Amelot la Houſſaye.* Tom. i. 540.

make

1630. make the bait more alluring, he promiſed the emperor, on the part of his maſter, to facilitate the election of his ſon as king of the Romans *.

In virtue of theſe three commiſſions (for his buſineſs was only to interfere gently, and penetrate dextrouſly into other men's deſigns) he contributed in part, as ſome people thought, to the removal of Walſtein; though in truth all parties wiſhed it, and the event might have happened without his co-operation. He concluded a treaty with the emperor in relation to Italy, which all parties concerned thought fit to diſapprove, and the French king declared he would never ratify, except ſome articles were expunged relative to his allies and friends, amongſt whom Guſtavus was ſuppoſed to be principally intended. And as to the election of a king of the Romans, he executed preciſely juſt that very thing he propoſed to himſelf; making abundance of promiſes, and keeping his actions in reſerve. Thus much is certain, he performed his buſineſs ſo perplexedly on the one hand, and ſo diſtinctly on the other hand, that Richelieu ever afterwards made him the partaker of his ſecrets, and the counſellor of his boſom †: and how greatly Louis XIII. reliſhed his negotiations

* Siri, Memor. Recond. Tom. vii. 229.

† This extraordinary man, conformably to a *Latin manuſcript life* I have of him, written by father Leon, a Carmelite, was deſcended from the noble and illuſtrious family of the Le Clercs, and born in the year 1577. He had the complete education of a gentleman and a ſcholar, and paſſed his youth interchangeably between the Belles Lettres and Sciences, and the manly exerciſe and practice of arms. His Latin and Greek verſes were much admired in France, and he perfected himſelf at Padua in juriſprudence and mathematics. At Rome he ſtudied mankind and politics, and was much eſteemed by Clement VIII. His mother, without committing any injury upon the patrimonial fortunes of the family, ſupplied him with money to make the tour of Germany and England; the conſtitutions of both which countries he knew to the bottom, and kept company with none but the great and beſt-inſtructed. In this latter voyage he conſidered England well in a religious ſenſe, and paved the foundation for that introduction of popiſh emiſſaries, which gave afterwards ſuch an untoward turn to the affairs of Charles I.

Conſcious of his uſefulneſs to the king and miniſter, he thought it redounded much more to his honour to perform the great things he did in the character of a private man, than to attract the formal obſervance of the people by the radiancy of a mitre and a cardinal's bonnet, both which he refuſed with firmneſs; affecting, from a peculiar greatneſs of mind, to be conſiderable in his own particular way; and beſt pleaſed to receive viſits from Richelieu in a private lodging.

He made himſelf a Capuchin in the twenty-third year of his age, though not only his relations, but Louis XIII. himſelf attempted to diſſuade him; and ſo much the rather, as he had paſſed through a campaign, in quality of a volunteer, with no ſmall applauſe. He procured great benefactions and endowments to the religious orders, and took upon himſelf the difficult article of ſending miſſionaries to the eaſtern nations.

negotiations at this diet, appears by the following paſſage in his epitaph (of which I have a tranſcript by me) *Valtelinæ motus compoſuit, Ratiſbonæ* QUÆ *rex optabat in ſolenni conventu à Germanis* EXPRESSIT; *&* *multo* ante Julio-dunenſem pacem & Andegavenſem procurabat — 1630.

It was during the ſeſſion of this diet that news came of Guſtavus's actual arrival in Germany: nor knew the aſſembly which to contemplate moſt, the redoubtable puiſſance of the emperor, or the heroic ambition of Guſtavus, whoſe peculiar turn it was to conſider few things to be ſo far elevated, as to be removed beyond his reach. It was remarked likewiſe by all parties, that he knew how to fight, and how to be obeyed; and as to diſcipline, he maintained it in equal ſubordination and proportion from the general to the meaneſt horſe-boy in the ſervice. It was a maxim with him to allow no one perſon of his army to remain inactive*: for when the operations of the field ſtood ſtill, he conſtantly turned his men into pioneers and military architects; and when nothing of that nature preſented itſelf, every common ſoldier was his own mechanic, his own taylor, and his own ſempſtreſs. It may ſeem ridiculous, but is inconteſtably true, that a Swediſh officer might often be ſeen at hours of amuſement, knitting his own ſtockings, and weaving his own point-lace. And with regard to the difficulties, that attended an invaſion, Guſtavus contrived to render them very eaſy; for his proveditors and ſoldiers paid for every thing at the full market-price; and when they found themſelves ſtraitened either for neceſſaries or conveniencies, acquieſced patiently, and took nothing by force. Thus the *invader* grew more ac-

tions. The duke d'Alençon, who was of the blood royal, and the wife of the conſtable Montmorenci, were his ſponſors at the baptiſmal font; and it is remarked, that in his youth he produced fruits and bloſſoms at the ſame time. He talked moſt of the modern languages with great correctneſs, and was remarkably acute in his theological diſputations. He had the humility to perform many journies on foot, but entertained ſuch high ideas of the glory of his country, that he entered into politics upon that ſingle conſideration. He directed the conſtable De Luynes before he undertook the management of Richelieu; and died in 1639, being conſtantly viſited in his ſickneſs by the cardinals Richelieu and Bichi, the king's brother, the chancellor Seguier, the preſident Bouthilier, and the three ſecretaries of ſtate. In a word, his individuating character was, that he ſeized the point in view at the firſt glance, even in caſes of the moſt trying and perilous nature, and never departed with any notable variation from his original ideas.

Vita [MS^ta] R. P. JOSEPHI, Capuchini: incipit, *vir origine*—Explicit, *veri amantiſſimus ſcripſit.*

* Le Barre; Hiſt. d'Allemagne, Tom. 9, 598.

1630. ceptable to the country than the *perſon invaded*; nor do I find the peaſants ever did the leaſt miſchief to the ſick, the ſtraggling, or wounded ſoldiers.

As Guſtavus by this time appeared to have entered the empire in ſincere good-earneſt, it was now thought neceſſary by the Imperial party to venture upon ſome preliminary meaſures, in order to check his progreſs; and as the command of rivers greatly influenced the ſucceſs of war in thoſe days, the Auſtrian miniſtry diſpatched a requiſitorial meſſage to the duke of Pomerania (ſince the invaſion of the Swedes ſeemed to point his way) commanding him in effect to conſign into the hands of Torquato de Conti, the Imperial general in thoſe parts, the ſtrong towns of Gartz and Griffenhagen, which two places rendered him maſter of the river Weſer. But whilſt the duke heſitated concerning his anſwer (for his private wiſhes, ſo far as he durſt indulge them, attended Guſtavus) Torquato's troops entered the towns by a ſort of force, and reſigned to the prince all the tolls by way of cajolement and conſolation.

It was next propoſed by the Imperial party, that the whole empire ſhould oppoſe Guſtavus as a common enemy. In order to obviate which attempt, the proteſtant confederators wiſely ſuggeſted a ſecond time, that the edict of reſtitution ſhould be reverſed: but the Auſtrians and repreſentatives of the catholic league perſevered inacceſſible on that ſubject. Yet the tempeſt at length collected itſelf with united force, and all agreed (the emperor excepted) to permit it to diſcharge its fury on Walſtein's head. And the better to pave the way to this important deciſion (the arrival of Guſtavus being notified to the emperor in due form by the elector of Saxony) it was thought expedient to lend an attentive ear to the repreſentations of friends, and make ſome new laws with regard to military diſcipline. Theſe laws in themſelves were good enough, had it been as eaſy to enforce the practice of them, as it was to compile them: but the troops were already abandoned to avarice, extortion, rapine, and cruelty, ſo that it was next to impoſſible to produce a reformation among them. Nevertheleſs it was decreed by the diet, that the power of appointing and collecting the preſcribed quota or

contingent of men and money from every province ſhould be exerciſed by civil officers, and not military ones; and that the emperor having made a reduction of ſome ſuperfluous regiments, ſhould ſignify to each circle the ſum he propoſed to levy from it: from whence it was expected, that the troops would all be paid punctually, and not in a fortuitous and tumultuous manner. Be this as it will, one misfortune attended theſe fine ſchemes, which was, they were never carried into execution. 1630.

Yet all parties co-operated towards the degradation of Walſtein; and Ferdinand at length found himſelf obliged to pave the way gently to that general's diſmiſſion. For the elector of Bavaria * hated him mortally, as a new raiſed man, as a commander, and as a rival; and conſidered himſelf (Tilly being naturally modeſt, and his own creature and dependant) as the perſon, that ought to be ſupreme general of the Auſtrian forces and the catholic league. But the Spaniards favoured the archduke, inaſmuch as his marriage had rendered him ſubſervient to their intereſts; and the court of Madrid had the inſolence to ſtyle herſelf *Signora di orecchi di Ceſare* †. Wherefore upon the whole, it may ſuffice to ſay, that the major party ſeemed inclined to declare the elector of Bavaria generaliſſimo: nevertheleſs, that prince was too ſagacious to accept an employment of ſo hazardous a nature; ſufficiently contented, that he had a general at his abſolute devotion, whom he could mortify by his diſpleaſure, or perſuade with his plauſible and artful eloquence: for though war was not his talent, he was the ableſt and moſt deſigning politician amongſt the Germans; inſincere likewiſe, diſſembling, artful, and immeaſurably ſelf-intereſted.

* Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, a prince ſelf-intereſted, it is true, and bigotted beyond imagination, but conſiderable likewiſe as being eſteemed the ſhrewdeſt and moſt artful politician at that time in the empire. He had parts ſufficient to have embroiled Germany more, if poſſible, than it then was; but his temperament was of ſuch a caſt, that he had always one perpetual difficulty upon his hands, and that was to harmonize religion and intereſt. His education had been ſomewhat above the princely level, for he underſtood all the dexterities of hiſtory and treaty-learning; he talked moſt of the modern languages, Engliſh alone excepted, extremely well, even the Hungarian and the Sclavonian, and was remarkable for a correct Latin ſtyle. He had the rare felicity to outlive the very completion of the *thirty* years wars, which himſelf began: and died the third autumn after the concluſion of the peace of Munſter, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age.

† Pietro Pomo; Guerre di Germ. Tom. i. 23.

1630. In order to reconcile Walſtein's mind to ſo impetuous a ſhock, his Imperial majeſty ſent privately to him the barons Verdenberg * and Queſtenberg †, both favourites with the general, and very particular friends to him, (for, in one word, they had all been reciprocally friends and patrons to each other) and ordered them to inſinuate the ſtrong reaſons of ſtate, which compelled their common maſter to aſſent to a proceeding ſo harſh and abrupt. Walſtein influenced a little by Sepler, who then ſerved him in quality of aſtrologer, received the meſſage with profound ſubmiſſion and reſignation; at the ſame time inveighing bitterly againſt the enemies of himſelf and his maſter, who, to ruin him, deſtroyed the whole Imperial power. He had retreated at that time like a private nobleman to Memmingen, in order to watch the reſolutions of the diet, and tranſmit directions to his friends, who made their appearance there, and avert, if poſſible, the fatal blow that threatened him.

After ſome conference with the miniſters of ſtate, Walſtein retired to a private room, and wrote to his maſter, "beſeeching him to ſhew "ſo much juſtice and fortitude at leaſt, as not to liſten to thoſe reports, "which courts and factions create inſtantaneouſly againſt a man of "any conſequence, whenever diſgrace begins to environ him: that "for his own part he concluded his employment to be perpetual; "nevertheleſs, he now reſigned it chearfully, and without retroſpect:" affecting not to feel thoſe certain pangs, which ambition uſually gives men in its laſt ſtruggles. "I beſeech your Imperial majeſty," continued he, "to diſpoſe a part of your army in the neighbourhood of Ra-"tiſbon, and diſtribute the reſt on the confines of Bavaria, and con-"tiguouſly to the territories of thoſe princes, who ſeem to have an in-"clination to counter-work your deſigns. One ſingle motion of this "nature will impoſe ſilence on them all. The watch-word of the "faction is to alarm your Ceſarean majeſty with the name of *Guſtavus:*

* John Baptiſta Verdenberg, privy-counſellor and Aulic Auſtrian chancellor.

† Gerard Queſtenberg, privy-counſellor.

Theſe two miniſters were employed afterwards to beſeech him to reſume the command.

"let

" let him advance farther into the empire, and I will ſcourge him 1630.
" back with a rod."

Having ſealed and directed this letter, he returned to his friends without delay; and after regaling them with extreme politeneſs, diſmiſſed them with an unperplexed and open countenance, which was the more extraordinary, as his natural aſpect was not of *that* caſt in his moſt unguarded and undiſturbed moments. In conſequence of all that had preceded, the emperor was obliged to command him to reſign the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mechlenberg, under pretence of not giving umbrage to his Swediſh majeſty, or the electoral college. He then removed him from the command of the army, (a part of which was ordered to be diſbanded) and declared for the future, that contributions ſhould depend on the regulations made by the circles, and not on the will of a general; proteſting likewiſe, that he would wage no war, without previouſly apprizing the electors.

We ſhall obſerve elſewhere, that this diſmiſſion of a conſiderable part of the Imperial forces gave the firſt fatal ſtroke to the emperor's affairs, being one of thoſe unproſperous meaſures, where all that was not weakneſs in one part of the propoſers, proceeded from inſincerity in the other part; no uncommon caſe in deliberations of ſtate. Nevertheleſs, the emperor ſtill retained an immenſe number of veteran troops, beſides garriſons, and not comprehending the army that belonged to the league; which at that time were eſteemed doubly or trebly ſufficient to have chaſed Guſtavus out of the empire. Yet the error was ſoon diſcovered by dear-bought experience; and the combined catholic armies the campaigns enſuing were advanced to the number of 160,000 fighting men.

One may attempt to account for Walſtein's profound ſubmiſſion ſeveral ways. In the firſt place, he found it impoſſible to ſtem the fury of the torrent; and in the ſecond place, it is probable the emperor had given him private aſſurances of reſtoring him to power, as ſoon as the preſent tempeſt ſhould begin to diſperſe itſelf: and laſtly, it appears from ſome accounts, that his own aſtrologer predicted a ſudden emerſion

1630. merſion from this eclipſe; a circumſtance ſufficient to reſt his hopes on, if the caſt and turn of the age be duly conſidered!

At length, by the artful intrigues of Maximilian elector of Bavaria, (whom the emperor all along ſuſpected of having an eye to the kingſhip of the Romans, and of tampering with France in a ſiniſter manner) Tilly, who had been created a count at Vienna with the title of Illuſtriſſimo *, was advanced to the ſupreme command of the Imperial armies in conjunction with that of the catholic league. He ſoon collected together a large body of forces, which lay diſperſed through Bavaria and the Palatinate, and advanced directly into Miſnia, in order to keep the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg in good ſubmiſſion. Thus ended the diet of Ratiſbon, which met about June 19, 1630, and concluded November 13th next enſuing; giving birth to the aſſembly at Leipſic, convened February 8, $163\frac{0}{1}$, and ending April 3d in the ſame year.

The proteſtants retired from Ratiſbon, not greatly ſatisfied in four particulars; for war was denounced againſt Guſtavus at a time they hoped to propoſe ſome accommodation: the emperor likewiſe requeſted money, proviſions, ammunition, and ſoldiers from the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, which theſe princes conſidered as a new bill of very diſagreeable demands. The revocation of the edict of reſtitution was ſtill ſupported with vigour; and various reformations propoſed in reference to proteſtant churches, ſchools and colleges; which laſt eſpecially were intended to be realized in a future diet, which was to be held at Francfort on the Mayne, the month of Auguſt enſuing.

We left his Swediſh majeſty in full preparation to embark for Stetin, the antient reſidence of the dukes of Pomerania, and the capital city of the inner-duchy; into which place Torquato de Conti had fruitleſsly attempted to throw a large body of troops two days before; but the vigilance of his unwearied enemy prevented him.

On the very day the king propoſed to ſet ſail, the wind, which had been tempeſtuous for a long continuance, then happened to blow directly againſt him, which afflicted him to ſuch a degree, that he re-

* Status Regiminis Ferdinandi II.

tired

tired privately to his cloſet-devotions *. Towards evening the gale changed point blank, and the whole fleet ran twenty miles in two hours, arriving before Stetin under full ſail in the moſt beautiful order. His majeſty next morning inveſted the town with all his army, upon which colonel Damitz the governor (who had the command likewiſe of the diſtrict round) diſpatched a trumpeter to him, with requeſt not to approach within the reach of cannon-ſhot. The king with a tone of eagerneſs, demanded immediately, who ſent him? (for the duke of Pomerania was in the city) and being informed of the governor's rank and condition, and that the meſſage came from him and no other perſon, returned the trumpeter back with theſe inſtructions: *Tell Damitz, it is not my cuſtom to treat with men of his ſtamp by the intervention of an interpreter* †. 1630.

Stunned with this anſwer, and the innuendo that lay concealed beneath it, the governor waited on the king without delay, who pointing to his troops, ſaid, *Behold, Sir, there is the key of my admiſſion:* nevertheleſs, he generouſly ſhook him by the hand at the ſame time.

Guſtavus preſſed Damitz to procure an interview betwixt himſelf and his maſter, *for, Sir,* ſaid he, *I treat only with principals*; and agreed either to viſit the duke in Stetin (for he had no fear of being entrapped) or give him a meeting in the open fields. During this intercourſe, the magiſtrates and citizens all flocked out to ſee the king, and were charmed with his affability and good manners; for he ſpoke courteouſly to the meaneſt inhabitant of the town; and being informed the *burgo-maſter* was mixed incognito amongſt the crowd, ſoon made it his buſineſs to diſcover him, gave him the compliment of his hat, and ſhook him heartily by the hand, with aſſurances, *that he came to viſit him and the good people of Germany in the character of a friend, and not in that of a king* ‡.

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 21. This prayer is preſerved in the *Hiſt. or Authent. Relat.* Tom i. p. 167.

† Soldat Suedois, p. 25.

‡ Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 20. 4°.

During

1630. During this interval, the duke of Pomerania * arrived in a ſedan-chair. But the king had the politeneſs to meet him half way, and told him before all his ſubjects, *That he came to reſtore peace to the empire, and that his ſoldiers were neither ruffians nor banditti, as thoſe were who belonged to ſome other princes.* Upon this the duke begged to retire for a ſingle hour, in order to confer with his counſellors of ſtate upon ſo important an occaſion; in which requeſt he was indulged with frankneſs. On his return he told the king he durſt not preſume to adventure upon a ſtep ſo hazardous: to which Guſtavus replied, that though he ſhould poſſeſs his country, he would reſtore it to him upon the ſtricteſt promiſe of honour; deſiring nothing but a ſlight remuneration for his ſoldiers, and the prayers and thanks of the German nations; telling him likewiſe, that it was impoſſible for him to make reſiſtance, and pointing out by name to him every weak part in the fortifications †. The duke then petitioned in the ſtrongeſt terms to obtain the favour of continuing *neutral.* To which the king gave this ſhort anſwer, *He that is not with us is againſt us:* and though this application of Holy Scripture may ſeem too light and ludicrous for a religious prince to make; yet I muſt caution my readers to obſerve, that it is a ſort of proverbial expreſſion in the High-Dutch language.

To relieve the ſerioufneſs of this converſation, the king, who obſerved the palace-windows to be crowded with ladies (for the conference was held juſt under the city-walls) touched the duke gently on the ſhoulder, and ſaid with a ſmile, pointing towards the caſtle,

* The duchy of Pomerania is about 200 miles long, and 50 or 60 miles broad. Conformably to an ancient treaty of confraternity, it was allowed to devolve upon the houſe of Brandenburg, in caſe the dukes of Pomerania became extinct: which event happened during the confuſion of the thirty years war. Nevertheleſs, the Swedes declined giving up the poſſeſſion of this commodious territory, partly as it was their firſt conqueſt in the empire, and partly as being the only ſure country into which they could retreat. At length by the peace of Munſter, all *Outer*-Pomerania was granted to the Swedes, and the *Inner* only was conferred on the elector of Brandenburg. Nevertheleſs, by way of equivalent, the three biſhoprics, Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, and Minden, were ſecularized and beſtowed upon him. As the Swedes in theſe latter days have been almoſt ſqueezed inch by inch out of Germany; ſo the Pruſſians have no ways kept their eyes cloſed againſt ſuch favourable events.

† Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 50.

Couſin,

Couſin, yonder fair defendants will not hold out three minutes againſt one company of my Dalecarnian infantry. But the duke was not to be charmed from his purpoſe with a ſtroke of gallantry, ſtill urging the dilemma he was drawn into, and dwelling long upon his oath of allegiance, as well as the power and implacable reſentment of the houſe of Auſtria. To whom the king, reſuming a gravity of features, replied abruptly, *That he had* 30,000 *brave and good men under his command, who were ready, ſingly or conjointly, to ſacrifice their lives at one glance of his eye*. That the Supreme Power had made him a preſent of the iſle of Rugen before he entered Germany,* (for Leſly and the Stralſund troops had made themſelves maſters of it) *and that it would hardly become him at ſuch a juncture to leave his throat expoſed to the enemy's knife.* Well then, replied the duke, it is neceſſary to ſubmit to ſuperior power, and the will of providence. 1630.

Being thus upon the point of taking leave, *Well couſin,* ſaid the king with great compoſure, *keep your mind at eaſe, and give yourſelf no diſturbance; my truſt is, that God's providence will aſſiſt me, and proſper my deſigns. And, Sir,* added he, with an air of pleaſantry, *behave yourſelf with greater magnanimity in the married ſtate,* (for the duke was old and expected no progeny) *or elſe permit me to addreſs you to adopt me for your ſon and ſucceſſor†.* A ſpeech, to all appearance without meaning, and full of pleaſantry! and yet it is probable, that Guſtavus was never more ſincerely in earneſt than at the very moment he pronounced it. And here it muſt be remembered, that the emperor had once made the ſame requeſt, but with unlike ſucceſs.

In the evening, when the duke returned, lord Rea‡, privately inſtructed by the king, under pretence of eſcorting him with due military honour, entered the town attending his ſedan, at the head of 200 choſen men, all Scottiſh muſqueteers. Thus, ſecuring the outward gate for the reſt of the army, the garriſon immediately took the alarm, and ſubmitted, enrolling themſelves to the number of 1200 men

* Schefferi Memorabil. Suec. Gentis. p. 181.

† Mercure François, Tom. xvi. 285.

‡ Donald Mackey, lord Rea, colonel of the Scottiſh brigade, that was created afterwards in 1631. He was ſucceeded in that poſt by Sir John Hepburn. We have great obligations to the memoirs and intelligence, which this officer communicated to his friends in London.

1630. amongſt his majeſty's troops, and taking the oaths to the crown of Sweden: and this regiment of infantry, from the colour of its enſigns, aſſumed afterwards the ſurname of the *White brigade*. His majeſty then ordered his officers and ſoldiers to pitch their tents along the ramparts, becauſe he did not chuſe to incommode and moleſt the citizens, and for his own part ſlept aboard a ſhip in the mouth of the Oder, ſaying with great good humour, *That a furred cloak for a general, and clean ſtraw for a ſoldier, made excellent beds for the ſubjects of a king, who lay in an hammock.* Nor was another ſaying of his leſs remarkable; for though he entered Stetin on the Saturday night, he went thrice to church upon the Sunday, aſſigning this reaſon to his officers and ſoldiers, *That though war might be their amuſement, yet religion was their buſineſs.* And as Torquato with his hovering troops ſurrounded the town on every ſide, he on that very account, by way of gallantry, ordered the city gates to be ſet open.

His majeſty upon examining carefully this capital of Inner-Pomerania, a place from its own nature and ſituation of great importance, ſoon perceived, that it was not fortified to his own liking, and in the manner it truly wanted. Diſcovering likewiſe, that the citizens and peaſants were unexperienced in theſe matters, and of courſe not over-induſtrious or zealous on the occaſion, he gave them to underſtand, that the town and diſtrict ought to raiſe money to defray the expences of the new fortifications, and that his own ſoldiers ſhould be the architects and pioneers *. So calling for paper, he ſketched out a plan extempore, and gave it his generals to reduce into practice without delay: and as carriages and horſes were not to be procured, the removal and raiſing of earth was all performed by hand. His majeſty paſſed the whole day with his ſoldiers, and ordered each man, after twenty turns of carrying the earth-baſket, a comfortable draught of Bremen or Dantzic ale. Thus this immenſe piece of work was advanced more with the air of a feſtival, than like a taſk of drudgery, being made ſuperior to the inſults of the braveſt enemy in a few days: and as Guſtavus was known to be the beſt engineer of that age, it received

* Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gentis. p. 61.

ſuch final additions and completions from his hands, that it was con- 1630.
ſidered not only in the light of a town defenſible beyond a ſtate of danger, but as the model of juſt fortification during the ſucceeding part of the war.

Yet time was found in the midſt of all this hurry to publiſh a ſecond manifeſto on the part of Sweden, and conclude a public act of treaty * with the duke, of which the ſubſtance was, "A renovation of "all antient agreements then ſubſiſting between the kings of Sweden "and dukes of Pomerania: a perpetual alliance for themſelves and "ſucceſſors, defenſive and offenſive, ſo long as the emperor and em-"pire ſhould exiſt in their preſent relative ſituation and connections: "a reſtitution to the duke under certain aſſurances of all the places, "that ſhould be obtained in Pomerania; and, in caſe the ſaid duke "ſhould die without heirs-male," (he being at that time unbleſſed with children, and advanced to the 50th year of his age) "that his "territory ſhould then remain in the king's hands by way of hypo-"theque, or mortgage, till reparation might be made by the elector "of Brandenburg (the inaugural ſucceſſor at all events) for all the "expences incurred by Sweden in vindicating the aforeſaid territory "from the cruel perſecution of the houſe of Auſtria†." The addition of this latter article may be conſidered as a maſter-piece in affairs of politics, for it prepared at due diſtance the incident of tying up the elector of Brandenburg's hands, and naturally paved the way to ſome future accommodation with him.

Upon this event, Bogiſlaüs duke of Pomerania diſpatched a letter to the emperor, which letter contained a long and invidious deduction of the rapine and cruelty of the Imperial troops, repreſenting alternately the ſudden approach of the Swediſh army on the one hand, and the negligence and inattention of the Auſtrian commander on the other hand; the impoſſibility of reſiſting a power ſo formidable as that of

* We have preſerved the original in the *Appendix*.

† The whole treaty conſiſts of thirteen or (as ſome have it) fourteen articles. It may be peruſed in the Corps Diplomatique, Tom. iv. p. 606. Lundorpü Act. public. fol. Tom. iv. p. 79. and is preſerved likewiſe by Arnilabæus in Armis Suecicis, p. 23. &c. and in the Mercure François, Tom. xvi. 286—290.

1630. Guſtavus; not to mention fine promiſes of inviolable affection and allegiance; with a gentle inſinuation at laſt, which carried the air of a petition, obliquely ſuggeſting the reſtitution of all the eſtates, which the Imperial houſe had uſurped from him*.

But the emperor had more regard to hoſtilities and treaty-ſubſcriptions, than to repreſentations and remonſtrances, and ordered Torquato (whom Walſtein had made his ſubſtitute in thoſe parts) to treat the duke as a declared enemy, to the utmoſt of his power: which in the event placed the Swedes in an amiable light, and rendered the Imperialiſts more odious. He had orders alſo to ruin the whole duchy of Pomerania; which command he obeyed with great exactneſs. Nevertheleſs, the rendering the country deſolate, and deſtroying all forage and proviſions, did Guſtavus but little harm; for as he was maſter of the ſea, he received copious ſupplies from his own dominions. Nor did Torquato chuſe by any means to give him battle; for being equally timid and avaricious, he dreaded to loſe the vaſt treaſure, which he and his officers had amaſſed by rapine and plunder: a fatal effect of licentiouſneſs, which his majeſty of Sweden well foreſaw. And here ſome hiſtorians pretend not to conceive why Walſtein did not defend his own duchy, and take the command upon him againſt Guſtavus; but to this difficulty we have given a ſolution in its proper place. For he lay all this time at Memmingen near Ratiſbon, to watch the motions of the ſtorm, that was gathering againſt him there: nor did he think it worth his while to act in the capacity of a general, when he expected to receive the news of his removal and diſgrace every day.

I ſhall now diſmiſs this ſubject with obſerving, that the ſtates readily confirmed the agreement betwixt their maſter and the king of Sweden. The town of Stetin advanced his majeſty 8316 pounds, and the diſtrict furniſhed him with an equal ſum; one half in preſent payment, and the other half to be diſburſed at the feaſt of St. Michael next enſuing. They allowed him alſo a portion of the ſea-duty on goods.

* Hiſtor. or Authentic. Relat. Tom. i. p. 172.

About

About this time the Pomeranian miniſters made many efforts to get Stralſund into their maſter's power, but Guſtavus for certain reaſons continued inflexible on that head; and as to the government of Stetin, it was made a ſort of mixed monarchy between the Swediſh commander, the duke, and the magiſtracy. To the latter was committed the civil government of the city, the care of erecting barracks for a garriſon of 4000 men (whom the king was to pay, and the inhabitants to feed) and the providing guards and watches for the inner-parts of the town. The nominal ſupreme military command was allotted to the duke, as alſo the privilege of iſſuing out the watch-word. He and the magiſtrates had the conſervation of the arſenal and city-keys, with proviſion never to open the gates, except by the conſent of the Swediſh governor. Thus the duke was generaliſſimo in title, but without power; for the ſoldiers were all triable at the commandant's court-martial; who likewiſe had the prerogative (it being ſet forth, that he was a perſon of moſt conſummate experience) of diſpoſing the artillery and watches in ſuch places as beſt pleaſed him, with this further authority, that nothing, which was matter of military uſe, ſhould be moved out of the town without his privity and conſent *. 1630.

His majeſty, whilſt he continued at Stetin, began to grow impatient for action, and diſpatched Banier and lord Rea croſs the Oder at the head of 1200 infantry, to make themſelves maſters of Dam, a ſmall fortification within ſight of Stetin, and about ſix miles diſtant from it on the ſouth-eaſt ſide. A peaſant offered to conduct this detachment over a moraſs, which having one narrow cauſe-way was deemed impaſſable in all other places: but as this propoſal happened to take air, the inhabitants like good politicians ſent Banier word (well knowing, that a town taken by ſtorm became ſubjected to military plunder) that if he would poſtpone his viſit till evening, they would open a poſtern-gate for his more quiet admiſſion. Mean while the Imperial garriſon perceiving how matters were like to proceed, diſlodged very prudently before ſun ſet, and threw themſelves into Stargard, a ſtronger place, and more capable of reſiſtance: for ſome days before the Italian colonel

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. 53.

Piccolomini,

1630. Piccolomini, had introduced by ſurprize a conſiderable garriſon into it, and having ſeized the city-keys, which were in the magiſtrates poſſeſſion, exacted a contribution from the inhabitants amounting to 1000 pounds. In conſequence of theſe ſeverities, a private expreſs was diſpatched to the king, requeſting him to turn his arms againſt Stargard: but as Guſtavus had ſome ſuſpicion of the townſmen's good faith, he thought fit to employ the governor and garriſon of Stetin (accompanied by a body of his own troops) in this expedition, partly as better acquainted with the town and its avenues, (being leſs liable alſo from their knowledge of the people to be amuſed or miſled) and partly becauſe he was willing to engage the Pomeranian forces in ſome open act of hoſtility againſt the emperor, in order to ſecure them more faithfully to his intereſts. This little body of troops having made a midnight march of about ten miles, ſcaled the walls at break of day, and put to the ſword a conſiderable part of the garriſon. Piccolomini, with two or three companies of infantry, retired to the caſtle, and at length capitulated. Some days likewiſe before the epiſcopal town of Camin, which lies on a promontory over againſt the iſland of Wollin (being the capital of a ſmall principality) incurred the ſame fate. But the loſs of Stargard, being one of the principal towns of Outer-Pomerania, was a more ſenſible inconvenience to the Imperial general; for it was the magazine of corn and proviſions, and lay in the road between his two camps.

By this time his Imperial majeſty plainly diſcovered he had been groſsly abuſed with reſpect to Guſtavus, whom he found to be formidable in every ſhape. Perplexed in his mind what meaſures to purſue, he at length diſpatched a letter * to him by the hands of one of his courtiers, requeſting a fuller explanation of all the king's reaſons for invading the empire in ſo hoſtile a manner; alledging, that his Swediſh majeſty had no more to do with the affairs of Stralſund, and the inteſtine quarrels of the princes and ſtates of the empire, than the emperor had to do with the internal government of Sweden; admo-

* See the original in the Mercure François, en l'an 1630, Tom. xvi. p. 334. It bears date from Ratiſbon, Auguſt $\frac{18}{8}$.

niſhing

niſhing him at the ſame time to withdraw his troops and conclude a peace, or elſe threatning to exterminate him and his army out of the empire, by ſending the whole weight of his mighty legions againſt him; inaſmuch as the affairs of Germany regarded only the Germanic body. Guſtavus received the letter with extreme politeneſs, and told the gentleman it required too many ſerious conſiderations and reviſions to be anſwered immediately: *Beſides, Sir*, ſaid he, *I am at this preſent juncture incapacitated; but will not fail to ſend a proper reply to his Ceſarean majeſty the very firſt moment I am recovered of a wound, which an* EAGLE * *hath given me in the hand, wherewith I hold my pen.* Upon which the courtier, without ſaying a word more, made his obeyſances, and retired, perceiving plainly, that this allegorical excuſe proceeded from the reſentments the king had entertained on account of the detachment, which had been ſent into Poland under Arnheim's conduct; and ſo much the rather, as the court of Vienna had denied the Swedes to raiſe recruits in the empire during the Poliſh wars †. And here it may not be improper to relate a few paſſages with regard to Ferdinand II. emperor of Germany, whom more from a ſenſe of his power, than from an idea of any extraordinary abilities in him, Guſtavus conſidered as his great antagoniſt. He ſucceeded Mathias in 1619. That monarch had two brothers, Maximilian, who died one year before him, and Albert; both unbleſſed with children. Ferdinand was their couſin German, firſt prince of their blood, ſon of the late arch-duke Charles, prince of Stiria, who was brother to the emperor Maximilian, father of Mathias, Maximilian, and Albert. The ſaid emperor Maximilian and Charles prince of Stiria were brothers ſons of the emperor Ferdinand, and Anne heireſs to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary; which made out Ferdinand's title to thoſe dominions. 1630.

This perſon had great concerns in hiſtory, and yet hiſtory reporteth little with reſpect to him. That he was a bigot is certain, as appears by a remark we have made elſewhere in a paragraph relating to cardinal

* Alluding to the Auſtrian arms. See Le Barre, Tom. ix. p. 601. Riccio de Bellis German. 199.

† Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 9.

Kleſell

1630. Kleſel *. To which another anecdote may be ſubjoined of the ſame ſtamp. When the deciſions of the Bohemian judicature were tranſmitted to Vienna, with reference to the intended ſtate-maſſacre, which was decreed to complete the battle of Prague, he ſent for his confeſſor (whoſe name was Lamormain) and adjured him by his conſcience to inform him, whether he could ſafely ſign the dead warrants, or as ſafely grant an univerſal pardon. To which that worthy and generous eccleſiaſtic replied, *Utrumque in poteſtate tua eſt, Cæſar* †. Yet the unmerciful alternative ſtill took place: one hundred and eighty-five noble proteſtant families were ſent to beg their bread in foreign countries; and the principal perſonages of the kingdom ſigned the evangelical profeſſion with their beſt blood on a public ſcaffold, not merely like Greeks and Romans, but with a ſerenity and vivacity no ways unbecoming the primitive Chriſtians: of which I cannot refrain from inſerting ſome few particulars, being ſuch as it is highly probable have occurred to few people in the courſe of their reading.

When the inquiſitors of juſtice examined count de Schlick with inſupportable rigour, he tore open his cloaths, and laying bare his breaſt, made the following ſpeech in ſo many words; *Tear this body of mine into ten thouſand pieces, probe every vein and corner of my heart, you ſhall not find a ſingle ſentiment there, but what my right hand hath ſubſcribed at the bottom of the apology. The love of liberty, and of God's religion, and of my country prompted that very hand to weild the ſword: and ſince it hath pleaſed the Supreme Being to transfer ſucceſs to the emperor, and deliver us into your hands, I can only ſay with ſubmiſſion, complacency, and reverence, the will of God be done* ‡.

Many other unfortunate priſoners ſpoke much to the ſame effect, and all proteſted, *That the juſtice of a national revolt could not derive its morality from the event of ſecond cauſes*; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, no one perſon acknowledged the crime of rebellion.

When that part of Schlick's ſentence was read, which pronounced his body to be torn to pieces with wild horſes, and his limbs affixed in vari-

* See p. 193, 194.

† Hiſt. Perſecutionum Eccleſ. Bohem. 12°. p. 211. 1632. Sine loco.

‡ Ib, &c. &c. Laurea Auſtriaca, fol. 460, &c.

ous

ous places, he addreſſed to his judges with an air of ſerenity a beauti- 1630.
ful application from the claſſics,

FACILIS JACTURA SEPULCHRI:

and when father Sedatius, chief of the Jeſuits, who had much laboured to effect his converſion, cried out haſtily, at the time the executioner's hand was lifted up, *Domine comes, recordare adhuc*; he replied to him and his aſſociates with an air of ſeverity, *Jam me facite miſſum.*

When ſupper was ſerved up to theſe ſtate-criminals the evening before the execution, they all declared, that they had no need of a *material* repaſt: nevertheleſs, leſt the public might interpret their abſtinence to proceed from fear, they were determined to take the refreſhment of the table, and then endeavour to obtain a good night of repoſe. On the morning of execution they all dreſſed themſelves in their richeſt apparel, and thoſe, who were military men, wore ſuch part of their armour and habit as might not create any retardment to the operations of the executioner.

The chevalier Kapler had an offer made him of receiving his life upon condition he could content himſelf with perpetual impriſonment; but the anſwer he ſent the vice-roy, the prince of Lichtenſtein, was, "That "being an extremely old man, unable either to taſte wine or reliſh "meat, walking with pain, and ſleeping with difficulty, he had but "one favour to aſk, which was to be beheaded." The venerable Michaelovitzki, whom the king of Bohemia particularly loved, when the officers came to conduct a young nobleman to the ſcaffold, ſtepped before him with an air of vivacity, and ſaid, *ſeniores, priores: I demand the precedency of age.* He had been one of the principal actors in all the public commotions next to Thurn, and had been joined with him as deputy burgrave of Carlſtein caſtle, (a poſt of ſingular honour and profit, as the regalia of the crown are there preſerved:) and was one of the three ambaſſadors, that had been ſent to Francfort at the election of Ferdinand.

Kutnar, a ſenator of old Prague, for ſome particular reaſons, was condemned to be hanged. When he mounted the ſcaffold, *My good friends and countrymen*, ſaid he to the ſpectators, *a ſtrange death is al-*

1630. *lotted me; for whether I am to be ſuſpended by the heels, the neck, or the ribs, is more than I know, and more than I care for, except it be, that I cannot have the reputation to leave the world as a gentleman ought to do.* 'And another criminal of ſuperior rank, when that part of the ſentence was pronounced againſt him, which referred to the diſmembering his body by wild horſes, made a very lively anſwer without much emotion; *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *ſend one limb to the pope, a ſecond to the emperor, a third to the king of Spain, and a fourth to the great Turk; yet the Supreme Being will know how to re-unite them at the laſt day.*

But to conclude theſe tragical ſcenes; the caſe of Dr. Jeſſen was more extraordinary. This gentleman (who was an Hungarian of noble extract) had been rector of the univerſity of Prague, celebrated for his learning, and knowledge throughout all Europe; and being a phyſician had digreſſed naturally enough into the amuſement of judicial aſtrology conformably to the vogue and practices of that age. In the year 1618 he had been ſent ambaſſador to the Hungarians, and in his conferences with them had executed his commiſſion with great ſucceſs and dexterity: but it was his misfortune in his return homewards to be intercepted by ſome Imperial partizans; and thus he became a ſtate priſoner at Vienna. The houſe of Auſtria thought fit to exchange him againſt an Italian of conſequence, who ſerved the emperor, and upon quitting the priſon he writ thus on the chamber-walls, I. M. M. M. M.

The arch-duke Ferdinand, amongſt others, made a viſit to theſe initial letters in order to decypher them and expound them, and at length declared their originality and meaning to be, IMPERATOR. MATHIAS. MENSE. MARTIO. * MORIETUR. He then with eagerneſs drew a pencil from his pocket, and added a ſecond reading and explanation; JESSENI. MENTIRIS. MALA. MORTE. MORIERIS. † which ſhews at leaſt, that the future emperor had ſome readineſs and vivacity of parts.

Theſe circumſtances were recalled back to men's minds, and much agitated, whilſt the doctor lay under condemnation. Nevertheleſs his cuſtom was to give one general anſwer to all enquirers; *As my prophecy held good with relation to the death of Mathias, his Imperial majeſty, Ferdi-*

* He died the March enſuing 1619. † He was executed in 1621.

nand,

nand, will certainly pique himſelf to confirm his prediction likewiſe in reference to the extinction of poor Jeſſen. 1630.

In a word, the perſecutions of the houſe of Auſtria had hardened the Bohemians into a ſtate of heroiſm; and of courſe I ſhall relate but one ſtriking example more in regard to cruelty: two officers held a naked infant by the legs, and one of them ſplitting it through with a ſtroke of his ſabre, made uſe of this tremendous expreſſion, *Jam habes ſub utrâque*; alluding to the communion under *both* ſpecies, which the unhappy proteſtants had requeſted with earneſtneſs *.

Theſe ſhort inſtances may ſerve to give ſome idea of the temper and government of Ferdinand II. Mean while Guſtavus received a joint-letter †, ſubſcribed by the ſeveral electors, diſpatched from the ſame place with that of the emperor, and bearing date Auguſt 3: in which, by the way, they had recovered their memories ſo far, as to give him the compellation of king; an honour they had withheld from him in the preceding part of their application to him. It was pretended, that the omiſſion of the regal title did not proceed from any diſregard or evil-intention of the heart, but from a certain form and parade of dignity, which the electoral body had aſſumed from time immemorial in their correſpondence even with crowned heads. It is viſible to the moſt inattentive reader, that the houſe of Auſtria held the pen in this querimonious and exhortatory epiſtle; for the electors blamed him on account of his interference in regard to Stralſund, for interrupting the deliberations at Ratiſbon with an armed force, and for a needleſs interpoſition in reſpect to the reſtitution of his kinſmen, the dukes of Mechlenberg; and then adviſed him to evacuate the empire and repoſe himſelf on the humanity and equity of his Imperial majeſty.

By this time Guſtavus, it being near the middle of Auguſt, thought proper to form one general camp under the walls of Stetin (which he committed to the conduct of Guſtavus Horn) having received a reinforcement from that commander of 8000 freſh troops out of Livonia; himſelf making excurſions here and there, in order to reduce the neigh-

* Hiſpanicæ Dominationis Arcana, p. 85.

† It had been preceded by one dated July 10. This letter is preſerved in the Mercure François, and in Arnilabæus, p. 37.

1630. bouring fortified towns into ſubjection. He had an earneſt deſire to make himſelf maſter of Gartz and Griffenhagen, two important cities, which commanded the river Oder; but did not think it expedient to hazard his troops on ſo adventurous a ſervice in the very infancy of an invaſion. He therefore left a part of his army encamped, as we obſerved before, to effectuate the conqueſt of Pomerania; and applied himſelf with the reſt of his forces, (having firſt ordained a general faſt,) to reduce the duchy of Mechlenberg, which lies contiguous to it, partly from a point of honour to recover the dominions of his kinſmen the depoſed dukes, and partly with a view to attack Walſtein's new acquiſitions (an enterprize highly popular in the empire) and render himſelf maſter of the whole ſhore of the Baltic. Shaping his courſe therefore towards Stralſund, he attacked Wolgaſt, the capital of a duchy bearing the ſame name (whoſe fort he had taken before, and which town Banier had blockaded) and having rendered himſelf maſter of the city, at length obtained the caſtle by ſurrender, after diſcharging 8000 cannon-ſhot againſt its walls. Colonel Schleücter evacuated the place, marching out at the head of five companies of infantry, which were reduced to 600 men; one half of whom immediately enrolled themſelves in his majeſty's ſervice. Upon this the caſtle was repaired and furniſhed for the reception of the queen of Sweden, who was ſoon expected to make a viſit to her huſband, and become the partaker of his proſperous or evil fortunes.

By this time Torquato had withdrawn from his camp at Anclam, and entrenched himſelf under the cannon of Gartz; and, as he dreaded Guſtavus in open field, determined (conformably to the practice of his country, for he was an Italian) to circumvent his opponent by fraud and ſtratagem, and either kill him, or make him his priſoner at all hazards. To this purpoſe one of his officers named Quinti Aligheri (ſome call him Quinti del Ponte) deſerted by permiſſion under pretence of ſome diſguſt, and was admitted lieutenant-colonel in Falkenberg's regiment of cavalry. He there found a countryman, who was a captain of horſe, one John Baptiſta, whom, according to the cuſtom of the wars, he choſe for his comerade, and imparted to him the whole plot he had conceived.

ceived. Some time afterwards Guſtavus had a deſire to take a view in perſon of Torquato's lines, in order to form the ſiege of Damin, where all Quinti's ill acquired wealth was depoſited*; upon which this officer, who was a favourite with the king, being one of the party, contrived to leave his maſter, whilſt he attended him on the road, by a ſeeming ſort of accident; and riding full ſpeed to the Imperial general gave him a brief information of the expedition intended. As his majeſty had only ſeventy ſoldiers with him, Torquato diſpatched immediately 500 choſen Neapolitan cuiraſſiers, whom the traytor Aligheri commanded †. The ſubtile Italian having diſpoſed an ambuſcade with great dexterity (for therein conſiſted good part of the military genius, before the arrival of Guſtavus) entrapped the king on his return in a narrow defilé, where he could neither advance nor retreat. No private ſoldier made perſonally a braver defence than his majeſty did; and in ſpite of a ſuperiority more than ſix to one, the Swedes kept firm to their leaders, nor did a ſingle man behave unworthily. Their reſiſtance was ſo heroical and ſo obſtinate, that the commander of the aſſailants was obliged to change his original plan (of taking his majeſty alive) and try, if poſſible, to cut him to pieces. He twice or thrice determined to ſhoot him; but his preſence of mind deceived him, when he attempted to make the dangerous and infamous experiment ‡; for he dreaded the look of a man like Guſtavus, whom he had baſely betrayed; and greatly feared that the cries of the combatants, and briſk diſcharge of the fire-arms, might collect ſome ſtraggling partizans to the king's defence. Guſtavus, after his horſe was killed by two muſquet-balls, fought for a conſiderable ſpace of time on foot, nor had his ſoldiers opportunity or power to remount him. He for ſome moments was taken priſoner, though unknown, (and it is remarkable he never moved ſo ſullenly, as when the enemy wanted to carry him off:) but his companions threw themſelves round him, like men in deſperation, and inſtantly recovered him; for every man, without conſulting his friends, had determined to die conqueror.

1630.

* Memorabilia Suec. Gentis, p. 85.
† Riccio de Bellis Germ. 201, &c.
‡ Schefferi Memorab. 209, 210.

At

1630. At length a Livonian colonel, poſted at the head of a detachment, by the king's orders, to ſecure a retreat, greatly uneaſy at diſcovering no ſigns of his maſter's return, commanded his men to advance with all convenient ſpeed, and diſpatched a troop of horſe before in full gallop to procure intelligence; which attracted ſoon by the noiſe of the fire-arms, found his majeſty with a ſurviving handful of men crouding round him, juſt upon the point of being deſtroyed. In that inſtant the colonel appeared, and ſoon routed the Neapolitans, without attempting to purſue them, concluding it honour enough to have preſerved his ſovereign.

This action in point of bravery was conſidered by the army as a very extraordinary one, that ſeventy men, taken at a diſadvantage and by ſurprize, ſhould maintain a fight of half an hour's duration againſt 500 choſen troops, animated with the hopes of taking no leſs perſon priſoner than the king of Sweden. As to Aligheri, he returned back to the Imperial ſervice, and there continued; but his comerade John Baptiſta, according to the then military law, had the honour to be beheaded in the Swediſh camp. Two Imperial banners were gained in this rencounter, and preſented to his majeſty, who, though charmed with the fidelity and bravery of his followers, received the compliment with an air of affliction; for other thoughts then occupied his mind, and obſtructed his joy. *I am ſorry*, ſaid he, *to have brought a ſet of brave men (for ſuch my companions truly were) ſo far from their reſpective homes, and ſee them cut to pieces by unequal numbers. What might they not have lived to perform, if the warmth of my temperament had not delivered them inconſiderately to ſlaughter* *?

But a misfortune more inglorious ſtill threatned his majeſty; for a German monk born at Amberg, originally nothing better than a taylor, had formed a deſign to deprive him of his life †.

This man in order to attract Guſtavus's obſervation wandered about the camp under the appearance of an exile, having a book in his hand,

* Hiſt. or Authent. Relat. in Low Dutch, Tom. I. 174. Nevertheleſs the author Danckaertz has placed his ſpeech under a wrong paragraph.

† Loccenii Hiſt. Suecana, p. 571.

and

and always affecting to pore therein. Some ſay his purpoſe was to give the king a packet of poiſoned papers to peruſe, a method of diſpatch then in vogue amongſt the Italian troops, who ſerved the emperor, and which is ſuppoſed now in Italy * to be efficacious to a certain degree; others aſſert, that his intention was to have recourſe to a more compendious method, the interpoſition of the Stilletto. Be that as it may, the attempt was ſuſpected and the deſign acknowledged. 1630.

Whilſt Guſtavus employed himſelf in conſidering attentively the ſituation and the fortifications of the town of Gartz (which town as well as Griffenhagen the duke of Pomerania had beſought him to free from the Imperial garriſons) a Swediſh colonel had formed a deſign to take an outwork, which belonged to the former place, by ſurprize; and in order to obtain what he thought the ſecureſt advice, imparted his project to ſeveral officers, that ſerved with him; but by ſome accident, either of treachery or inadvertency, the ſecret took vent, and the garriſon being prepared for his coming, gave him a very unexpected reception. Nevertheleſs he made his retreat like a man, who underſtood the fighting part, and preſented two ſtandards to the king, who received them with a certain air of diſſatisfaction, obſerving to the generals, that ſtood round him, *That no retreat or defence could juſtify a commander, who had not power to lock up a military ſecret in his own breaſt* †.

His Imperial majeſty thought it now high time to cement his friendſhip more and more with the court of Madrid; and of courſe a contract of marriage was ſigned between Ferdinand his ſon, king of Hungary, and Anna Maria, ſiſter to Philip IV. king of Spain. This princeſs embarked at Barcelona with a very numerous and magnificent fleet; but not being able to land at Genoa, on account of the plague, which then reigned there, pointed her courſe to Naples, and demanded permiſſion of the Venetians to croſs the Adriatic ‡. But that republic, whoſe maxim it was to talk highly at a time when other nations act

* I have been informed, that prince Eugene was once ſtunned with peruſing a poiſoned letter written in a hand ſo difficult, that it required a very cloſe examination: and to this moment ſome great perſons in Italy break open ſuſpicious pacquets with their hands behind them, and leave them unfolded to the air for ſome time.

† Hiſt. or Authent. Relat. Tom. i. p. 174.

‡ Le Barre, Hiſt. d'Allemagne, Tom. ix. 602.

with

1630. with timidity, ordered Piſani, general of the iſlands, to give battle to the fair lady's ſquadron, without any ceremony: nevertheleſs an offer was made to tranſport her to Trieſte, in the gallies belonging to the ſtate. Upon this, couriers were diſpatched immediately to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; and as the politicians there did not chuſe to convert a wedding into a ſea-fight, the eſcort of the republic (which ſaid republic defrayed the princeſs's expence with magnificence) was accepted with profound acquieſcence: yet theſe retardments allowed her not to arrive at Vienna till the third week of the year enſuing, and then the nuptials were completed.

Led by ſome evil deſtiny of war, a ſmall party of 300 Swedes entered the little town of Paſſewalk, and began to fortify themſelves therein: but a body of 3000 Imperialiſts detached from Torquato's army inveſted them unexpectedly; and either their reſiſtance was ſo extraordinary, or the cruelty of the aſſailants ſo great, that not a ſingle perſon out of the garriſon eſcaped.

From this moment the war began to grow extremely bloody and ſincerely in earneſt. At length it was agreed, in conſequence of the repreſentations of the king of Sweden, to allow free and fair quarter on either ſide. Nevertheleſs the Imperialiſts were cruel enough to except the ſoldiers of the duke of Pomerania, and Guſtavus by way of retaliation excluded the Croatians: *For if*, ſaid he, *the former are to be conſidered as a band of rebels, I ſhall eſteem the latter as an herd of ſavages* *.

About this time a ſingular adventure happened to 700 Scots, who, in coaſting the Baltic from Pillau in order to join the main body of the Swediſh army, had the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked near Rugenwalt †, which town was defended by an Imperial garriſon.

Theſe poor wretches loſt their ammunition and baggage, and excepting a few wet muſquets, had only pikes and ſwords, wherewith to defend themſelves. What was ſtill equally diſagreeable, the enemies

* Pietro Pomo; Guerre di Germana, lib. i. p. 9.

† Rugenwalt is a large town, with a good harbour and caſtle, ſituated on a tract of land, which projects into the Baltic, lying juſt half way between Stetin and Dantzic. It was then one of the duke's places of reſidence, and was greatly embelliſhed with parks, waters, &c. Erich XIV. king of Sweden held his court there twenty years, having left his country in 1439.

troops

troops were quartered all round the country, and the king and his army removed from them at a diſtance of eighty miles. In this dilemma Robert Monro * their commander ſent a meſſage to the late Pomeranian governor, who was ſtill in Rugenwalt with ſome ſoldiers, (acting ſeemingly under the Imperial directions) with orders to inform him, that if he would open a poſtern gate for him at night, and convey to him fifty firelocks and ammunition, he would engage to clear the town of its new viſitants, and reſtore it in ſuch manner as their two reſpective maſters ſhould afterwards agree. 1630.

Thus Monro by a ſingular fortitude and preſence of mind took Rugenwalt by a midnight aſſault, and having diſpatched a meſſenger to advertiſe his majeſty of what had happened, obſtructed all the paſſes, that approached the town, and maintained himſelf bravely and prudently there for the ſpace of nine weeks, till his countryman colonel Hepburn, who commanded under Oxenſtiern in Livonia and the adjacent parts of Pruſſia, relieved him with his own regiment, and having drawn together a ſmall army of 6000 men, co-operated with Kniphauſen in the blockade of Colbergen. Indeed, by peculiar good fortune, 400 German ſoldiers belonging to the Swediſh army were driven by ſtreſs of weather into the harbour near the town, which increaſed the garriſon to 1100 men. And here one may juſt obſerve incidentally, that during the ſhipwreck of the Scottiſh troops, a ſerjeant's wife, without the aſſiſtance of any other woman, was delivered of a fine male-child, which ſhe anxiouſly held in her arms, and conveyed ſafely to ſhore, and marched with it in the like manner four long miles the next day. And when lord Rea gave the king an exact account of the extraordinary manner, whereby the town of Rugenwalt was thrown into the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, his majeſty replied, with viſible marks of joy in his countenance, *That he now began to hope, that the Supreme Being gave marks of approbation in the ſupport of his cauſe.*

About this time Guſtavus marched an army, conſiſting of 13,000 men, by way of bravado, up to the very front of Torquato's lines, (which ſtretched themſelves round the fortifications of Gartz) and uſed

* Author of the two Expeditions. Lond. fol. 1637. part 2. p. 3.

1630. all ſorts of provocation and allurements to draw the cautious Italian to a pitched battle. Guſtavus performed this feat of chivalry merely to keep the troops in ſpirits; nor was it an unſucceſsful artifice, according to the practice of war in that age; for he well foreſaw, that Torquato would not depart from the ſtrength of his entrenchments. However, in his return from this effort of military gallantry, he met by chance a kinſman of Walſtein (ſome miſtakenly call him a ſon) in a coach and ſix, eſcorted by part of a regiment. Orders were given to charge him inſtantly, and 150 perſons were taken priſoners; but the young man quitted his coach, and owed his eſcape to the fleetneſs of his horſe.

The greater part of Pomerania being now ſecured, his majeſty turned his thoughts towards an irruption into the duchy of Mechlenberg, and having rendered himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſs of Stolpe, which commanded the narrow frith, through which he was to ſail from Stetin, embarked 12,000 choſen men aboard his fleet, and paſſing by Wolgaſt and Stralſund, ſurprized Bart, and then took by ſtorm the important towns of Damgarten and Ribnitz. Theſe two places, connected by a bridge croſs a ſmall river bearing the ſame name with the laſt town, and removed from each other at a diſtance of about three miles, were in thoſe days conſidered as the lock and key, that gave admiſſion into the duchy of Mechlenberg on the Pomeranian ſide; the ſecuring a paſſage over rivers being eſteemed at that period the firſt part of military prudence. Guſtavus attacked Ribnitz at midnight, and carried it, after a very ſharp camiſado; for the Imperial colonel Merodé made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and was taken priſoner ſword in hand. Nor muſt it be diſſembled, that in the confuſions of a night-attack ſome retaliations were made for the cruelties lately exerciſed at Paſſewalk. Nevertheleſs the king ſoon repreſſed the reſentments of his troops, after a few of the enemy's men had been precipitated from the windows.

And here it muſt be obſerved, that the navigation from Stetin to Damgarten was an extremely difficult and dangerous undertaking, being all to be performed in a narrow channel, full of iſlands, ſand-banks and promontories, not to mention in ſome places the whole preſſure of the Baltic upon the ſhipping, in caſe the wind blew from the north, or

any

any points tending towards the north. But Guſtavus was by this time 1630.
almoſt as much an admiral as a general, affecting independency alike both by ſea and land; and having thus obtained a tolerably ſecure footing in the duchy of Mechlenberg, invited all the country by proclamations * to diſavow Walſtein, and re-acknowledge their antient poſſeſſors.

It is true the duke and ſtates of Pomerania had beſought his majeſty to give Torquato battle (of which he made a brave proffer, without expecting it ſhould be accepted) and drive him from the neighbourhood of Gartz, and Griffenhagen, both for the general quiet of the country, and the ſecurity of Stetin in particular: but the king had not phlegm enough to waſte his time and ſacrifice his men in watching the motions of an intrenched wary Italian. Beſides he knew from good authority (for no prince ever procured better intelligence) that the inhabitants of Mechlenberg wiſhed to ſee him, having been long diſpoſſeſſed of their natural princes, and long groaned under the intolerable domination of Walſtein. He foreſaw too, as he governed all his campaigns by political good ſenſe, that a vigorous attack upon that general's territories would be highly agreeable to ſome of the enemies, and all the friends of Sweden. He had a by-view likewiſe in approaching nearer and nearer to the territories of William landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, whoſe father Maurice was then alive, but had reſigned the government to him in 1628. Herman Wolf, the landgrave's miniſter, beſought the king's protection and aſſiſtance, and made overtures of co-operating with him with an army of 8000 men. A treaty was inſtantly committed to paper without heſitation on either ſide, but was not ſigned and confirmed till the enſuing year.

Amelia Elizabeth of Hanau, the widow of this prince (for he died in 1637) proved the beſt ally that Sweden ever obtained in the courſe of twenty German campaigns. Her deſigns were great and generous, and executed with ſuch preciſion, firmneſs and fidelity, that ſhe became the ornament and glory of the proteſtant cauſe. Her huſband William left the minority of his ſon to her regency, and, if I miſtake not, the kings

* See the original in Arnilabæi Armis Suecicis, p. 42, 43.

1630. of England and France were requeſted to make a reviſion thereon. She waged war boldly againſt the emperor and the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt concerning the diſtrict of Marpurg, and obtained at the peace of Weſtphalia the abbacy of Kirchfield, and four ſignories to be annext forever to her dominions. She gained likewiſe by way of indemnification upwards of 90,000 l. to be raiſed in nine months from the dioceſes of Mentz, Cologn, Paderborn, Munſter, and Fulda: reſigning the power of government to her ſon in 1650, and ſurviving duke Bernard de Weymar (who had an ambition to marry her) about twelve years *.

Mean while Torquato attacked Horn in his entrenchments at Stetin, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs; and having diſpatched the duke of Savelli into the duchy of Mechlenberg (which was, properly ſpeaking, the duke's diſtrict of command) in order to counteract the king's motions, waſted the reſt of the campaign in a ſort of deſponding inactivity, and took here and there a defenceleſs town, merely for the ſake of extorting money; dealing in nothing except little incurſions, ſurpriſes, and matters of plunder and contribution.

The king next turned his eyes upon Roſtock (by the natives ſuppoſed to ſignify the town of roſes) a conſiderable city, adorned with a provincial univerſity; removed from the Baltic about four miles, and diſtant from Ribnitz ſomething more than twenty. But Savelli fruſtrated this intended ſiege; for demanding permiſſion of the magiſtrates to march a detachment through their town, in order to ſecure Doberan, the thouſand horſe, who entered firſt, ſeized the grand gate by violence, and gave admiſſion to the infantry. His majeſty wrote to the magiſtracy on the occaſion, who ſeemed willing to admit him, but knew not how: upon this he changed the ſiege into a blockade; ordered part of his fleet to poſſeſs the harbour, and erected redoubts and ſtrong fortifications upon all the principal roads that approached the town. By theſe methods the garriſon began to be extremely ſtraitened, and Savelli, with a view to merit the good graces of Walſtein, diſpatched 4000 men to cut a paſſage for themſelves, and throw ſome relief both of proviſions and ſoldiers into the town. This detachment the Swedes handled very roughly (his

* Imhoff Notit. Principum. fol. 244.

majeſty

majeſty being returned to his camp at Stetin) and Banier received orders to continue the blockade. 1630.

I ſhould have obſerved before, that Guſtavus, highly pleaſed with theſe proſperous beginnings, and confirmed in his good opinion of the loyalty of the Mechlenbergers, publiſhed a ſecond manifeſto relative to his entrance into their territories, which contained little more than a bitter invective againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of Walſtein, whoſe pretenſions to the dukedom he treated with ſovereign contempt and diſdain, and called his ſoldiers land-buccaneers, ruffians, and murderers *.

In the way to Stetin, the king repoſed himſelf for a ſhort ſpace at Stralſund, and after a conſideration of three and thirty days from the time of date, diſpatched his reply †, during this interval of recollection, to the joint letter of the ſeveral electors. He there tells them, (as freſh letters had arrived during the interval of his majeſty's ſilence, full of excuſes for omiſſion of terms of ceremony, and requeſting him at the ſame time to depart from Germany) *That he was not diſpleaſed to find they had at length diſcovered him to be a king*, (for his name in theſe ſecond letters was placed anterior to their own) *and had not denied him the title, which the Supreme Being had beſtowed on him.*

In addition to what hath been already mentioned, the ſubſtance of his anſwer was, "That the ſuppreſſion of the regal title was an affair "merely external to thoſe, who had private qualities of a moral and "religious nature to value themſelves upon; and that the annihila-"tion of a phraſe of reſpect and good breeding neither demeaned "him, nor exalted them. He then concluded with a recapitulation "of the various cauſes and motives, that induced him to enter the "empire, and added with great frankneſs, that in caſe ſafe conditions

* See the original in Arnilabæus's Arma Suecica, 44, 45. Hiſt. or Authent. Relat. Tom. i. 178.

† This reply is preſerved in the Mercure François, Tom. xvi. p. 338; but as more letters had paſſed from the electors to the king, I chuſe to take my account from Loccenius, being an author of better repute, and who had nearer acceſſes to the truth: (*Hiſt. Suec.* p. 574.) nevertheleſs, I have preſerved the letter of the Mercure in the Appendix.

"could

1630. "could be procured for himſelf and his allies, he would diſcontinue "the war as chearfully as he had undertaken it unwillingly."

Two days afterwards he wrote to Louis XIII *, cardinal Richelieu *, and Charles I. As to what he tranſmitted to the latter perſonage, I can ſay nothing, it being only in my power to relate the fact. In his letter to the French king, "He deſired leave to raiſe recruits in "France; and told him roundly, he was ſurprized De Charnacé his "ambaſſador had made a difficulty in a point of meer form, which to "him appeared abſolutely incomprehenſible."

To underſtand this matter, which is only hinted at obliquely in the letter, with an equal degree of delicacy and politeneſs, I muſt have recourſe for the ſatisfaction of my readers to other authorities †, and obſerve, that De Charnacé, in the rough-draught of the treaty, had inſerted the word *protection* on the part of France; and inſiſted likewiſe, that the name of his maſter ſhould *precede* that of Guſtavus, even in the ratification, which the latter was to ſign. To this his Swediſh majeſty anſwered livelily and with ſome emotion, *That he knew no protection but* that *of the Supreme Being; and as the two contracting parties were both kings, ſo they were both equal in dignity; and that precedence in this caſe was a thing not to be underſtood.* To which De Charnacé replied, conformably to the petulance of his nation, *That all ſcarlet was not of the ſame value.* Guſtavus nettled with ſuch an animated impertinence, and at the ſame time being the prince in the world the moſt jealous of his dignity, told him with an air of determination, *That he choſe rather to diſpenſe with the aſſiſtance of France, than tarniſh the glory of the antient crown of Sweden; it appearing matter of aſtoniſhment to him, that his Chriſtian majeſty ſhould deſire him to reſign a title, which he held only from heaven.* Theſe difficulties being ſmoothed, or rather acceded to, by the French, the treaty arrived to its full maturity in the commencement of the enſuing year.

* Theſe two letters are preſerved in the *Appendix*.

† Puffendorff; *Sur les alliances entre la France & la Suede*, p. 5. The latter part of this book, by anſwering Chanut in many places, renders that period of hiſtory more complete.

In

In his letter to Richelieu †, he renews the ſame complaints concerning the falſe imaginations and wrong-headed obſtinacy of M. de Charnacé, and beſeeches the cardinal to put an end to ſuch ridiculous obſtructions, which tend in their own nature to create delays and miſunderſtandings. 1630.

As Tilly had orders from Vienna and Munich to approach Torquato de Conti as expeditiouſly as poſſible, Guſtavus was determined to hinder that junction, which he had reaſon to be alarmed at; ſince two powerful armies in the neighbourhood of Saxony and Brandenburg might have hindered the electors from coming to an accommodation with him, a circumſtance of union he ardently wiſhed to ſee realized; and which he was almoſt morally ſure of effecting, upon ſuppoſition he could either obſtruct or traverſe the motions of Tilly. In order therefore to form a diverſion of this nature, he ſet himſelf to contrive that general ſome buſineſs in the duchy of Magdeburg, and to that purpoſe perſuaded the adminiſtrator Chriſtian William of Brandenburg to make himſelf maſter of the capital, and prevail on the inhabitants and their neighbours to take up arms. A Swediſh ambaſſador attended him in this expedition. The magiſtrates and people ſoon complied, and raiſed a body of 2000 foot, and 2500 horſe.

The city of Magdeburg had been the ſubject of great conteſts ſome years before; for the houſe of Brandenburg (as we have obſerved) had fixed a kinſman there in the adminiſtration, who was uncle to the then elector, and had found his intereſt long declining at the court of Vienna, having made himſelf an aſſociate of the league at Lawenberg, and formed an alliance with Chriſtian king of Denmark. Upon this account Ferdinand recommended his ſon, the archduke Leopold, to be co-adjutor; but the chapter remonſtrated againſt the propoſal, and petitioned for Auguſtus, ſecond ſon then living of the elector of Saxony, becauſe he was a proteſtant.

The old adminiſtrator had made a viſit to Guſtavus at Stockholm, juſt before the expedition into Germany, and had implored aſſiſtances of men and money. He received great encouragement in both par-

† See the Appendix.

ticulars:

1630. ticulars: but the king charged him to repreſs his ardour for ſome time, and make pretences of deprecating the Imperial reſentment *.

His majeſty at that time either could not, or, to ſpeak more properly, choſe not to anſwer the demands of the adminiſtrator, who required money to raiſe an army of 10,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry: nevertheleſs, he gave him letters of credit on ſeveral bankers and merchants, to raiſe ſuch part of the ſum as could be poſſibly amaſſed, for the payment of which he made himſelf reſponſible †.

This exiled prince was kindly received by all the inhabitants of the duchy; and the troops he had collected in the king's name and in his own, made ſeveral excurſions, and drove the enemy out of many important poſts. But their commander, though no young man, was a new warrior; undertaking more than he could conquer, and more than he could have maintained in caſe he had proved ſucceſsful in his firſt enterprizes: for the elector of Bavaria had long foreſeen the effects of this menacing inſurrection, and had ſent Pappenheim ‡ at the head of 6000 men to give a check to ſuch tumultuary revolutions, and co-operate with Torquato and Savelli in ſuch a manner, as to give the former a freedom of motion, by creating an opportune diverſion. Pappenheim, the ableſt and the readieſt general in thoſe days, next to Guſtavus, ſoon compelled a novice in the art of war to contract his conqueſts, and at length reduced him to ſhelter his troops under the walls of Magdeburg, round which he formed to a certain degree a ſort of blockade.

His majeſty perceiving the prince to be thus ſtraitened, and well foreſeeing, that the preſervation of the duchy of Magdeburg might have great influence on the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, diſpatched colonel Falkenberg, grand maréchal of the houſehold, an officer of approved bravery, to direct the adminiſtrator with his counſels, ſupport the ſpirit of the inhabitants, and promiſe them an expeditious relief; which

* Chemnitius, Lib. ii.

† Brachelii Hiſt. Noſt. Temp. ad Ann. 1630.

‡ Godfrey Henry, count de Pappenheim, one of the moſt renowned warriors in that century. He was originally a baron, and got nothing of the emperor but the title of count, with the appendix of *Illuſtriſſimo*. He married Ludomilla of the houſe of Colorath; but we ſhall recite more particulars concerning him in another place.

ſoon

ſoon afterwards, from a concurrence of embarraſſing circumſtances, it was not in his power to realize. I ſpeak not here of the grand relief, which he deſtined to ſend to the inhabitants in the month of May enſuing, when Tilly beſieged the town in form; but purely with a view to the preſent blockade. Nevertheleſs, it was impoſſible for his majeſty to leave the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony to chuſe their party, being both of them at that time in a ſtate of uncertainty: and, what was ſtill worſe, it was not in his power juſt then to convey to the inhabitants of the town a conſiderable ſum of money, which put the burghers out of humour, who expected prompt payment from every ſoldier. 1630.

To make this diverſion in behalf of the Swediſh cauſe ſtill ſtronger, Francis Charles, duke of Sax-Lawenberg *, was employed to inliſt a body of ſoldiers in the diſtricts round Hamburg and Lubec. The prince had the good fortune to take Ratzburg (a place of reſidence belonging to his family) by camiſado; a city of ſome conſequence and natural ſtrength, being ſituated like Mantua in a large lake. Him colonel Reinach was ſent to oppoſe and haraſs with his own regiment

* In theſe wars were ſeveral dukes of Sax-Lawenberg; as the reigning duke, named *Auguſtus*. And he, after many attempts towards a neutrality, at length eſpouſed the Swediſh cauſe; as did alſo *Francis Charles*, the perſon here mentioned, who married the widow of Gabriel Bethlem, (with whom he received a fine dowry) and then the relict of Teüffel, who was born counteſs of Megau. He made himſelf a convert to the church of Rome, and Francis Henry, a Swediſh colonel, to whom Guſtavus gave the eſtates belonging to the convent of Marienflyes in Pomerania. On the other hand Rodolphus Maximilian ſerved under Tilly, as did alſo Francis Julius, who was killed by the peaſants near Lintz. Next came the youngeſt ſon Francis Albert, whom we ſhall ſpeak of more minutely hereafter, as he was ſuppoſed to have ſome concern in the king's death. In the year 1625, this prince commanded a regiment of light horſe under Walſtein. He was an officer of good eſteem at the ſiege of Mantua, and acted next to Arnheim in the Poliſh campaign of 1629. As to the duchy of Lawenberg, it appertains now to his Britannic majeſty; the family of Lawenberg becoming extinct at the deceaſe of duke Francis Julius in 1689; which is the more extraordinary, as his grandfather Francis II. had twelve ſons and ſeven daughters, many of whom married and were bleſſed with an abundant offspring. Yet the whole family became extinct in fifty years. On this event only eight competitors preferred their claims to this territory, of whom the chief were George William duke of Zell, and Auguſtus king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; who being occupied in other matters, ſold his pretenſions to the duke of Zell for ſomething more than 150,000 l. And as about this time a new electorate was erected in favour of the houſe of Brunſwic-Lunenberg, the duchies of Zell and Lawenberg, in the year 1715, on the death of George William, fell, with all rights of ſucceſſion, to the electoral branch of Hanover.

1630. newly raiſed in Frizeland, and a thouſand other ſoldiers. In his ſupport Pappenheim advanced, and as he exceeded moſt generals in ſecreſy and celerity of marching, ſoon trode on the duke's heels, at a time when he expected nothing leſs than a viſit from him. The firſt ſtep that vigilant commander took was to ſurprize a convoy, that came to Lawenberg's aſſiſtance; and then making a ſecond uncommon effort in a forced march, ſecured the foot of Ratzburg bridge, and the port-cuilis which defended it, before the garriſon perceived him. The poſſeſſion of this bridge, which was 300 paces long, and the only way of entrance into the town, ſoon gave him a power to preſcribe laws to it. Upon this, duke Auguſtus, who not long before had refuſed to give his brother entrance into the caſtle, found himſelf obliged to admit Pappenheim, for he did not care to exaſperate the emperor. Francis Charles made an appearance of defending the town (though in truth it was not defenſible): nevertheleſs, when all things were prepared by the Imperialiſts for a general aſſault, he ſent to demand a truce, which Pappenheim granted him for the ſpace of one ſingle quarter of an hour. In that interim the duke attempted to eſcape to Lubec in a ſmall pleaſure-boat; but the ſteerſman being killed by a falcon-ſhot, he thought it moſt prudent to drive to ſhore, and ſurrender himſelf to Pappenheim, who promiſed him, conformably to that generoſity peculiar to brave men, that neither the emperor, nor elector of Bavaria, ſhould hurt him; engaging likewiſe for the ſecurity of his life, and an exemption from perpetual impriſonment.

The king, in order to be ſomething nearer to theſe operations, made a ſecond viſit to Stralſund, from whence (it being now the laſt day of October) he thought fit to anſwer * the emperor's letter, which bore date Auguſt the 8th, having delayed returning a reply to him eight and forty days from the period he had diſpatched his juſtification to the ſeveral electors: an affected indifference, purpoſely made uſe of by his majeſty, partly with a view to mortify the Auſtrian pride, (as the emperor had only beſtowed upon him the title of *Our Prince*)

* See the original in Arm. Suecicis, p. 54, &c. Nevertheleſs, I have rather carried the abſtract of Loccenius in my eye.

and partly becauſe he ſaw no ground-work whereon to eſtabliſh a ſolid accommodation. 1636.

It may ſuffice to ſay, with reference to this extraordinary epiſtle, that he upbraided the emperor with great ſpirit and acrimony at firſt ſetting out, and gave him to underſtand, "That it became not the "Ceſarean majeſty to ſuppreſs the title of king in his applications to "him, ſince that implied a ſort of dependency on the Germanic em-"pire; whereas at the period alluded to, he was not maſter of a ſingle "inch of land in the empire: nor was it a reaſon, if the caſe had "been otherwiſe, that an outrage ſhould have been committed on his "regal character. Alledging afterwards in the ſtrongeſt terms, that "the emperor had waged war againſt him in Poland and Pruſſia, with-"out any formal declaration of hoſtilities. That for theſe reaſons "he could not be accuſed of tranſgreſſing the laws of nature and na-"tions, inaſmuch as he paid back and repelled military interferences, "but did not commence them. He then recapitulated briefly the ſe-"veral arguments of his manifeſto, but in a manner more pointed, "more ſpirited, and more *ad hominem*; and finiſhed his letter with "obſerving, that he had no inappetency to a general accommo-"dation, if his allies, kinſmen, and friends, could be effectually "redreſſed, and himſelf convinced of the Imperial friendſhip, which "at preſent appeared to him of an equivocal and fallacious na-"ture, ſince the houſe of Auſtria raiſed armies, and pretended to "languiſh for peace, at the ſame moment: That for his own part "he would deal in realities, and not uncertainties, and conſent on no "account to the propoſals of a truce, or the diſmiſſion of a ſingle "ſoldier."

None but the truly brave and great can be thus firm and explicite in caſes of the moſt trying emergency! Artifice and political cunning always acknowledge ſuch a ſuperiority of conduct with an abject aſtoniſhment! For the ſhort and honeſt way is always the true one, if men have parts to reach their object.

Highly ſatisfied therefore with affording the emperor ſo diſtinct an explanation, Guſtavus gave audience next to a public miniſter from

1630. Brandenburg, who made the elector's congratulations to him, and beſought him to conſider his maſter as a neutral power. His majeſty granted the requeſt with great frankneſs; *but, Sir,* ſaid he, *be pleaſed to tell the elector at the ſame time, that henceforward no connivances, no indulgencies muſt be ſhewn to my enemies, and no advantages muſt reſult to them.——Tell him, moreover, effectually, (and not ſuperficially) That he muſt diſmiſs the Imperialiſts from every part of his dominions, and allow them, under no pretext, either proviſions, or quarters, or money. If he cedes one town to the emperor's convenience, let him reſign another of equivalent importance to me; and if he furniſhes the Imperialiſts on one hand, let him ſupply my Swedes on the other. Tell him, Sir, theſe are Guſtavus's notions of a neutrality: and upon theſe terms, though he does not offer him friendſhip, he promiſes him ſafety.*

It may readily be foreſeen, that the propoſals to the emperor on the part of Sweden were rejected with an high air of diſdain; in conſequence whereof Camerarius was ſent ambaſſador to the Hague, with a view to ſolicit ſome powerful aſſiſtances from that quarter.

In his harangue * dictated to him by the king, and pronounced in full aſſembly of the ſtates general, he told them with an air of candour and firmneſs, "That his majeſty at that period was attempting "only to realize a ſcheme of ſupporting the diſtreſſed and afflicted, "conformably to the requeſt and exhortation of their high mightineſſes "ſome years before.——That the ſaid prince his maſter had beſought "them in the month of May preceding, to diſpatch their repreſen- "tatives to the conferences his Daniſh majeſty had procured to be "held at Dantzic; whither (as it is ſuppoſed) no deputies ever ar- "rived on the part of the United Provinces.——He then acknowledges, "that the letter of his maſter made its appearance at the Hague ſome "days too late; but attributing that delay meerly to accidents, inſiſts "ſtrenuouſly, that no inconveniency had thence ariſen to the ſtates ge- "neral: at the ſame time obliquely but politely expoſtulating with "them on the ſubject of not returning an anſwer to his Swediſh ma- "jeſty."

* We have preſerved it at full length in the *Appendix*. It was pronounced in October 1630.

Recovering

Recovering himſelf from that digreſſion, which, though ſincerely intended, had the appearance of being caſual, " he exhorts them to give " ſome important diverſions to the enterprizes of Spain and Auſtria ;" ſince if the arms of Sweden ſhould prove unſucceſsful, the whole torrent of war might pour itſelf on the Low Countries;—and then obſerveth, with great modeſty, " that the king his maſter, far from flat- " tering himſelf with preſumptuous hopes, conſidered the ſucceſs of the " field as a periodical ſort of proſperity; nevertheleſs, that he had caſt " the die, and paſſed not only a Rubicon, but the Baltic ocean." 1630.

And as there are reaſons to think, that Guſtavus was ſomewhat piqued at the inattention of the Dutch, both with regard to forms of reſpect, as well as due vigilance to the public welfare of Europe in general, Camerarius concludes with telling them, " That being then on the wing of " departure, it might not be improper to appoint deputies to hold a con- " ference with him the firſt moment, that appeared convenient." And thus the affair ended, in no degree to the diſadvantage of Guſtavus.

Whilſt his majeſty remained at Stralſund a public faſt for three continued days was obſerved in Sweden, and on his return to Stetin he appointed a ſecond general humiliation, and ordered divine ſervice to be ſolemnly celebrated at the head of every regiment. He then gave directions to a part of his army to puſh on vigorouſly the blockade of Colbergen *, which Torquato de Conti, and all the troops, that ſerved under him, had made their magazine of wealth and plunder. The garriſon conſiſted only of 1700 infantry, and a few horſe.

The Imperial general, for the reaſon above aſſigned, was very deſirous to raiſe the blockade, or throw 7 or 800 dragoons into the town: but that attempt was difficult, as Kniphauſen and Bauditzen had cloſed up all the avenues with an army of about 12,000 men. It not being eaſy therefore to render this enterprize practicable, Erneſt, count de Montecuculi †, was

* Colbergen is the third principal town in Ulterior Pomerania. It hath a good port near the Baltic, and carries on a conſiderable trade. Moſt people think the fortreſs ſtrong, and the cathedral is eſteemed a good piece of Gothic architecture.

† This officer, a perſon extremely accompliſhed, was deſcended from one of the beſt families

1630. was diſpatched at the head of a detachment, conſiſting of 10,000 men (being the regiments of Coloredo, Iſolani, Goëtz, Spar, and Charles Walſtein) who marched in full hopes of cutting the Swedes to pieces by way of ſurprize, and rendering ineffectual a very long and tedious blockade. But Horn, who lay at Stetin, ſoon procured intelligence of this enterprize, and having ſummoned a council of war, ſent the generals advice to march out of their lines, and give the enemy battle. Upon this a draught was made of the moiety of ſoldiers in each regiment (for ſuch was the king's practice in this invention) every colonel being to conduct his own diviſion; and as they were *commanded men*, to uſe the expreſſion of the age, it was their cuſtom to march *without colours*. By theſe means a general, upon any emergency, had the choice of the better half of his army, and the more experienced officers of rank and ſeniority; who by their preſence not only kept the common men in ſpirits, but did them honour; and if the ſervice proved ſharp and unmerciful, no regimental corps was quite annihilated, but deſtroyed only in part.

The army being thus draughted, the remaining moiety, with Leſly at their head, and under the direction of their reſpective lieutenant-colonels, defended the lines of the encampment: ſo that the Swediſh detachment being re-inforced from Horn's army, and by ſeveral handfuls of ſoldiers ſelected from the neighbouring garriſons, made in the whole about 11,000 effective men. Serjeant-major-general Kniphauſen, who commanded it in chief, revolved much in his mind the nature of the road, by which the enemy intended to approach him, and having requeſted Sir John Hepburn to examine well the paſs and fortreſs of Scheifelbein, orders were given to lieutenant-colonel Monro, to throw ſome companies of infantry into the town and caſtle, to whom Kniphauſen gave

milies in Modena, and paſſed regularly from the muſquet to the partizan and baton; being at length general of the artillery and chief commander in Alſatia. His valour led him into an indiſcreet rencounter near Colmar, where after having received two wounds from a ſword and three muſquet-ſhots, he had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, and died partly with grief, in the year 1633. He muſt not be confounded with his nephew Raymond count de Montecuculi, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter in the ſtorming of Brandenburg &c.

* Pietro Pomo; Guerre di Ferd. II. & Goſtavo Adolfo. 4°. Venet. 1638. p. 12.

a ſhort

a ſhort billet in writing to this effect: *Maintain the town as long as you can, but give not up the caſtle whilſt a ſingle man continues with you* *. 1630.

Upon the whole, this place was not defenſible in general for a longer continuance than twenty-four hours; yet Monro having occupied it three days before Montecuculi's arrival, made a very laudable appearance of reſiſtance, and when the Imperial general had ranged his army round the walls, in order to give one united aſſault, and ſent a trumpeter to propoſe a treaty, the brave Scot replied with great plainneſs, *That the word treaty by ſome chance had happened to be omitted in his inſtructions, and that he had only powder and ball at the count de Montecuculi's ſervice.* Upon this orders were given to commence a general ſtorm, but the Scottiſh troops behaved to admiration, and having laid the town in aſhes, retired with great compoſure into the caſtle. The Imperialiſts perceiving the governor to be a man determined, broke up their encampment, and relinquiſhed the ſiege.

This ſlight effort of reſiſtance gave the Swedes an incredible advantage, for in that interim Kniphauſen received Horn's aſſiſtances, and obtained a ſhort ſpace for cool deliberation; it being no ſmall error in Montecuculi to have loſt time in tampering with Monro, who had reſolved to give a reſpite to his comrades, or periſh in the ruins of Scheifelbein-caſtle.

Both armies were now in full march with different deſigns. As to the Swedes, the ſupreme command being veſted in Kniphauſen, the baron Teüffel led the German infantry, lord Rea the Engliſh and Scots, and Bauditzen conducted the horſe. About midnight they received intelligence from a peaſant, that the Imperialiſts had taken up their lodgings in ſome little dorps hard by them; a piece of intelligence in no degree unacceptable; ſince if theſe two bodies of troops had miſſed one another, the Imperialiſts probably might have forced the camp, that remained round Colbergen, and thrown relief into the town. A council of war being ſummoned immediately, Kniphauſen gave it for his opinion (for he was an officer of equal calmneſs and valour) that a midnight battle might prove a tumultuous and indeciſive affair; ſince, ſuppoſing the worſt

* Monro's Expeditions, part ii. p. 8.

to

1630. to happen, that could be imagined, it would ſtill be ſufficient glory to maintain the ſiege, and render the enemy's deſign abortive: obſerving further, that they knew neither the ſtrength nor the ſituation, nor the precautions taken by their adverſaries; and if by any miſapprehenſion or error they ſhould chance to be defeated, that then Colbergen, and even Stetin, would be irrecoverably loſt. This opinion with ſome difficulty prevailed. Mean while the ſelf-ſame peaſant, as it is imagined, deſerted to the Imperialiſts; who took the alarm, and at three in the morning left their encampment in flames. All were ready to blame Kniphauſen, though perhaps unjuſtly: for appearances in war amount to demonſtrations in weak and over-haſty minds, Nevertheleſs it was reſolved at laſt, to march in purſuit of the flying enemies: and the Swedes the next morning, by eight o'clock, overtook them on a large heath, continuing their retreat with prudence and diligence, and ſkirmiſhing in good order; but coming to a defile, and ſome carriages breaking and choaking up the road, the Imperialiſts found themſelves obliged to confront their purſuers in good earneſt. The Croatians, unaccuſtomed to ſerious fighting, turned their backs according to cuſtom; but the foot-ſoldiers ranging themſelves in a moraſſy plain, determined to obtain honourable conditions, or ſell their lives as dearly as they could. In this interim one of the darkeſt miſts ſprung up, that ever was known. The Imperial infantry demanded quarter, and offered to ſerve his Swediſh majeſty in the ſame rank, and under the ſame conditions they had ſerved the emperor; proteſting at the ſame time, that if theſe propoſals were not acceptable, they would maintain the fight to the laſt man. Whilſt theſe matters were in agitation Bauditzen, intirely ignorant of what had happened, returned from purſuing the Croatian horſe, and ſeeing the groſs of the enemy's army drawn up in fair battalia and unbroken, attacked them immediately with great reſolution. The Imperialiſts ſuſpecting treachery, and finding themſelves ſurrounded on every ſide, having altered their firſt arrangement, formed immediately into Burgundian ſquares, and returned a furious uninterrupted fire. Nevertheleſs Bauditzen entered them with his body of cavalry; and upon theſe frequent charges, the other half of Bauditzen's horſemen, which compoſed the oppoſite wing

of the Swediſh army, ſuppoſing the enemy to have halted, and put themſelves in a poſture of diſputing the victory (which opinion was confirmed by the flight and fear of diſperſed ſoldiers, as is uſual) fell immediately on the troops of their own army, who hemmed in the Imperialiſts on the point directly over-againſt Bauditzen. And thus a dreadful conflict enſued amongſt mutual friends, and ſervants to the ſame maſter, which coſt many a brave man his life. What promoted the miſtake was, that the Swediſh army, as we hinted before, carried no colours on that day; ſuch being the cuſtom in Guſtavus's ſervice, when armies of expedition were compoſed of battalions draughted from ſeveral regiments. In this confuſion and panic all the Swediſh troops behaved reciprocally well and ill, excepting the van of the infantry commanded by Teüffel, and Bauditzen's large brigade of horſe, conducted by lord Rea, and Sir John Devereux an Engliſhman. The Imperialiſts, under favour of this miſtake, retreated with much leſs loſs than human wit could well have imagined in ſuch circumſtances. 1630.

Thus the Swedes loſt a complete victory, partly by the intervention of the miſt, and partly by not carrying the reſpective colours that belonged to each regiment: but whether the king ever altered this overſight, (in caſe it be thought one) is more than we can take upon us at this diſtance to determine.

And thus concluded a rencounter of a very uncommon and diſagreeable nature, where comrade killed his comrade, and friend his friend: nor can I agree with a brave Scottiſh officer, who in his relation of this engagement, where he happened to be preſent, calls it *a mighty pretty and comical ſort of a battle*. But be that as it will, public thankſgivings were decreed to God throughout the ſeveral Swediſh armies, with great ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity *.

And here it muſt be obſerved, that during the interval, which Monro's vigorous reſiſtance procured, the king flew to Horn's camp, and placed himſelf, in conjunction with that general, at the head of a body of cavalry, in order to bear a ſhare in ſo important a tranſaction: but an

* Heylmanni Leo Arctous, p. 17.

1630. expreſs from Kniphauſen advertiſed them on the road, that he had compelled the enemy to retire.

Upon this Kniphauſen returned to his antient camp, where he received a conſiderable re-inforcement from his maſter, and was replaced by Horn, who having changed the blockade into a regular ſiege, and intercepted a convoy of 180 waggons laden with proviſions, obtained the town of Colbergen (which had been three years in fortifying) by capitulation, agreed upon in the month of March the year enſuing, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of five months continuance. The garriſon, conſiſting of 1500 good ſoldiers, received an eſcort to Landſberg; but to augment the governor's chagrin, four Imperial ſhips arrived the next day after ſigning the articles, well provided with a re-inforcement of ſoldiers and military ſtores. The Swediſh veſſels, which guarded the coaſt, gave them full opportunity to ſteal into the harbour, which is formed by the mouth of the river Perſant; and thus they were entrapped between a naval and land-fire, without any poſſibility of eſcaping. And ſome time after that, the garriſon was arreſted at Friedberg in the New Marche, on account of the maſſacre committed by Tilly in the ſtorming of New Brandenburg.

But to return back to the month of November 1630; his majeſty having caſt his eyes a ſecond time on the duchy of Mechlenberg and the counties adjacent, returned once more to Stralſund, and thence directing his march to Stetin, made a freſh reviſion of its fortifications. A perſon bleſſed with a diſcerning genius like Guſtavus, ſoon ſaw room for ſome additions and improvements, and in deſpite of a very rough approaching winter, converted his whole army into pioneers and military architects. During the main ſtreſs of this work it was told the king, that a captain had been impriſoned for giving his company a bad example, complaining indirectly of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the hardſhip and ſervility of the employment. *My good friend*, ſaid the king, *the earth is always frozen to thoſe, that want induſtry. It is ridiculous to poſtpone till to-morrow what ought to be executed the preſent moment: on the contrary, it is impoſſible to purſue one's point with too much earneſtneſs. It is perſevering*

perſevering alacrity alone, which performs all that is great and ſhining. Moſt things might be effected by men, upon ſuppoſition that indolence did not retard them, nor fear diſmay them *. 1630.

It was about this time, according to the relation of an † hiſtorian well verſed in the affairs of the preſent period, that his majeſty received from England the ſum of 60,000 l. with advice likewiſe concerning the body of recruits then to be raiſed by the marquis of Hamilton. He was favoured likewiſe with a good ſupply of 48,000 l. from another quarter; but whether it came from Sweden I cannot ſay, or elſewhere. Nevertheleſs it induced him to make a general review of all his troops, and having diſtributed a part of theſe ſums among them with uncommon frankneſs and generoſity, the diſobliged and diſbanded Imperialiſts ſoon flocked to his enſigns from every quarter; inſomuch that ſixty cavaliers in a body, each completely armed and mounted, made him a tender of their ſervices in one morning.

Aſtoniſhed with ſuch vigorous proceedings old Torquato de Conti, weakened with infirmities, or, in truth, rendered ſick of a war, where he made no figure, beſought the emperor to excuſe him from the command of the army. From thence he retired to Rome, took an employment under the pope, where the ſervice was more pacific, and died there the laſt of his family. Hannibal count de Schomberg ſucceeded him in command, and having removed his camp from Anclam, entrenched himſelf near Gartz; ill-provided (according to the hereditary management of the houſe of Auſtria) with proviſions, money, ammunition, baggage-waggons, and draught-horſes ‡.

About this period the king exhibited a ſhining example of lenity and Chriſtian moderation towards the inhabitants of Lubec, who, though all proteſtants, had refuſed his officers the power of enliſting ſoldiers. It was eaſy at a ſingle ſtroke to have cruſhed this unkindneſs of theirs, which Guſtavus calls *inhumanity*; but on the contrary he graciouſly tells them, that though the proofs on his ſide of the allegation were incon-

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. p. 577.

† Soldat Suedois, p. 38. Arnilabei Arma Suecica, 4°. p. 60.

‡ See his letter to Tilly preſerved in the *Armis Suecicis*, p. 93—96, which concludes with theſe remarkable words: An ego ſolus omnibus ſufficere poſſim, tua excellentia judicet.

 teſtable,

1630. teſtable, yet ſtill ſomething privately aſſured him, that ſuch behaviour proceeded only from ſecret ill-wiſhers to the glory of his cauſe, and not from the body of ſenators and patricians in general. *Wherefore*, concludeth he, *I ſhall make no difficulty of re-inſtating you all into my antient favour and good-will, upon condition, that what hath been practiſed hitherto, may hereafter be omitted* *. And at the ſame time he took care to cultivate a ſpirit of religion in his own army, and gave orders to the conſiſtory of clergy, which attended his camp, to draw up a freſh body of prayers, three and twenty in number, by way of ſupplement to thoſe already publiſhed; moſt or all of them relative to the occaſions of war †.

It was now the 23d of December, but his majeſty far from paying attention to the ſeverity of an uncommon German winter; for it was a cuſtomary ſaying with him, that he could perform greater actions in a winter campaign than a ſummer one ‡. Of courſe he croſſed the Oder, at a time the Imperialiſts concluded he would repoſe his troops in warm quarters, according to the then eſtabliſhed method of making war; and reviewing his ſtrength a ſecond time, which conſiſted of 12,000 infantry, 85 cornets of horſe, and 70 pieces of cannon, ordered public prayers to be offered up at the head of every regiment, and after an appearance of reflection for ſome hours, made a midnight march, and inveſted Griffenhagen by break of day; notwithſtanding Schomberg lay encamped at Gartz in ſuch a manner, that the two armies were only ſeparated by the river Oder.

The town of Griffenhagen, whoſe ſituation is naturally ſtrong, ſtands on the north-eaſt bank of the river, about twelve miles diſtant from Stetin. By means of its bridge it is alſo a paſs of great importance, as it communicates with the Marche on one ſide, and with Pomerania and Brandenburg on the other ‖.

* See the original letter in the *Armis Suecicis*, p. 87.

† Ibid. p. 77—87. Hiſt. or Authent. Relat. in Low Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 34.

‡ Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 76, and 61.

‖ It muſt be obſerved there were two bridges over the Oder, neither of them tending directly to the oppoſite town: for that from Griffenhagen abutted two miles above Gartz, and that from Gartz did juſt the ſame in regard to Griffenhagen. It ſufficed Guſtavus to entrench a body of troops on the eaſtern-foot of Gartz-bridge.

What

What apparently rendered the ſiege more difficult, was the neighbourhood of Schomberg's forces; yet his majeſty had received private aſſurances, that the Imperial general, merely through the diſtreſs and poverty of his troops (for they durſt not plunder and commit outrages in the manner they had done before the Swedes arrived*) had diſperſed a part of them into better quarters at ſome diſtance from the main army. It was true he had the power of throwing as many men into the town before it was inveſted, as he thought fit: but Guſtavus was not to be deterred by an effort of this ſort, concluding thereby only to obtain a greater number of priſoners; ſince he took his meaſures ſo prudently, after having once inveſted the town, that Schomberg ſhould not paſs its bridges without permiſſion, it being in his own power to blow them up whenever he pleaſed. Nevertheleſs, he mixed conſideration and humanity with the ideas of precaution and ſafety, and looked upon deſtroying the bridges as ruining the intercourſe between two very conſiderable places, loſing the affections of the natives, and cramping his own locomotions to the eaſt and to the weſt, in caſe he became ſucceſsful. For theſe reaſons he moored his ſhips at proper diſtances along the ſides of the two bridges, with directions to fire from fixed batteries upon any extraordinary occaſion. 1630.

His majeſty ſoon examined the ſituation of the ground round the town, and having made choice of a convenient hill, thundered upon the city-walls day and night from the mouths of ſixty pieces of large battering cannon with ſuch inexpreſſible fury, that he made an opening, which in all appearances rendered the place aſſaultable. Nevertheleſs, to be more ſecure, and not ſacrifice the lives of his men out of pure gallantry, he ſent for Wildeſein, a Swiſs lieutenant-colonel in his own regiment of guards, giving him orders to cloath himſelf in armour, and take an exact ſurvey of the breach: but as that officer brought back an unfavourable account, the fire was renewed a few hours more; and then two entrances were made by a couple of batteries, which mounted 20 pieces of cannon on each ſide of a tower, capable to admit two or three men abreaſt. Wildeſein led on the firſt muſqueteers, and his colonel, the

* Brachelii Hiſtor. noſtr. temp. p. 231.

gallant

1630. gallant baron Teüffel, ſeconded him with a body of pike-men. Struck with ſuch aſtoniſhing reſolution, the Imperialiſts began by little and little to give ground, and fly out of the town by way of the Oder-bridge. On that ſide Sir Alexander Leſly lay encamped, who attempted to clear the paſſage by ſuch ordnance, as had been planted in the king's ſhips for that purpoſe: but before this could be effected to any conſiderable degree, great part of the garriſon, which conſiſted of 2,500 men, had got over, and drew up in battle array on the other ſide of the river, where the king's troops could not approach them. Leſly then made himſelf maſter of an outwork, and getting between that and the town-wall, near the place where the aſſailants had entered, an unlucky miſtake happened between his party and theirs, from conſequences natural enough in ſuch great confuſion; for they fired reciprocally on each other with incredible fury. The brave Wildeſein and Sir Thomas Conway *, an Engliſhman, were both wounded; nor might the miſchief have ſtopped there, had not a Swede, who received a mortal ſtroke from a muſquet-ball, made ſome ejaculations to heaven in his own language, and thus the miſapprehenſion was diſcovered. Both parties then joined and ſoon cleared the town: for the governor Ferdinando di Capua, a Neapolitan, and knight of the order of St. James de Compoſtella, could keep only 5 or 600 ſoldiers about him: nevertheleſs, he fought it out to the laſt man, and died ſoon afterwards of the wound he received in his thigh; being conveyed at his own requeſt to Stetin, which place, ſome weeks before, he had vain-glorioufly boaſted to render himſelf maſter of with little or no difficulty. This brave man was much diſmayed at one event; he had been over perſuaded, during the ſiege, to ſend his colours for ſafety's ſake to Schomberg's camp, and from that moment, upon freſh and freſh recollection, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of his reſiſtance. This ſlight circumſtance alſo, conformably to the ſuperſtitious ideas of that age, terrified and puzzled the common men to ſuch a degree, that they ſoon left their commander in that diſorder, which we have above de-

* Sir Thomas commanded a regiment of Engliſh infantry. Some time afterwards he had the misfortune to loſe his life in a ſhip-wreck on the coaſt of Denmark; and Sir John Caſſels ſucceeded him, who was alſo an Engliſhman.

ſcribed.

ſcribed. Signior Antonio, ſerjeant-major to the governor, was taken pri- 1630.
ſoner, and ſome few of the better ſort; whom the king, on account of their ranſoms, made a preſent of to baron Teüffel. Amongſt other perſons, who perſevered in this extraordinary reſiſtance, was a count La Torre, a youth of a moſt liberal countenance, in the fifteenth year of his age. His majeſty had an eye immediately to this young warrior, and after giving orders to protect him from the undiſcerning fury of the ſoldiers, commanded him to be new cloathed, conformably to his quality and merit, with permiſſion to wear his ſword, ſcarf, and plumage.

The Imperialiſts had deputed an handful of men to ſet the town on fire in various places, but the flames were ſoon extinguiſhed by the vigilance of the Swedes. As the town was taken by aſſault, the ſoldiers were allowed free plunder for the ſpace of four hours; but no outrages were committed.

Immediately after Chriſtmas-day, his majeſty marched his whole army in high ſpirits towards Gartz, croſſing the river Oder at both bridges in hopes to allure Schomberg, who had more troops than himſelf, to a deciſive engagement; but that general retired immediately, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Tilly with an account of the ill ſtate of his troops. In the king's way ſtood a very important fort in a moraſs, called Capua's ſconce; but the real name of it was fort Morvitz. It was new, and fortified upon the beſt principles then known; but the garriſon (which was a very great overſight) hardly made any reſiſtance. A leſſer fort was taken by the king immediately afterwards. But at ſupper time it was reported in the royal tent, that the town of Gartz was all in flames; and on this his majeſty ſtarting up from table, beheld the lights, and heard great exploſions in the air. Schomberg was employing himſelf at that moment in the act of decamping, and blew up ſome old turrets where the powder was lodged; in which he was conſidered by many as acquitting himſelf in an unſoldier-like manner, as alſo in not defending fort Capua, and relinquiſhing a paſs ſo important as Gartz was eſteemed to be. But the king's intrepidity, good diſcipline, and unwearied perſeverance, had created a

fort

1630. ſort of alarm in Schomberg's mind: he pretended too, that his troops were ill paid; that they were too libertine and diſſolute, and too much accuſtomed to cruelty and plunder. Be that as it will, he, having firſt drawn off his garriſon, ſunk his cannon in the river, deſtroyed all the ammunition he could not remove, burnt the bridge after him, (an act highly unpopular to the country) and made a long retreat, which appeared rather too precipitate for a good commander, inaſmuch as it threw his ſoldiers into ſome diſtruſt. What this general propoſed to himſelf was, to lodge his troops in Francfort upon the Oder, and take upon him the defence of that city, not under the appearance of a garriſon, but in the light of an army capable of giving the enemy ſome notable oppoſition. Suppoſing the idea to be right or wrong, Schomberg was not happy in the execution thereof; for four of his regiments in their march were overtaken and handled ſeverely enough; 300 baggage waggons were loſt, and colonel Spar eſcaped with difficulty: and if during the latter part of Schomberg's retreat the town of Cuſtrin * had not opened its gates to him (Spar being detached on that occaſion) he had miſſed ſecuring that important paſſage, and loſt, in all probability, the greateſt part of his army †. On the other hand, Francfort and Landſberg had fallen of courſe into the poſſeſſion of the Swedes; and the fatal ſtorming of Magdeburg, which happened the May enſuing, had been prevented. But for the preſent, the unhappy timidity of the elector of Brandenburg counter-worked, as much as poſſible, that great and aſtoniſhing plan of conqueſt, which Guſtavus had formed.

For it muſt be obſerved, that when his troops arrived at Cuſtrin in purſuit of the flying Imperialiſts, the garriſon cloſed the city-gates

* This town, ſituated about fourteen miles from Francfort, was then, and is ſince, conſidered as one of the moſt important paſſes in the empire; being placed in the middle of a great moraſs, at the confluence of the Warta and Oder. The fortreſs is acceſſible only by one cauſe-way, which is five miles long; and in approaching it you croſs no leſs than thirty-two bridges. Moſt of its proprietors, the electors of Brandenburg, have made improvements to its fortifications, ſo that it is deemed upon the whole impregnable: be that as it will, thus much is certain, it hath never yet been taken by open force.

† This part of the hiſtory, with much afterwards enſuing, is taken from the accounts of a Britiſh officer, who was ſerjeant-major in the royal regiment of guards, under the command of baron Teüffel.

againſt him, which deprived him of the means of ruining Schomberg's army, and marching directly to Tilly with a view to give him battle. Nevertheleſs, a diſappointment of this kind only ſharpened the king's induſtry, inſtead of diſmaying him. 1630.

And here, by a ſort of co-incidence with the concluſion of December, cloſe likewiſe the military operations of the year 1630; during the ſpace of which died John count of Anholt, ſecond in authority to Tilly, and Rambold count Colalto, who had been commander in chief in the Mantuan war; as alſo Melchior, cardinal Kleſel, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, who had been prime miniſter and favourite to the emperors Rodolphus and Mathias, but was impriſoned by Ferdinand, and baniſhed before that prince aſcended the throne; of which tranſaction we have ſpoken largely in another place, as likewiſe of his poverty, and his diſculpation by the ſee of Rome. He was recalled ſome years before his death, but never choſe (if we make only one exception) to immerſe himſelf again in politics; for it is thought by many, that when Walſtein was tottering in his power, he gave him clandeſtinely that direction of obliquity, which brought him to the ground.

By way of a finiſhing paragraph at the concluſion of this year, I ſhall only obſerve, that Charles I, by the interpoſition and perſuaſion of the court of Spain, ſent Sir Henry Vane to the electreſs Palatin, with orders to lay before her, in the moſt perſuaſive manner, the expediency of allowing her eldeſt ſon to be educated a papiſt at the court of Vienna, with a view to make a match between him and one of the princeſſes of the houſe of Auſtria; to which repreſentation ſhe replied heroically, "That rather than comply with ſo irreligious and mean a "propoſal, ſhe would be her ſon's executioner with her own hands."

The year 1631 opened with the common ſeverity of a German winter; but Guſtavus kept the war alive with all due briſkneſs and fervour. The very night Griffenhagen was taken, he, for ſome reaſons, ſlept with his army in the open field, and next morning caſt his eyes upon Landſberg, a ſtrong town ſituated on the river Warta. It was an object worth poſſeſſing, both as a place of importance, and 1631.

1631. as it was full of proviſions, ammunition, and artillery. But the attempt, upon a cloſer review, appeared diſcouraging; for the garriſon had been greatly augmented by many fugitives from Gartz: ſo Horn, who had been ſent upon the errand of beſieging it, was commanded back, and orders were given to blockade it with ſeveral regiments of foot and horſe.

The court of Vienna began now to conſider Guſtavus as ſomething more than a king of ſnow, (ſuch being the denomination, which the Auſtrian miniſtry at firſt gave him;) for he continued to gain ground every hour, and had amaſſed together an army, which appeared to be formidable even in reſpect of numbers, having improved it in the ſpace of ſix months on his own ſtrength, from a ſlight beginning of 13,000 men, to 34,400 infantry, and 11,800 cavalry, without comprehending the Britiſh and German troops, that acted under Oxenſtiern in Pruſſia, the forces that Banier commanded in the reduction of Mechlenberg and about Magdeburg, and the eight regiments, that were employed in the blockade of Colbergen. He had likewiſe in Sweden a body of reſerve, amounting to 25,000 effective ſoldiers; ſo that upon the whole, he was eſteemed capable at this period, in caſe any occaſion of emergency ſhould preſent itſelf, of leading into the field a well inſtructed and well appointed army, amounting to 71,200 combatants; having at the ſame time iſſued out commiſſions to raiſe 10,600 freſh men *.

Aſtoniſhed to behold a prince creating to himſelf ſuch inconceivable reſources, and approaching more and more to the ſouthward every hour, the houſe of Auſtria, which ſaw no viſible marks of Guſtavus's diſſolution, but conſidered him rather as an inventive and perſevering warrior, began now ſincerely to repent, that ſhe had ever inclined an ear to the repreſentations of the catholic princes at Ratiſbon, which at that time were eſteemed meer memoir-work and matter of form. It is true, ſhe ſtruggled long and hard againſt the ſwallowing this bitter preſcription, that was recommended to her: but as the cry, either at, or juſt before the arrival of Guſtavus, was ſo very loud and perſevering, with reference to the enormous expences of maintaining a number of

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 74.

ſuperfluous and diſſolute ſoldiers, it was reſolved to diſband a certain part of the army; and, what was yet more unfortunate, the young and vigorous troops were retained, and many of the old weather-beaten Walloons were diſmiſſed, upon ſuppoſition they had paſſed the flower of their age and ſervice; though perhaps one fourth of theſe men were fit to be officers, and many capable of ſupporting the character of generals. *By this ſingle error* (which no hiſtorian hath taken notice of, as to its conſequences) *the houſe of Auſtria ruined herſelf.* For theſe experienced veterans, who had been born in camps, and nurſed in war, knew nothing either of manufactures or of agriculture; and having a turn, as well as ambition, to live by the ſword, conveyed themſelves, by little and little, into the ſervice of Guſtavus and his allies. 1631.

Though, for ſome particular reaſons, I beſtow a few retouches here upon this extraordinary tranſaction, with a view to introduce the regulations of diſcipline made about this time in conſequence thereof, and to delineate in proper colours the embarraſſment into which it naturally threw the court of Vienna; yet the reader will be pleaſed to recollect, that the ſtep had been taken ſome months before, when Guſtavus firſt engaged himſelf in the German invaſion, and when it was the faſhionable tone of raillery in the court-circle at Vienna to conſider him as a ſort of enthuſiaſtical adventurer, who with an handful of new-raiſed troops, that had fought only againſt Muſcovites, Poles, and Coſſacks, had formed a chimerical hope of defeating and deſtroying an inconceivable number of regular troops, who, to ſay the leaſt of them, had been fluſhed with ſucceſs, and improved by the experience of twelve ſucceſſive campaigns, all crowned with an uninterrupted victory.

The fatality of this diſbanding ſcheme was ſoon found out, but the men were vaniſhed. However, by way of *ſuccedaneum*, the Imperial regulations in matters military were made public*: the doctrine of levying contributions was propoſed to be rendered more reaſonable and equitable, and aſſurances of pay ſet forth to the ſoldiers upon a better footing of probability; and as peace by this time was concluded in Italy, Aldringer and Galas had orders to march that army into Germany,

* This edict, bearing date November 9, 1630, is to be ſeen in Arnilabæus, p. 67.

1631. which had performed ſuch great ſervice at the ſiege of Mantua. The emperor then exhorted the electors and catholic princes to exert themſelves to the utmoſt at this extraordinary criſis of danger, "which in "truth, ſaid he, ought to annihilate all perſonal intereſts, as well as pri-"vate animoſities." But what went moſt againſt his inclination was, to rebate the edge and rigour of the edict of reſtitution; and yet the ſuppoſed convention of proteſtant princes, then talked of to be aſſembled at Leipſic, rendered ſomething neceſſary either to be done or promiſed on that head. Some moderate catholics ſincerely wiſhed to make a few conceſſions in good earneſt; for they ſaw a tempeſt gathering, which portended more than an equivalent for certain caſual acquiſitions: but the majority of the Auſtrian and Spaniſh faction was dazzled with the glittering hopes of univerſal monarchy, and the unbounded proſpect of confiſcation and plunder. Some were delighted with the total ſubverſion of hereſy; numbers confided in the fortune and experience of the Imperial troops, and feared their enemies the leſs, as their army was a confuſed collection of twenty different nations.

If we except the difficulties, which Guſtavus found at this time in the hope of beſieging Landſberg ſucceſsfully, it may be worth obſerving, that in the ſhort ſpace of eight days, during the very depth of winter, he had cleared all Pomerania and the Marche from the Warta to the Oder, and opened to himſelf a communication with Brandenburg, Sileſia, and Luſatia. By theſe means he gave the inhabitants of Pomerania a breathing-time to renew their commerce and agriculture, and draw from them reciprocally very conſiderable ſupplies for the ſupport of his army.

Leaving Horn therefore with the groſs of his army about Landſberg, he ſhaped his courſe towards Stetin, and made himſelf maſter of New-Brandenburg, where colonel Marazini commanded with 1600 men, part of whom was his own regiment, which proved ſo fatal afterwards to the king at the battle of Lutzen. Pleaſed with this latter enterprize, he next took Clemptno, Trepto, and Loïtch, the town itſelf being of no conſequence, but the fortreſs extremely ſtrong. At this

laſt

laſt place a ridiculous circumſtance fell out, which gave the king both mirth and wonder. One Pietro Perazzi, an Italian *, commanded the caſtle. A trumpeter was ſent to him with an exhortation to ſurrender; upon which Perazzi fell into a violent paſſion, called for his ſervants to help him on with his armour, ſent for the ladies to behold him in his military garniture, ordered the trumpets to ſound a charge, and returned word back to the king; *That he was a man of honour, and would maintain the depoſitum committed to his charge at his enemy's peril, and for his maſter's glory, to the laſt moments of his life; ſince his purpoſe was to make a quite different figure from what the commandants had done at Clemptno and Trepto.* During the time the trumpeter delivered his meſſage, the fair females hung round this blood-thirſty determined combatant, and beſought him not to puſh matters to the very violence of extremity. In an inſtant he uncloathed himſelf from his armour, and ſent word he was ready to capitulate. Guſtavus was aſtoniſhed at a man of ſo unaccountable a character, and admitted the ſurrender upon one proviſo, that Perazzi might be preſent at the ſigning of the articles; for he privately longed to ſee him. But greater was his aſtoniſhment, when Perazzi produced himſelf, gay, alert, and unembarraſſed, dreſſed as gorgeouſly as a bridegroom, in embroidered cloaths, with a maſſy gold chain hung thwart-wiſe acroſs his breaſt. A gentleman of faſhion belonging to Guſtavus's life-guard had no patience to ſee ſuch a hero, and without preface, or any other previous ceremony (being ſuppoſed to conclude inſtantaneouſly how far he might preſume to venture on ſuch a freedom in the royal preſence) took the chain compoſedly off his neck. His majeſty gave ſome ſecret mark of approbation, and Perazzi, not in the leaſt diſconcerted, made a low bow with a ſmile, and talked of ſomething elſe. And thus this intercourſe ended; for the king was ſo divided betwixt the ridiculous and the incomprehenſible, that he knew not what to do, or ſay; inſomuch that it was a matter of queſtion amongſt his officers, whether the braveſt perſon in Europe would have

1631.

* Chemnitius calls him Peralta, and ſuppoſes him to be a Spaniard: but other very valuable hiſtorians pronounce him an Italian; and indeed the character is more conſiſtent with that nation.

puzzled

1631. puzzled him ſo profoundly. Nevertheleſs, this redoubtable Perazzi had paſſed among the Imperial troops for a true Italian *Spetza-ferro*. Which recalls to my mind an half-countryman of his, one Pietro Ferrari, a Corſican, a bluſterer and barbarian of a very ſtrange and unaccountable character *, who being aſked, why he threw a commander of great diſtinction, whom he had taken priſoner, into a dark dungeon, which he did in order to extort a ranſom the ſooner, feeding him only with bread and water, and appointing two wretched followers of the camp to attend him, one loathſome with his wounds, and one infected by the plague; made this prompt and aſtoniſhing anſwer to his remonſtrating friends: *Gentlemen, what ſhall I alledge? My father is dead, and I have conſoled myſelf—My mother is dead, and I have conſoled myſelf—And if this raſcal, this becco cornuto,* (I am here repeating his own words) *ſhould die of want and a broken heart, I ſhall conſole myſelf likewiſe.*——

Nevertheleſs, thus much muſt be obſerved by the way, that we no where hear of the Ferrari's and the Perazzi's in the field of battle.

By this time the month of January was half advanced, and the king, who was alike induſtrious in the cabinet and in the field, had contrived to negotiate a treaty with the archbiſhop of Bremen, with George duke of Luneberg, and William landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.

What next came upon the carpet were the articles of alliance between France and Sweden, the whole of the negotiation being left to the management of De Charnacé on the one part, and the generals Horn and Banier on the other. This affair was tranſacted at the camp of Berewalt, in the marquiſate of Brandenburg, having been projected in Sweden the preceding year †. The French ambaſſador ſtill inſiſted upon one part of his old nonſenſe, about refuſing the king his regal titles; but Guſtavus gave him peremptorily to underſtand, that if he brought nothing in his packet but ſuch futilities, he was maſter of the day and hour of returning to France without further ceremony.

* Mem. du duc de Grammont, Tom. i. p. 31, 32.

† Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 100. This appears likewiſe from the 10th article of the treaty.

An

An Engliſh ambaſſador likewiſe made his appearance before Guſtavus, 1631.
and preſented letters in behalf of his maſter, explaining, in a long ſeries of deductions, the motives, that induced him to demand the reſtitution of the Palatinates: but the propoſals he made were ſo chimerical (the ſupplies of men and money being likewiſe forgotten) that Guſtavus gave him leave to retire without exhibiting his papers to public view, giving him his promiſe of honour to take the affair into his own hands, and act therein as to himſelf appeared beſt, or, in other words, as matters appeared, upon the concurrence of future events, to be moſt reaſonable and moſt convenient.

The tenor of the confederation between Sweden and France ran to this effect; that it was to continue in force for five years next enſuing, being to be ratified without delay by the two reſpective kings. Its principal articles were as follow*: "That his majeſty of Sweden ſhould maintain "an army on foot conſiſting of 30,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry; and "that the French king ſhould furniſh him annually with 400,000 "crowns, payable at Paris and Amſterdam in two ſeparate payments, "at the choice of the king of Sweden.—The object of this armament "was to be the liberty of Germany, the re-eſtabliſhment of oppreſſed "princes and ſtates, the demolition of new forts and harbours on the "coaſt of the Baltic, with an eye likewiſe to what had happened in the "Valteline and the country of the Griſons: that a free reciprocal com-"merce ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the ſubjects of France and Swe-"den: that the catholic religion (in ſupport of which article Richelieu laboured extremely, with a view to render himſelf popular at home) "ſhould continue *ſub eadem forma* in thoſe places where it had been an-"tiently profeſſed; and that a good underſtanding ſhould be cultivated "with the elector of Bavaria (at whoſe court ſome private intrigues were then foſtering to the detriment of Sweden) "and the princes of "the league, in caſe they were inclined either to friendſhip or neutra-"lity: that ſuch princes, as were deſirous to accede to the ſaid confe-"deration, ſhould be admitted upon the ſame conditions: and, laſtly,

* See the original treaty in the *Appendix*.

"that

1631. "that the treaty ſhould be renewed, if a general peace was not con-
"cluded on, within the time expreſſed for its continuance."

This convention was fully aſſented to January 13, 1631, yet the ratifications were not exchanged in due form till the May following. The whole caſt and form of this treaty hath been conſidered as a maſterpiece in the political ſcience; nor muſt it be here forgotten, that England and Holland, ſome few weeks afterwards, acceded thereto †.

During the diſcuſſions, which naturally attended this treaty, his majeſty took the field by day, and maintained his argument with De Charnacé in the evening; during which interval, or rather a few days before, Leſly had rendered himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Lignitz, which the king made him a preſent of by way of country villa; and Bauditzen, by dint of a general ſtorm, took Piritz (which in the Vandal language ſignifies abundance of corn) a town of conſiderable importance, ſituated on the frontiers of Outer-Pomerania, garriſoned at that time by 1400 Imperialiſts.

Mean while Melk, a native of Mechlenberg, who from a ſimple ſoldier roſe to be a partizan of repute, being a perſon often made uſe of upon hazardous occaſions, performed an uncommon exploit upon Malchin, a ſtrong fort ſituated upon the banks of the Pene, and defended by two companies of dragoons. His little army conſiſted only of 300 foot and 36 cavaliers; but having invited a good number of peaſants into the ſervice, and giving each of them two lighted matches in their hands, diſperſing them at the ſame time here and there in ſmall parties, and eſpecially along the grand avenue over a moraſs, that approached the town, he ſummoned the garriſon about four in the morning to capitulate in the name of the king and all his forces, proteſting at the ſame time, that if they heſitated a ſingle moment, no quarter ſhould be allowed them. The commandant complied on ſo unforeſeen an exigency, not permitting himſelf to examine into Melk's aſſertions; and thus he, and his two companies, were made priſoners of war; who,

† Terſeri Chron. S. in Vitam Guſt. ad annum 1631.

with the ſame facility they ſurrendered the town, enrolled themſelves into the Swediſh ſervice, not caring to rejoin their antient companions, nor undergo a ſeries of ſevere and ſharp military ſarcaſms. Nor muſt another ſlight example of this *leſſer kind of war* be here omitted; and the rather, as Guſtavus conſidered it as the very grammar of the art military, and the only ſure and expeditious method of obtaining the knowledge of men's abilities. One Braun, an enſign in young Thurn's regiment of muſqueteers (which regiment at that time carried wheel fire-locks, and not match-locks) taking with him juſt fifteen determined companions, croſſed the Oder in a ſmall boat, and gave a camiſado on the quarters of 200 Croatian horſe, with a colonel at their head. Entering the village unobſerved, he marched directly to the grand guard, and, miſſing the commander in chief, ſhot the enſign of the regiment dead with his own hand. His few men ſoon made terrible havock, and by the ſuddenneſs and terror of the onſet put the Imperialiſts to a precipitate flight, who knew neither the number nor ſtrength of their aſſailants. Braun preſented the colours (on which was portrayed a ſable bipartite eagle in a ſilver field) to the king his maſter at Berewalt, and received from the royal hand a very magnificent gold chain, and a commiſſion to take upon him the command of captain in his own regiment; the ſtipend of captain in the Swediſh ſervice being at that time a ſmall matter more than double the pay of an enſign *. 1631.

The extraordinary advances of Guſtavus, (who paid no regard to one of the ſevereſt winters, as by this time it proved, that Germany had felt for many years, but on the contrary derived even advantages from the froſt, by tranſporting his artillery over deep moraſſes otherwiſe impaſſible, as happened particularly in the ſiege of Damin, which we are going to relate,) gave ſome faint glimmerings of hope to the proteſtant electors and princes, whom the terrors of the houſe of Auſtria had almoſt frozen into a ſtate of inactivity, and emboldened them to venture on an aſſembly, which was actually opened at Leipſic the eighth of February.

Whilſt theſe cautious and fluctuating politicians employed themſelves in the operations of the cabinet, his majeſty being joined by Kniphau-

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. lib. ii. p. 95.

1631. ſen, with a body of 2000 foot and 1000 cavalry, inveſted Damin, a place of great importance on the banks of the Pene, ſituated between the duchies of Mechlenburg and Pomerania, and belonging at preſent to the king of Pruſſia. It was the key of admiſſion to the firſt named duchy; and had been deſtined likewiſe to be the grand Imperial magazine on the coaſts of the Baltic *. This town had been fortified by the Imperialiſts at a great expence; but the caſtle, which was ſeated in a deep moraſs, moſt men conſidered as inexpugnable; yet the Swedes found means to approach it by the aſſiſtance of the froſt. No leſs perſon was governor than the duke of Savelli, and the garriſon conſiſted of 1700 veteran troops, ſelected from his own regiment, and that of Holk. He had likewiſe proviſions and military ſtores in great abundance, not to mention a new ſupply of artillery, which he had received from Gripſwald; inſomuch that Tilly, who then lay near Francfort upon the Oder, and purpoſed to raiſe the ſiege of Damin, concluded the town, in his own judgment, capable of making a reſiſtance of twenty days. But the king (not that we have need to blame Tilly's opinion) was a warrior, who choſe very compendious methods of proceeding; though, to ſpeak the truth, part of his ſucceſs was juſtly owing to the frozen condition of the ground.

The Swedes arrived, inveſted the town, and beſieged it in form in one day. Upon the good or evil turn of this ſiege depended more than half the ſucceſs of Tilly's future operations: for as it was that general's object to make a powerful diverſion about Magdeburg, and recal the enemy from advancing ſouthward (ſince otherwiſe the northern powers would naturally withdraw their allegiance from the emperor, having the Swediſh army between them and Vienna) he choſe, at the time of making this irruption, to maintain a ſecure retreat into Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Saxony, with a view not only to check the progreſſes of Guſtavus, but to keep the princes of the laſt named countries under due ſubjection. And here it muſt be obſerved, that the road of his retreat lay directly through Damin.

* Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, p. 20.

His

His majeſty thundered againſt the town from his batteries all the firſt afternoon and night on the ſide next the river, where he placed himſelf: and Teüffel next morning made a lodgment in an half-moon, and repulſed the enemy in a general ſally, which Savelli ordered. Mean while Kniphauſen played with equal fury upon the caſtle, having full room to ſpread himſelf round it, as the froſt ſupplied the place of bridges, which the Imperialiſts had broken down. By break of day, a lieutenant, at the head of 400 choſen muſqueteers, began the ſtorm; and being vigorouſly aſſiſted by his aſſociates, fixed himſelf in a part of the fortification: upon which the garriſon ſecured the remainder by cutting off all connexion, and retired principally to an old tower, whoſe walls were ſo thick, that it ſeemed impoſſible to apply cannon againſt them. The king ſurveyed this antique ſtructure with great attention, and gave immediate orders to undermine it, in ſpite of all the ſeverity of the weather: and when ſome progreſs had been made in that work, the commandant thought proper to ſurrender with ſeven companies of Holk's infantry, who, as their colours could not be excepted, conſented to enroll themſelves into the Swediſh ſervice. 1631.

It may be aſked, why this garriſon did not retire into the city, where Savelli greatly wanted ſuch a re-inforcement? To reſolve this queſtion, it muſt be obſerved, that the caſtle, ſituated in a deep moraſs, was removed from the city about 1000 paces, and had no communication with it but by means of a cauſeway, in the middle of which a ſtrong fortification was erected. His majeſty ſoon diſcovered the importance of ſuch a poſt, and ordered Teüffel's lieutenant-colonel, on the very afternoon of his arrival, to make himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. The ſervice was extremely obſtinate on both ſides; and one Heatly, an Engliſh officer, gained good applauſe: for though he received on the firſt onſet a very dangerous muſquet-ſhot, he ſtill continued to preſs on, and entered the fortreſs before the reſt of his comerades; nor could any perſuaſion induce him to retire till the Imperialiſts were cleared to a ſingle man *.

Nor muſt I forget here what happened to a Scottiſh officer, one Robert Roſs, who the firſt day of the ſiege, in the midſt of an unmer-

* Monro's Expeditions, part ii.

1631. ciful cannonading on both ſides, ſate blowing tobacco (to uſe the words of the author I am copying from) at the head of his regiment, which lay within full reach of the enemy's artillery: but being ſuddenly ſtruck with a cannon-ball, he dropped his pipe with great tranquillity, and crying only, The Lord receive my ſoul! expired in an inſtant.

His majeſty having rendered himſelf maſter of the caſtle, took care to diſplay Holk's crimſon enſigns on one of his batteries, and then poſſeſſed himſelf of two important outworks; upon which the beſieged made a ſecond deſperate ſally, but Banier repulſed them with conſiderable loſs, conducting the whole engagement with ſo much valour and preſence of mind, that the king, who ſtood at a diſtance, and rarely cared to act the part of a ſpectator, paſſed the whole time in contemplating his conduct, and beſtowing upon it all poſſible encomiums. A part of Monro's regiment, commanded by major Potley, an Engliſh cavalier, performed a gallant action in this rencounter; for a ſoldier of Banier's being in danger of remaining on the field mortally wounded, (his countrymen refuſing the deſperate ſervice of bringing him off) the Scots formed themſelves by conſent into one body, and reſtored him to his comerades. The poor man died that night in great agitations and emotion, admiring the generoſity of ſtrangers, and beſtowing many bitter reflections on his national companions.

A circumſtance not ſo unpleaſant happened to fall out in this ſelf-ſame rencounter; for as the Britiſh troops were marching down a ſteep hill, expoſed to a furious cannonading of the enemy, one Liſle, an enſign, happened to tumble forwards, and the wind being extremely high carried away his peruke; upon which Potley ſwore a great oath, that an unfortunate cannon-ball had taken off the cavalier's head. The king enjoyed this ridiculous ſcene at a ſlight diſtance. Nor did his majeſty about the ſame time eſcape from a certain adventure without difficulty*: for having an inclination to ſurvey in perſon the enemies works, by the aſſiſtance of a perſpective glaſs, the ice of a ſudden gave way, and down he ſunk to the arm-pits. One captain Dumaine, who lay at the moſt advanced guard, ran immediately to his aſſiſtance; but the king with

* Monro's Expeditions, part ii.

extraordinary compoſure of mind, made a ſignal to him with his hand 1631.
to retire to his poſt. In ſpite of this precaution near 1000 muſquet-ſhots, at a conſiderable diſtance it is true, were diſcharged againſt his majeſty, who at length, with uncommon patience, wrought himſelf free from his incumbrances, and making the beſt of his way to the guard-fire, called for cold meat and a goblet of Baccharah wine, and, having afterwards changed his cloaths, intermixed with his troops, who were employed in repulſing the beſieged in a ſally.

Dumaine, who was a gentleman of ſpirit and good manners, took the liberty to remonſtrate with his maſter upon this adventure, repreſenting to him, that the well-being of Europe depended upon the ſafety of his ſingle perſon. The king heard him with great complacency; *But, captain,* ſaid he, *I have a fooliſh ſort of a fancy, which tempts me to imagine, that nothing can be better ſeen than when I obſerve it myſelf.*]

On the fourth morning after the ſiege major Greenland, an Engliſh officer in the Imperial ſervice, waited upon the king from the duke de Savelli, and Guſtavus ſhewed ſome indulgence to his propoſals, as the governor's defence had not proved over-obſtinate: nevertheleſs it was ſtipulated, that Savelli and his officers ſhould give their promiſe in writing, not to ſerve againſt Sweden or its allies for the ſpace of three months. Conditions, in other reſpects honourable, were ſoon granted. The Swediſh army felt a particular joy upon this capitulation; for Quinti Aligheri (whom Chemnitius calls Quinti del Ponte) the traytor, that attempted to deſtroy the king in an ambuſcade, had been admitted lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Savelli, and was well known to be in the city, when it was firſt inveſted. By what methods he contrived to eſcape hath never appeared; all we know is, that he was killed the May enſuing in ſtorming the town of Magdeburg. Nevertheleſs on the ſurrender of Damin, the generals in a body repreſented to the king, that the wealth of the aſſaſſin ought to be confiſcated to his majeſty's uſes, (for, as we obſerved before, Aligheri was partly excited to deſtroy Guſtavus, in order to ſave the rich harveſt of ten years plunder repoſited by him in this city:) but the anſwer was, *That all tranſactions in matter of capitulation implied ſacred and punctual obſervance; and as the exception had*

not

1631. *not been made during the preliminary conferences, the king chose rather to enrich a villain, than seize an advantage, which by the laws of religion and reason justly belonged to him* *.

His majesty, it is said, received a slight wound during the present siege, and lost about 300 very excellent soldiers. Letters were intercepted from Tilly to the governor, wherein he besought him to hold out only four days longer, and promised him certain assistance. Be that as it will, the Imperial general lodged a process against him before the council of war at Vienna, and brought his life in question: but Savelli made it appear he had private orders not to sacrifice such a chosen handful of troops: and the emperor by way of justification dispatched him on an honourable embassy to Italy, and imployed him afterwards in military services: nevertheless he was to the last either injudicious in war, or unfortunate.

When Savelli quitted the town at the head of his garrison with ensigns flying, and attended by all his baggage-waggons, and two pieces of cannon, Gustavus received him on horse-back, and having first made a courteous speech to the magistrates, turned round, and desired him to present his compliments to the emperor, with assurances, that he waged war against him merely for the sake of civil and religious liberty, since he bore no personal resentments against him. He then told the duke, *That he considered him as a man intended by nature to shine rather at courts than in the field of battle* †. At first sight one is apt to consider such a sort of speech as something tending to abruptness and indelicacy: nevertheless his majesty's manner of addressing this commander may be justified to a certain point. Duke Savelli's courage, it is true, was never called in question, either before or after this period; and some suppose, that Gustavus was not only unapprized of his private instructions, but piqued likewise at discovering, that even an enemy had not made a more obstinate defence. But the king was too good a politician to reproach the Imperialists for surrendering their towns to him upon over-easy terms. The probable occasion of this asperity was as follows.

Duke Savelli, as I have seen by a painting and some prints of him, was almost the only general in those wars (don Baltazar di Marradas excepted)

* Memorabilia Suec. Gentis, p. 85.

† Soldat Suedois: Swedish Intelligencer.

excepted) who wore a large perriwig of that faſhion, which was af- 1631.
terwards called *Chedreux* * amongſt us in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. Now Guſtavus thought this habiliment of the head rather too fantaſtic for a great commander; and therefore, not without ſome little indignation, pronounced him *a better courtier than a warrior*.

Nor was Savelli's character becoming a nobleman of his rank. No perſon was more ſordidly avaricious and extorting, though to outward appearance the fine gentleman of that age. Once having received a quantity of horſes from the gentry and farmers of the diſtrict round him, by way of levying contributions, (wherein the generals of thoſe days were extremely ſharp and dexterous) and finding them by reaſon of their leanneſs and ill-plight, neither purchaſeable nor redeemable, he ordered the hangman of his regiment to flea them, and put the money the hides ſold for into his pocket †. In a word, he was always conſidered as one of the inquiſitors of the duchy of Mechlenberg, and was alſo ſo odd a mixture of bigottry, as well as cruelty, that he would allow no child in his diſtrict of command to receive the rites of baptiſm from the hands of a Lutheran miniſter. Upon leaving the town, he was obliged to conſign to the king abundance of proviſions and military-ſtores, together with ſixty very fine pieces of braſs ordnance: and as Tilly was expected to march that way, and a ſtreſs of action ſuppoſed to be coming on, his majeſty made no leſs perſon than Banier commander of Damin, and prepared himſelf in every ſhape for the great event of fighting Tilly. With wonderful precaution therefore and dexterity, he fixed Kniphauſen with his own regiment, and ſix companies of Engliſh and Scots, at New-Brandenburg, placed major Sinclair with a ſmall body of infantry at Trepto ‡, lodged the royal regiment of horſe, and Monro's detatchment of foot at Malchin, recalled Guſtavus Horn from the blockade of Landſberg, with injunctions to encamp at Fridland, (each officer having expreſs

* Hence the expreſſion of *Chedreux*-critic in the fineſt Engliſh proſe-writer.

† Chemnitius, Lib. i. p. 97.

‡ This place muſt not be confounded with Tripto in Outer Pomerania.

orders

1631. orders in writing, without any diſcretionary powers of departing from them) and laſtly, repoſed himſelf for a few days with the main army at Paſſewald, a ſtrong paſs, which commanded the road between Pomerania and Mechlenberg.

Thus the king, in eight months time (which to many readers will appear incredible, conſidering what a force the Imperialiſts had the power to produce againſt him) had rendered himſelf maſter of fourſcore cities, forts, and caſtles, and cleared the whole paſſage behind him even to the Baltic ocean; being a diſtrict of near 140 miles in breadth, not to mention the command of all the rivers and important paſſes. And theſe conqueſts may be conſidered as abſolutely entire, if we except Colbergen, which ſurrendered at this juncture, and the town of Gripſwald, which Banier had firſt blockaded, and then Todt; nevertheleſs, it held out till the middle of ſummer.

Colbergen had reſiſted a blockade formed by Horn and other Swediſh generals, for the ſpace of five months: at length proviſions growing ſcarce, and all hopes of relief vaniſhed, colonel St. Julian *, the governor, an old officer of repute at the battle of Prague, thought fit to ſurrender upon terms of honour, and preſerved a garriſon of about 1500 men, (of which one third were dragoons) whom the Swedes agreed to eſcort to Landſberg. They were ſtopped at Friedburg in the New March, by way of reprizal for Tilly's cruelty to the garriſons of New-Brandenburg and Feldſberg; but it does not appear, that any man was put to death; they were only diſarmed. Colbergen, next to Stralſund, was eſteemed a town of the moſt conſiderable conſequence of any in the whole dukedom of Pomerania. It was alſo ſtrongly fortified, according to the practice of thoſe times, and was one of the keys of the Baltic ocean, which made Guſtavus exceſſively deſirous to render himſelf maſter of it. And indeed Bauditzen obtained it at a moſt critical time; for three days afterwards four ſhips well ſupplied with ſoldiers, and deeply laden with proviſions, touched at Colbergen,

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 100, calls him lieutenant-colonel Mors, which ſeems to be a miſtake. Mors and Boetius ſigned the articles of capitulation: the former, being an Iriſhman, belonged to the regiment of Hardeck.

(a cir-

(a circumſtance of aſſiſtance, which might have preſerved the town, had it arrived in proper time and ſucceeded); but the Imperial ſea-officers perceiving the town to be otherwiſe diſpoſed of, ſuddenly changed their courſe, and returned to the ocean. Yet his majeſty had taken all proper preventive meaſures againſt an expedition of this nature; for vice-admiral Ulſpar lay in the harbour with two ſhips of force, being protected on each ſide by a new-raiſed mole, which was flanked with batteries and extemporary fortifications, erected by the care of colonel Boëtius. This officer, by his maſter's orders, was particularly cautious in the form of wording the capitulation, and carried his point in two affairs, that were partly uſeful, and partly matter of punctilio: the one related to the preſervation of all the Pomeranian archives, eccleſiaſtical and civil; and the other turned upon the reſtitution of a pair of colours, that belonged to a Swediſh regiment of cavalry, and which Guſtavus could not bear to ſee in the enemy's poſſeſſion: ſo jealous was he of the ſlighteſt diſgrace! Four hundred ſoldiers of the Imperial garriſon took the oaths of allegiance and diſcipline to the crown of Sweden, having the liberty to follow the fate of their colours, which Horn took care to ſee ſurrendered by article. 1631.

In the mean while Tilly decamped from Francfort on the Oder, with an army of 20,000 combatants, paid his men (contrary to the Auſtrian cuſtom) promptly and chearfully; and advanced to raiſe the ſiege of Damin, or give Guſtavus battle. But hearing the town had capitulated, he turned ſhort on the caſtle of Feldſberg, near New-Brandenburg, took it by ſtorm, and after that ſlaughter, which naturally happens in an obſtinate reſiſtance, put 50 of the ſurviving Swediſh ſoldiers to the ſword. He then diſpatched camp-maſter general Cratz with 12,000 men to inveſt New-Brandenburg, and followed him with the remaining part of the army. The garriſon conſiſted of 2000 ſelected troops, and ſerjeant-major general Kniphauſen, an approved officer, commanded them, who made an incredible reſiſtance. He was a chieftain of ſlow but excellent parts, and conſidered as the beſt general, under whom a young man could form himſelf. It was his maxim to leave little or nothing to the hazard of fortune; and when other

1631. men were profperous in a manner, that ſeemed to him not quite ſcientifical, he uſed to ſay with emotion, That a dram of good luck enabled a commander ſooner to reach his object, than an ounce of good ſenſe. He had an incurable averſion to the Scottiſh nation, which created him ſome enemies. It is true, the king had ordered him to retire and ſave his men; but the meſſenger and the letter happened to fall unfortunately into Tilly's hands. Of courſe Kniphauſen, though deſtitute of artillery, acquitted himſelf like a man of ſervice, concluding from the king's ſilence, that he ſhould certainly be relieved: and hence it was, that he refuſed honourable conditions, when the Imperial general propoſed them. The town was battered ſeveral days in a manner as furious, as had been obſerved during the preceding courſe of the war; yet the breach was not aſſaultable upon prudential views, and the rampart-wall was too high for ſcaling-ladders to be fixed againſt it with any hopes of ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, chance and temerity brought about a ſtrange event; for as Tilly on the eighth day of the ſiege was riding round his lines, and making ſome neceſſary remarks, the ſoldiers ruſhed into the breach by dint of ſurprize, maintained their ground, and poured into the town, being ſupported by all the infantry of the army, who crouded to the walls without orders. The young count of Montecuculi *, being now in the twenty-third year of his age, and having ſerved from ſixteen in the capacity of a common foot ſoldier, was the firſt man, who mounted the walls, and preſented one of the keys of the city-gates to his general. Kniphauſen, with his

* Raymond, count de Montecuculi. His ardour in the firſt battle of Leipſic carried him in ſo far among the Swedes, that he was taken priſoner: and it is a certain fact, though few hiſtorians know it, (he being then only a colonel of horſe) that he had a principal hand (ſerving then under Merci and John de Wert) in defeating Turenne at the battle of Mergentheim, or Mariendal, as the French hiſtorians are pleaſed to call it. His abilities and penetration at that time were ſo very great, that it was a common ſaying with the Swediſh and French generals, that Montecuculi entertained a familiar ſpirit in his ſervice, who made him acquainted with all their deſigns. From this period his hiſtory is tolerably well known; his campaign againſt Turenne being in itſelf an abridgment of all that is refined and exquiſite in the ſcience of war. His two favourite authors were Euclid and Tacitus. Nevertheleſs, his *Military memoirs* no ways anſwer the idea of what he really practiſed. The truth is, *they* were drawn up in his earlier campaigns againſt the Turks; and it would have been no injuſtice to this great man's memory, to have omitted their publication.

lady,

lady, daughter, and niece, his ſon, and ſeveral gentlewomen of condition, four captains, ſome lieutenants and enſigns, and ſixty common ſoldiers, threw themſelves into the town-houſe, and obtained quarter. He had not time to deſtroy his papers, which was looked upon as a matter of ill-fortune, and loſt nine colours, which gave his maſter no ſmall regret, as it was the firſt conſiderable accident of that kind, which had befallen him in Germany. Near 2000 Swedes and Germans were put to the ſword. Half lord Rea's regiment (which ſaid half conſiſted of 600 perſons) was here maſſacred, almoſt to a man. Lieutenant-colonel Lindſey, who commanded this corps in his colonel's abſence, was killed on the breach, as were alſo Moncrief, Keith, and Haydon, all Scots. Such as had the good fortune to ſurvive were promoted immediately by the king's expreſs orders. 1631.

It is thought Tilly loſt 2000 men in ſtorming the town, which in fact was little more than a large unfortified village*: nor did he ſhew himſelf that great commander the public expected to find him, in marching directly to Magdeburg, leaving the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony a ſacrifice to the Swedes, and allowing Guſtavus free paſſage to Francfort, and the hereditary dominions. But the truth was, he ſaw too many ſuperior abilities in his Swediſh majeſty, and dreaded at that juncture the fatal deciſion of a general battle.

The king, who had arrived as far as Anclam, in order to relieve his ſerjeant-major general Kniphauſen, was ſo enraged at this maſſacre and that of Feldſberg, that he declared he would repay Tilly in his own kind, and teach him to wage war like a perſon of humanity, and not like a Croatian. But the latter, conformably to what we have obſerved before, finding it difficult to advance, as a detachment of the Swediſh army lay directly in his way, namely, at Schwet, turned obliquely, and made an appearance of directing his courſe towards Magdeburg, in whoſe neighbourhood Pappenheim then lay. Upon this

* This paſſage confirms what the king remarked afterwards to the Nurenbergers in their great diſtreſs and anxiety, when he left Kniphauſen to be their governor: *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *this man*, laying his hand on the general's ſhoulders, *has defended a walled village againſt all the efforts of Tilly.*

1631. the Swedes ſoon repoſſeſſed New-Brandenburg, and the rather, as the Imperialiſts had juſt diſmantled the principal parts of the fortification.

A general, who had parts like Guſtavus, ſoon ſaw the evil effects of the ſiege of Magdeburg, in caſe the Imperial general ſhould venture to undertake it, and determined within himſelf to relieve that city after the reduction of Francfort, in caſe the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony did not counterwork his generous intentions. Be that as it may, no conſiderations could deter him from advancing ſouthwards.

Tilly now lay at Rappen, undetermined whether to interrupt the intended ſiege of Francfort *, or inveſt the town of Magdeburg. The king, for excellent reaſons, had leſſened the main body of his forces upon this occaſion; one part being detached into Pomerania and the *March*, in order to hinder the Imperial troops, which lay in great numbers about Landſberg, and in Sileſia, from intercepting two little armies, which he expected from Pruſſia and England; and the other part under the conduct of Guſtavus Horn, being ſtationed at the important paſs of Schwet (which commands the croſſing of the Oder, and gives an opening either to Stetin or Francfort) with a view to prevent Tilly from attacking him behind. Theſe precautions being thus wiſely taken, his majeſty, at the head of 18,000 men, ſhaped his courſe along the banks of the Oder up to Francfort, carrying with him 200 pieces of cannon, and a bridge of boats, which he had conſtructed at Stetin, being 180 feet long, and of breadth ſufficient for five horſemen to march over it abreaſt. Schomberg, as we obſerved before, commanded in Francfort, and had a garriſon under him of 9000 horſe and foot, all choſen veteran troops: but Tieffenbach, then juſt declared camp-maſter general of the Imperial army, conformably to Tilly's expreſs orders, had thrown himſelf into the town at this conjuncture, namely, on the firſt day of the month of April; which occaſioned no ſmall matter of mirth among the Swediſh forces, being, ſaith a grave hiſto-

* Francfort upon the Oder is a large town, 80 miles from Berlin, remarkable for its fairs. Its univerſity is not devoid of learned men. The profeſſors of theology are of the Calviniſtical perſuaſion; but two extraordinary profeſſors of Lutheraniſm are allowed.

rian,

rian, *veteri Germanorum conſuetudine ludibrii plena die* *. His firſt buſi- 1631.
neſs was to ruin the ſuburbs, country-houſes, mills, vineyards, and orchards round the town, which many conſidered as a mark of premature fear.

No troops ever made a finer approach than the Swedes did in inveſting the town. Guſtavus marched his whole body of forces, formed upon ſeveral columns, in complete battle-array; for he feared ſome notable obſtructions from a garriſon, that might be conſidered as a ſort of army, and bore Tilly likewiſe in remembrance, who lay behind him. He performed himſelf upon the occaſion the duty of ſerjeant-major de la battaglia, arranging every officer and band of ſoldiers in their proper places; and having appointed a body of commanded muſqueteers to make the forlorn hope, and placed ſmall peletons of 50 foot ſoldiers between every ſquadron of horſe, arrived without obſtruction under the city-walls, leaving all the cavalry, excepting only the Rhingrave's regiment, well poſted behind him at ſome miles diſtance, for fear Tilly ſhould approach unexpectedly. In this order he paid his viſit to the town the afternoon before Palm-Sunday; and having made all proper diſpoſitions both for a ſiege and an aſſault, approached with Teüffel very near the enemy's works, in order to view the town-walls and the Guben-gate. In the midſt of their obſervations, the baron received a muſquet-ſhot in his left-arm; and to ſhew of how much conſequence a great general thinks ſome individuals upon certain occaſions, his majeſty perfectly changed countenance, and cried, *Alas! now Teüffel is diſabled, what ſhall I do* †! Upon this the be-

* Chemnitius, &c. p. 106.

† Swediſh Intelligencer, Vol. i. p. 88. The four firſt parts of this work, which of themſelves make two conſiderable volumes in quarto, reach down to the death of Guſtavus. To theſe is uſually prefixed *the Swediſh diſcipline, religious, civil and military*, conſiſting of 90 pages. This book, though drawn up in a quaint and moſt inelegant ſtyle, (for nothing can be meaner than its compoſition) is a treaſure intirely peculiar to our own nation: for great part of the accounts, till the king's deceaſe, were delivered to the author (who, I believe, was a clergyman, ſee Pref. to the ſecond part) by Hepburn, lord Rea, Maſham, Aſtley, and other Engliſh and Scottiſh officers, who bore command in Germany. But after the unfortunate deciſion of Lutzen, the performance groweth leſs valuable; for the firſt writer deſiſted from his undertaking at that period; ſo that the continuation of it in various volumes is chiefly an extract from the *Mercurius Gallo Belgicus*, the *Mercure François*, &c. &c. As the ſeveral parts came out periodically, it is very rare to find the whole complete.

1631. ſieged made a ſally; but major Sinclair, who ſtood juſt by the king at the head of a body of commanded muſqueteers, ſoon repulſed them, taking a lieutenant-colonel and a captain priſoners, and making a lodgment afterwards in a church-yard, which lay contiguous to the enemy's out-works.

Next morning divine ſervice was twice celebrated throughout the Swediſh army; but the Imperialiſts, who diſturbed themſelves very little about religion, took this omiſſion of hoſtilities for the forerunner of a retreat, and in the coarſe military way of drollery, hung out a wild-gooſe on the ramparts, intimating, that the northern birds of paſſage ought always to think of evacuating a country. Upon which ſome Scottiſh officers remarked pleaſantly enough, in the phraſeology of their own country, *That for their own part they hoped ſoon to ſee an Imperial gooſe well roaſted, and well ſauced.*

The king, who had made neither lines nor approaches, being inclined to allow the enemy ſmall time for recollection, determined to ſtorm the town ſword in hand about two in the afternoon, ſupported by the thunder of twelve huge pieces of cannon, directed againſt the Guben-gate, ſeveral other batteries playing at the ſame time, in order to create a diverſion. And hitherward the ſoldiers turned all their fury, with a view to form one general attack, though the Guben-gate was principally aimed at, whilſt the yellow and blue brigades were commanded to approach on the ſide of the vineyards next to Cuſtrin (a part lying by in order to repulſe the enemy's ſallies:) mean while the white brigade was appointed to lodge in the fore-town to ſupport the commanded muſqueteers, which lay between them and danger; and Hepburn's brigade (the commanded muſqueteers belonging to it being conducted by major Sinclair) was deſtined to carry on the great intended operation; whilſt the Rhingrave's regiment of cavalry protected the train of artillery not in uſe, and kept the approach of Tilly conſtantly in their thoughts.

His majeſty reſerved himſelf for the main attack at the Guben-gate, leaving the conduct of other diviſions to approved commanders. He told his men, with a chearful countenance, *that he only beſought their*

patience a few hours longer, and that then he hoped to give them wine to refreſh them, and not common water out of the Oder. 1631.

The officers ſhewed ſo much alacrity on the occaſion, as to undertake this enterprize without their armour; but Guſtavus, who had before mixed in the prelude of the aſſault with the common ſoldiers, careleſs of himſelf, but uneaſy for his commanders, remonſtrated to them in the kindeſt terms, *That he, who loves the king his maſter's ſervice, will not hazard his life out of pure gaiety. If my officers are killed, who ſhall command my ſoldiers?* Giving them therefore expreſs orders to cloath themſelves in armour, the faſcines and ſcaling-ladders being all duly prepared, he called for Hepburn and Lumſdel by name: *Now,* ſaid he, *my valiant Scots, remember your countrymen ſlain at Old Brandenburg*; who both in an inſtant, by the help of two petards, ſhivered the gate to pieces; and (as the aſtoniſhed enemy forgot to let fall the port-cullis on the inſide) entered the town unhurt at the head of their reſpective regiments. Cloſe at their heels general Banier crouded in with a freſh body of muſqueteers; and forming themſelves as well as the ſtreets could allow them, they cut to pieces one Imperial regiment with very little mercy. Upon which a detachment was diſpatched to ſecure the bridge, but it arrived rather too late. Lumſdel's men alone took 18 colours, and after the engagement was over, *his majeſty bade him aſk what he pleaſed, and he would give it him.*

Mean while major Sinclair, and one Heatly an Engliſh lieutenant, paſſed the walls in the quarter of the vineyards by ſcalado, and upon entering the town at the head of only 50 muſqueteers, were attacked by an equal body of cuiraſſiers completely armed; but they ranged themſelves againſt the walls of the houſes, and gave their enemies ſuch a continued fire, that they forced them to retreat. Nor muſt the conduct of one Andrew Aner, a Saxon lieutenant, be here forgotten, who croſſed the town-ditch, and gave chaſe to ſome Imperialiſts, that guarded it. The king, though naturally ſhort-ſighted, had ſoon eye-ſight enough to ſeize one of thoſe fortunate moments, which, when critically ſnatched, are equal to days and weeks in military operations. He pointed to his troops to follow Aner. The combat was renewed on either ſide with incredible

1631. incredible fury; at length the beſieged gave ground, and the aſſailants entered the town with them. The Imperialiſts beat a parley twice, but the confuſion was ſo great no one could hear it. His majeſty gave Aner a handſome gratuity of about 150 l. and as he was a man of ſuch alacrity and expedition, told him, *he ſhould remove him from the infantry, and try what exploits he could perform in the capacity of captain of horſe.*

At length the yellow and blue brigades entered, two bodies of troops highly eſteemed in the Swediſh army. It was their fortune to attack the quarter, where lieutenant-colonel Walter Butler lay with his Iriſh regiment, who gave the Imperialiſts an example of reſolution, which might have ſaved the town, if it had been copied even imperfectly; for he ſtood his ground at puſh of pyke till he had ſcarce a ſoldier left with him; nor did he ſubmit till he was ſhot through the arm with a muſquet-ball, and pierced with an halberd through the thigh. All things being thus ſecured, his majeſty, who made the tour of the ſeveral attacks on the outſide of the walls, entered the town at the head of the Rhingrave's regiment of horſe. Tieffenbach, Schomberg and Montecuculi eſcaped over the bridge, (which was fortified with a ſtrong redoubt on the oppoſite ſhore) and conducted their flying troops to Great Glogaw in Sileſia, which was diſtant from Francfort at leaſt ſixty miles; 1700 Imperial ſoldiers were left dead in the town, almoſt as many more were never heard of; 50 colours were loſt; the colonels Herbenſtein, Walſtein, Jour, and Heydon were killed; and about ſixty officers and ſeven lieutenant-colonels taken priſoners. Amongſt the latter were found likewiſe general major Spar, a native Swede, and the colonels Morval (ſome ſay Waldo) and Butler, [the ſame who afterwards aſſaſſinated Walſtein,] and about 700 common ſoldiers. His majeſty took infinite pains to prevent pillage, and exerciſed his baton amongſt his followers without remorſe; yet they plundered to the amount of 30,000 l. in ſpite of all his endeavours; for many valuable goods were lodged in the town on account of the approaching fair; yet no woman's honour was violated, and only one burgher killed, merely through his own imprudence and obſtinacy.

The king felt inexpreſſible uneaſineſs to ſee his troops diſband in hopes of plunder, (for ſeveral enſigns were left alone without a man to guard the colours) and determined within himſelf thenceforwards to adminiſter ſome effectual remedy to this notorious violation of military diſcipline. But the tumult being at length compoſed, he diſtributed corn and wine to all the citizens out of the Imperial magazines, telling them at the ſame time, that he hoped they would ſupply ſomething towards his ſoldiers good ſupper and kind reception. A public thankſgiving was decreed next day in all the churches; and one circumſtance afterwards extremely delighted the whole body of proteſtants throughout the empire; for the *Leipſic concluſions* * were ſigned at no great diſtance from the time when Francfort was taken. 1631.

The Imperial garriſon upon this occaſion ſuffered greatly in their fortunes, as well as their perſons; for as this town was a ſure aſylum, where they had depoſited moſt of their ill-gotten wealth, the ſtreets, and bridge particularly, were ſo crouded with baggage and waggons, that retardments, confuſions and obſtructions ſoon aroſe; whence it happened, that numbers were taken priſoners: ſome threw themſelves into the Oder and there were loſt; ſome were killed with the ſword (for the Swedes could not quite forget the maſſacre at New-Brandenburg;) ſo that one way or other no very conſiderable part of the garriſon eſcaped. The Swedes loſt about 300 men, but no officer of note. Indeed Teüffel and Hepburn were wounded, (the former circumſtance we mentioned before) and colonel Dargitz † was ſhot through the ſides. Nine hundred quintals of powder were found in the arſenal, abundance of arms, and eighteen pieces of great ordnance. A large body of troops was placed in the town by way of garriſon, and Leſly commanded it, having received orders to repair the fortifications, and make improvements to them.

The taking of Francfort was a point of extraordinary conſequence to his majeſty's affairs. It extended his elbow-room into the rich pro-

* They were ten in number, and may be ſeen (together with the whole tranſactions of the diet) in the *Appendix*.

† He is ſo called by the beſt hiſtorians, but in a liſt of the Swediſh colonels made public about ſix months before, we find no ſuch name: he therefore muſt have been a lieutenant-colonel, or is miſtaken for Damitz, who commanded the white brigade that day.

1631. vinces of Saxony, the March, Luſatia, and Sileſia, and made him maſter of the Elb and Oder on both ſides. And thus having cleared the neighbourhood of the two electors from the enemy, he reduced them to the neceſſity of joining with him from the rules of ſelf-preſervation, becauſe he was eventually, and in effect their maſter and conqueror. It delighted him alſo not a little to have gained this important place on Palm-Sunday, and at the critical period when the proteſtant confederators were aſſembled at Leipſic; to whom he wrote the very next morning, April the fourth, with uncommon ſatisfaction and ſelf-complacency *: but, unfortunately for him, the aſſembly was diſſolved the day before.

Schomberg and Tieffenbach merited no great praiſe in defending Francfort. Their greateſt efforts ought to have been before the town was attacked ſword in hand. They had too many cavalry in the garriſon, which cauſed more confuſion than advantage, when once the enemy entered the town. They had alſo, according to the Imperial cuſtom, an immoderate number of females and ſuperfluous attendants on the army: and it may be obſerved farther, that they confided likewiſe too much in their number of troops, and deſpiſed the beſiegers to ſuch a degree, that when the Swediſh army appeared before the town, the officers thought proper to continue their mirth, and not riſe from table. But this gallantry and gaiety of the beſieged upon the firſt inveſting a town very rarely keeps up the ſame ſpirit to the finiſhing and ſerious concluſion of the ſervice: and perhaps the Auſtrians might have defended Francfort better, if they had been more ſparing of their petulancies and ſcurrilities; for they affronted the Swedes by their vain-glorious ſpeeches and their emblematical repreſentations, too dull, and too illiberal, to deſerve the notice of the moſt indifferent hiſtorian. It may ſuffice therefore (more to the purpoſe) to remark here, that during this ſiege his majeſty ordered colonel Monro to employ himſelf and his regiment all night in forming what was then called a running line of approach. Monro kept his ſoldiers to their duty, as well as he could, and never ſate down till break of day. Yet the king was extremely diſpleaſed the next morning, when he ſaw how ſlowly the trench was advanced. Upon

* See the Letter in Armis Suecicis, 126, 127.

which

which two very good obſervations have been made by perſons then em- 1631.
ployed in the Swediſh ſervice; that Guſtavus being himſelf the beſt engineer of the age, expected a great deal from his officers in all ſieges, and was more impatient upon thoſe occaſions than in the day of battle. The ſecond obſervation was, that the Scots, however excellent in the open field, were too lazy and too proud to work, even in caſes of the utmoſt extremity; which abated more than one half of their military merit.

Tilly had actually began his march in order to give a diverſion to the affair at Francfort, but receiving upon the road the melancholy news of the ill fate, which had befallen that city, he returned and inveſted Magdeburg, hoping thereby to draw Guſtavus out of Pomerania: but the king continued firm, nor did he chooſe to receive his laws of locomotion from Tilly's dictating: on the contrary he renewed his applications to the proteſtant princes aſſembled at Leipſic, and exhorted them to make a peremptory deciſion in behalf of their civil and religious liberties. He then wrote to the magiſtrates of Magdeburg, and conjured them to acquit themſelves like men of honour and principle; aſſuring them, that if they could maintain their ground for two months, he would certainly relieve them; obſerving likewiſe, that before the time ſpecified he could neither make the neceſſary diſpoſitions with regard to his new conqueſts, nor collect together a body of forces ſufficient to confront Tilly.

It was now indeed high time for that general to take the field, and attempt to ſtop the torrent of Guſtavus's conqueſts. By orders therefore of the emperor, and his friend and patron the elector of Bavaria, he had drawn together all the troops he poſſibly could from the land of Juliers and Eaſt-Frizeland, the duchy of Bremen, and the circles of Suabia and Franconia. His firſt ſcheme was to give Guſtavus battle; but that ſort of deciſion the Swediſh hero prudently declined. He then purpoſed to hinder his enemy from diſturbing Pappenheim, who formed a ſort of blockade round the town of Magdeburg. But new commotions broke out in the interior parts of the empire, which he thought himſelf obliged to compoſe in time; and this unhappy movement gave

1631. Guſtavus an opportunity to fix his footing at the courts of Dreſden and Berlin.

Guſtavus now leaving a part of his army at Francfort under Banier's command, caſt a deſiring eye towards Landſperg, garriſoned with 3000 foot, and 1500 dragoons. He had long wiſhed to make himſelf maſter of this important place; for as it lay between Pruſſia and Poland, it was a great thorn to him in his late Poliſh wars. He made one fruitleſs attempt upon it on his firſt arrival in Germany, but the detachment he ſent to ſurprize it miſcarried in the attack. A ſecond eſſay ſucceeded the foregoing, attended with the like ill-ſucceſs. The town lies on the Warta, and it muſt be obſerved here, that three years had been employed in its fortifications, and the peaſants for ten miles round had performed the duty of pioneers and labourers all that time. The king and Hepburn poſted themſelves on one ſide; and Horn, who had commanded the blockade, lay on the other.

This undertaking of Guſtavus's was a very extraordinary attempt in two particulars; for he took with him only 2,200 commanded muſqueteers, and 800 horſemen; ſo that the garriſon exceeded him in number by 500 men: nevertheleſs we muſt not reckon the people, that attended the train of artillery, which conſiſted of twelve pieces of battering cannon, under the direction of that excellent officer colonel Leonard Torſtenſon *.

He likewiſe contrived to march his troops near 40 miles in two days †; and after he had effected his buſineſs returned to Francfort in the ſame time. In the way to Landſperg his advanced guard defeated a regiment

* Monro calls him Leonard Richardſon, a perſon, whom we no where find either before or after this period. But the Chriſtian name ſoon enabled me to correct the miſtake; for Leonard Torſtenſon was then general of the artillery. And here it muſt be obſerved, that the valiant Monro, who was no great maſter of orthography, hardly ſpells any name right of man or town, uſually following the German ſound in pronunciation. His very ſtyle is likewiſe German, as *Spruce* for Pruſſia, *Polack* for Polander, leaguer for camp, *ſtill-ſtand* for truce, and *confuſt* for intelligence: [and thus Ben Jonſon makes a ſoldier talk of his Low-Country—*Vor-loffe*; i. e. *Furlo*, *Staple of News*, Act. v. Sc. i.] Nevertheleſs our northern hiſtorian is very veracious in all his facts, and rarely relates any thing, which he did not ſee.

† *Diary of marches by Monro.* This little piece has been of extraordinary uſe to me throughout the whole; though, to avoid tediouſneſs, I quote it only on this one occaſion. It has proved in effect one of my beſt chronological tables.

of

of Croatians, the colonel that commanded the party being mortally wounded: nevertheleſs in their retreat they had the precaution to break down every bridge after they had paſſed it. 1631.

There lay a ſtrong fort, well-guarded with cannon, betwixt the king and the town. Monro inveſted it the firſt night, and the king left two horſemen with him, giving them expreſs orders to come and wake him, in caſe the enemy attempted to ſally. Next morning the batteries played violently againſt it; but the parapet of earth was ſo compact and well-hardened, that it was ſoon thought proper to diſcontinue the attempt on that ſide. Under this difficulty, his majeſty made himſelf acquainted with a blackſmith, who adviſed him to throw a float-bridge over one part of a wide moraſs all covered with water: (and here it muſt be obſerved that the king brought a ſmall bridge from Stetin, as well as that large one we have mentioned before:) thus advancing over ſhallow paſſes, which the honeſt mechanic well knew, the Swedes poſted themſelves unexpectedly on the weak ſide of the fort, between that and the town. Lieutenant-colonel Dewbatel and Monro followed the blackſmith with 500 men, half dragoons and half infantry, and Hepburn moved ſlowly after them (for his laſt wound was only a contuſion) at the head of one thouſand muſqueteers: the enemy's guard being ſoon routed, the fort ſurrendered upon compoſition, and the king's troops made a lodgment under the town-wall. Young Cratz, the governor, a ſpirited officer, whom the ſoldiers much confided in, being killed in a ſally, and 300 Imperial troops being taken priſoners, propoſals of ſurrender were ſoon offered to the king. This ſhameful capitulation was owing to that great error, which ran through Tilly's and Walſtein's diſcipline; namely, the allowing every regiment an undue number of ſervants, ſuttlers, and unneceſſary dependants of all ſorts. Theſe uſeleſs mouths diſtreſſed them in the field, and ſtarved them in beſieged towns: for when this garriſon marched out (and they were reputed ſome of the beſt troops in the Imperial ſervice,) there were amongſt them half as many proſtitutes, as ſoldiers. There was one circumſtance hardly to be paralleled in this capitulation. The king had once a mind to ſend for a detachment from his main army, before he allowed the Imperialiſts to march out of the

1631. town; for as the garriſon out-numbered him, he was not ſure but that they might give him battle in plain ground.

The town being thus evacuated, (for the Imperial troops ſhaped their courſe to Great Glogau, in Sileſia) his majeſty, who ſeldom indulged in repaſts, but with politicians and ambaſſadors, in order to extract points of knowledge from them, allowed Banier, Bauditzen, and the other generals to take a chearful glaſs, as they had nothing material to do, and no enemy to fear that evening. Nevertheleſs he did not honour them with his preſence; however, by way of gaiety, he gave his guide the blackſmith one hundred pounds, and made him burgo-maſter, or in plain Engliſh, lord-mayor of Landſperg; who in the late ſecret attack marched with a ſerene countenance at the head of the detachment, and bore the whiſtling of the cannons and muſquet-balls very well: but when the ſervice grew ſerious, and ſeveral ſoldiers fell by him, finding, as he ſaid, that the Swediſh muſquets (the powder being wet) did not make ſo briſk a report as the enemy's, he begged leave to run to the king, and bring a ſupply of better powder. It was well known what he meant by that good office.

It is amazing to imagine how much pioneer-work the king effected during this ſhort ſiege with a few hands, inſomuch that it was obſerved on the occaſion, That he made his ſoldiers perform for nothing what would coſt another power many thouſand pounds *.

By this time the Imperialiſts began to find the Swedes a different ſort of ſoldiers from what they had firſt imagined. The emperor himſelf condeſcended to lower his tone, and at length determined to give Guſtavus the appellation of king of Sweden, which he had formerly beſtowed on Sigiſmond his rival. Thoughts were alſo conceivcd of reſtoring Walſtein, who at that time threw out certain innuendo's, as if he had a mind to paſs into the Spaniſh ſervice.

The court of Vienna and the catholic league began now to tremble in good earneſt; for Pappenheim, who ſeldom wrote in the dejected and deſponding ſtyle, informed the elector of Bavaria, that the emperor

* The expreſſion is a ton of gold, which denotes in the hiſtorians of that age, if I miſtake not, about 9000 pounds ſterling.

must fall, except the whole united body of catholics supported him with all their money and forces; that Gustavus at present was sovereign arbiter of the fate of Germany; that Francfort and Landsperg were both in his possession; that his Swedish majesty probably (as there was no sufficient separate army to oppose him) might attempt to raise the siege of Magdeburg; and then perhaps the flower of the Imperial soldiery might be cut off all at once: that he had it in his power to shape his victorious course whatever way he pleased: in a word, that the remaining towns ought to be duly garrisoned, and that nothing less than two strong armies could stop the violence of Gustavus's progresses: that the league only, and not the emperor, could preserve the empire; that money, either in specie or in bills of good currency, must be conveyed to Tilly and him; and that 6000 horse, and foot proportionable, must be raised forthwith in the bishopric of Liege or duchy of Lorain. 1631.

Pomerania and the March being now cleared, his majesty had a fair entrance into Silesia and Brandenburg. Into the first he dispatched the Rhingrave and Bauditzen, who took Crossen, a considerable city on the Oder, and made excursions to Great Glogau and Walstein's palace at Sagan. Into the second his majesty entered, throwing a bridge of boats over the Spree, and by a trumpeter summoned Wittenhorst, governor of Brandenburg, to surrender to him in twenty-four hours. Wittenhorst desired a few days respite in order to send an express to Tilly; who first commanded him to acquit himself like a man of honour, but then directed him to capitulate, and hasten with all his garrison to him at Magdeburg. The mention of that town always brought a cloud upon Gustavus's brow: his natural spritelineſs had never deserted him before; but he foresaw its ruin, and could not prevent it.

Nevertheless, in order to leave no human methods untried (having concluded a sort of alliance with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and duke William of Saxe-Weymar) he from Brandenburg pointed his course to Copnick, and about noon sent count Ortemberg to Berlin to demand of the elector the two towns of Custrin and Spandau, and insist likewise upon subsistence and one month's pay for his army, with a promise to re-deliver those places at two months end, or when the siege of Magdeburg

1631. burg ſhould be raiſed. This demand not ſucceeding, Guſtavus Horn was diſpatched the next morning at break of day to renew the ſolicitation, but returned unſucceſsful: his orders were to make the elector an offer of the reverſional poſſeſſion of the dukedom of Pomerania; but this prince, who was remarkably reſerved and ſhy in advancing a ſingle ſtep towards his Swediſh majeſty, excuſed himſelf by alledging, That he could enter into no engagement without the participation and full conſent of the elector of Saxony. The king waſted the two ſucceeding days in meditation what to do, and then marched peremptorily towards Berlin at the head of five cornets of horſe, and one thouſand muſqueteers, and four field-pieces, not to make uſe of apparent force and compulſion. He had ſome objection to the undertaking this enterprize on a Sunday, but the approaching fate of Magdeburg determined him.

Guſtavus had extraordinary reaſons to wiſh to poſſeſs Cuſtrin, not only as it was one of the ſtrongeſt fortifications in the empire, being protected with 150 pieces of cannon, having an arſenal furniſhed with arms ſufficient to equip 20,000 men, and ſtored with proviſions equal to the maintenances of half that number for a competent ſpace of time; but becauſe it was alſo that very important paſs, by means whereof the Imperial army had been preſerved, when it fled before him from Gartz; at which period he had not intereſt enough to obtain it.

Guſtavus had other great deſigns in poſſeſſing Cuſtrin; for as, through the timidity of his allies, he began to ſuſpect he ſhould not be able to raiſe the ſiege of Magdeburg, it was then plain, that Tilly, after making himſelf maſter of that town, might by this paſſage march uninterruptedly to him, and ſhake the good faith of his expected ally.

It was at length agreed, that his majeſty and the elector ſhould have an interview in Copnick-grove, about a mile from Berlin. The elector made no advances towards a good underſtanding betwixt them; for, to ſay truth, the cruelties and rapines, which the houſe of Auſtria exerciſed according to antient cuſtom, had frightened the German princes out of all prudence and common preſence of mind; ſo that Guſtavus was on the very point of breaking off the converſation, which had laſted

lasted an hour, when the elector begged a single half-hour to re-consider 1631.
the affair. *Sir*, said the king, *I perceive your mind to be greatly agitated, and compassionate the irresolution you labour under. It must be acknowledged, that my proposals are alarming and dangerous; but the necessity of times and circumstances demand them: it is you I am extricating from destruction, and not the subjects of Sweden:*——And then turning round to Albert duke of Mechlenberg, who stood by, *Cousin*, added he, *be pleased to observe I take this abrupt and extraordinary step for the preservation of poor Magdeburg and the protestant religion. For if I think fit to retreat to the Baltic, where are the troops, that can obstruct my retiring? If I entrench myself on whatever tract of ground I chuse, the renowned and invincible Tilly will reflect twice or thrice before he attacks me: and if peace can once be imagined to have taken possession of my thoughts, certain it is, I may have the power of prescribing every single condition to his Imperial majesty. But how will you two sovereigns answer at the last day for the total extirpation of the reformed and evangelical religion? Forget me as much as you please——but remember the gospel: and remember too, that the type of your temporal destruction makes its first and certain appearance at the downfall of Magdeburg* *.——During the sudden astonishment, which this speech occasioned, the electress, accompanied by her mother and some court-ladies, surprised Gustavus very critically †, who was too-well bred not to listen to the representations of the fair-sex, especially as the electress discovered that spirit of heroism, which her husband wanted. Terms now were soon agreed on, and his majesty was desired to sleep in Berlin that night, and bring with him his thousand musqueteers for his guard, and the five troops of horse.

At parting his majesty, laughing very heartily, told the electress and her train of ladies, *That they did mighty well to bring about this accommodation; for in case they had not been inclined to such measures, his intention was to have sent them and the elector to have passed a summer in the cooler regions of Sweden:* and when the cavalcade retired to court, Gustavus paid his honours to the fair-sex by a general salvo of his little train of artillery;

* Historical or Authentic Relation in Low-Dutch, Folio, Tom. i. p. 49.

† Pietro Pomo; Guerre di Germania, lib. i. p. 19.

1631. but as the engineer had forgotten to turn his cannon from Berlin, the approach being firſt made in an hoſtile manner, he diſmantled the tops of one or two houſes; a ſlight inattention, which vexed the king, and put the ladies into ſome confuſion *. Nevertheleſs, nothing now remained for the elector but to convey his apology to the court of Vienna, from whence it was coldly anſwered him, that the Swedes would ſpare the *Marches* no more than the Imperialiſts had done formerly.

In the courſe of this negotiation Spandau was granted in all appearance to his majeſty during the continuance of the war, and colonel Axel Lilly was pitched upon to be appointed governor; but Cuſtrin could not be obtained, except for the ſpace of a ſingle month. Be that as it will, firm aſſurances were given, that its gates ſhould always be open at his majeſty's command, who was allowed unmoleſted paſſage throughout the whole electorate. The elector made a copious libation that night to Bacchus, and Guſtavus parted at break of day for Stetin, where he had ſome buſineſs to tranſact with the Muſcovite ambaſſador.

In one of the pauſes of the converſation above mentioned, as the elector was timorous and unwilling to conſent beyond all imagination, Guſtavus gave a ſudden ſtart, and turned his eyes towards Magdeburg: *Let us march yonder, Sir,* ſaid he, *without a moment's delay or heſitation: let us free Magdeburg, not only for our own ſakes, but for the ſake of the proteſtant cauſe. Upon ſuppoſition, that no man aſſiſts us, and the attempt ſhould be rendered abortive (which neither you nor I ought to fear) at worſt, Sir, we can return hither, place ſtrong garriſons in all the conquered towns, and make a peace with the emperor upon our own terms: thus are you ſafe at all events. But invert the teleſcope, and contemplate things in another proſpect. I can retire to Stockholm, and live and die peaceably in ſpite of the emperor. And then there will remain a certain prince, who muſt be exhauſted and plundered without remorſe, who has ſacrificed the proteſtant religion in the moſt conſiderable part of Europe, and who muſt one day anſwer for his neglect or timidity at God's tribunal.* To this the elector either durſt not, or could not anſwer.

* Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburg.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus marched next to Potſdam, and thence ſummoned the elector of Saxony to join him, or allow him free paſſage, as he was fully determined to raiſe the ſiege of Magdeburg; both which requeſts this prince denied him. His pretext was, that he could not abſolve himſelf from the oath of fidelity he had taken to the emperor. When an interview was preſſed on him, he declined accepting it, as being obliged to make a review of all his army: he dreaded another circumſtance too, the drawing the war into his own country: in a word, he was like a man bewildered in a dangerous foreſt, who knew not which track to purſue. By this fatal reſolution Magdeburg was loſt, which gave many an agonizing pang to a generous and manly heart like that of Guſtavus, who unboſomed himſelf to the public in one of the beſt reaſoned manifeſto's of that age, and then (to waſte no farther time in fruitleſs complaints) ſat himſelf ſeriouſly, earneſtly, and inflexibly, to make amends for the defaults of others. He forced the elector of Saxony to ſee his error, and formed a plan, which made him proſperous and victorious againſt his will, and contrary to his firſt intentions. 1631.

During Guſtavus's political tranſactions at Stetin, it may be worth while to obſerve, that in the month of February *, the elector of Saxony, in the name of all the proteſtant princes, had convened the friends of liberty and Guſtavus to one general aſſembly at Leipſic †. This meeting was both auguſt and formidable: it conſiſted of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the margrave of Bareith, the dukes of Weymar, John, Bernard, and William; the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the margrave of Baden-Dourlach, the prince of Anhalt, the dukes of Altenberg, Coburg, and Sultzbach: all theſe appeared in perſon. The archbiſhop of Bremen ſent his deputy, as did the dukes of Brunſwick, Lunenberg, and Mechlenberg, the margrave of Anſpach, the new adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, (duke Julius not being yet ſettled) and, though laſt, not leaſt in proteſtant zeal, the good princeſs, the ab-

* Bougeant, Tom. i. p. 229, 8°. miſplaces the period of this convention under the articles of the year 1630.

† Hiſtory of the diet of Leipſic, tranſlated from the Latin, and publiſhed at London, 4°. 1632, containing 19 pages. This diet began February 8, 1630, and ended April 3, 1631.

1631. beſs of Quedlingberg *. Deputies appeared likewiſe from the circles of Suabia and Franconia, from various ſovereign counts of the empire, and from the free towns of Straſburg, Nurenberg, Francfort, Lubec, Bremen, Brunſwick, Hildeſheim, Northauſen, Mulhauſen, and Augſburg, &c. Dr. Mathias Hoe, the elector of Saxony's domeſtic chaplain, opened the aſſembly with a very ſpirited diſcourſe, nor was his text ill-choſen:

Deus, quis ſimilis erit tibi? Nè taceas neque compeſcaris, Deus: quoniam ecce inimici tui ſonuerunt: & qui oderunt te, extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum malignaverunt conſilium, & cogitaverunt adverſus ſanctos; dixerunt, venite, & diſperdamus eos, &c †. The ſtreets were all barricadoed, the city-keys delivered every night to the elector, and no man allowed to enter the town, whoſe buſineſs was not preciſely known; for nothing was ſo much dreaded upon this occaſion as an Imperial ſpy. Yet the zealous, able, and turbulent eccleſiaſtic, Mathias Hoe, notwithſtanding the fine ſpirit, which appears from his text, was ſuppoſed, being director of the elector's conſcience, to have received ſome gratuities from the court of Vienna. Thus much is certain, he traverſed Guſtavus on the preſent occaſion, though the full intent of it tended to eſtabliſh a cloſer union between the Lutherans and the Calviniſts: to which purpoſe one Duræus, as Grotius calls him ‡, had been ſent to the aſſembly held at Francfort upon the Mayne not long before, furniſhed with conciliatory letters from the Engliſh prelates. And the opinion of Grotius concerning this convention was as follows: *Rex Sueciæ Magnus Guſtavus . . . . . non multum ante mortem, Lipſiæ conven-*

* The abbeſs of this illuſtrious proteſtant convent is always a princeſs, and holds immediately under the empire. The emperor Henry the Fowler founded the convent, and his daughter Matilda was the firſt abbeſs. It is endowed with a pretty territory that lies round it. The principal perſons in it, after the abbeſs, are a prioreſs, deanneſs, and cannoneſs, who have all handſome houſes and good revenue. The number of conventual ladies, depends upon the will of the abbeſs, who at preſent is Anna Amelia, princeſs of Pruſſia; whoſe brother is now protector for the elector of Saxony, who ſold his right in 1697, againſt which the late abbeſs, Maria Elizabeth of Holſtein-Gottorp, proteſted more times than once, but always in vain. This abbey ſends a deputy to the diet; and its contingent, upon the military eſtabliſhment of the empire, is one horſeman and ten foot-ſoldiers; a ſmall number of knight-errants, conſidering the fine ladies of family and conſequence they are to protect.

† Brachelii Hiſt. Noſt. Temp. p. 246. Pſalm lxxxiii. 1, 2, &c.

‡ Epiſtol lxiv.

tum

tum inſtituerat utriuſque ſententiæ proteſtantium . . . . . Effecit ſua auctoritate ut amice diſcederetur, cum magna ſpe reſtituende unitatis. Sed triſtis exitus tanti regis ſalubre hoc cæptum interſcidit. 1631.

Nevertheleſs, the houſe of Auſtria made no remarkable efforts by way of oppoſing this aſſembly, taking it for granted, injudiciouſly enough, that the proteſtant princes had no other point in view than to propoſe ſome mitigations in regard to the edict of reſtitution: whereas the objections made by them under this article were little more than a meer pretext; for every perſon convened had a private view to form ſome connections, as far as he durſt, with the king of Sweden. Yet no prince had the courage to be the firſt propoſer of any public ſpirited and generous reſolution, being fearful of becoming the immediate victim of the emperor's reſentments, before the proteſtants could conjoin their forces effectually, and with a ſincere intention of making good their engagements *.

The firſt points agitated were theſe that follow: To obviate the ſchemes, which the catholics propoſed to form at their aſſembly, intended to be held at Francfort upon the Mayne; and next implore the emperor either to annihilate or abate the rigour of the edict of reſtitution: and upon ſuppoſition the court of Vienna ſhould remain inflexible, then to conclude on proper meaſures for diverting the ſtroke, that impended over them: as alſo how to clear their reſpective dominions of the Imperial ſoldiers, who ravaged and deſtroyed every thing within their reach, contrary to the laws of the Germanic ſyſtem, and the *Pacta Conventa* of the emperor ſolemnly ſworn to at his coronation.

It was repreſented likewiſe, in a memorial tranſmitted to the emperor, That the Imperial conſtitutions and the laws of the Golden Bull had been violated, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg cruelly oppreſſed, the latter of which perſons (though the king of Sweden poſſeſſed good part of his territories, namely, the Old and New Marches) being obliged to pay his whole contribution without abatement; which reduced him to ſuch difficulties, that he was compelled

* Le Barre, Hiſt. d'Allemagne, Tom. ix. p. 604.

to

1631. to make retrenchments in his own table and family; nor was he able to maintain a ſufficient garriſon for the protection of his capital: and that ſeveral princes of the houſe of Saxony, for example thoſe of Altenberg, Weymar, and Coburg, had, upon complaining of their inability to diſcharge their reſpective contributions, been threatened with the exaction of a quadruple proportion; whereas the emperor behaved with great mildneſs and partiality towards the ſubjects of his own hereditary dominions. It was agreed further, that the proteſtant clergy had been uſed with an unbecoming ſeverity, and that new impoſitions were produced every day, at the arbitrary diſcretion of the Imperial commiſſaries, without conſulting (conformably to the Germanic conſtitutions) the parties and provinces, whom the thing concerned: that the catholic armies defended ſhamefully to-day the very countries they devoured but yeſterday: and that lands had been aſſigned to generals and ſoldiers upon the footing of a conqueſt: that they had been obliged to contribute to the ſupport of ineffectual or imaginary regiments; and that ſums had been levied, after the nullity of the demand had been evinced; upon which military exaction enſued: that the commiſſary-generals entered countries, and aſſigned quarters, without leave firſt obtained from the reſpective ſovereigns: that outrages, thefts, and rapes, were matters of common practice; and that agriculture and commerce were both exterminated from the territories of the empire. Nevertheleſs, the whole was repreſented in the ſupplicatory ſtyle, with an air of modeſty; each perſon being determined (ſo far as was conſiſtent with public good and private conſcience) to maintain due loyalty and obedience to the emperor *.

Guſtavus took care to apply fewel to this proteſtant flame, and ſent privately Chemnitius and other politicians, charged with theſe ſecret inſtructions; firſt, by way of preliminary, (having mentioned the alliance concluded with France) to cultivate the elector of Saxony's good graces with particular attention, as the princes and deputies all took their language from him: and then, ſecondly, (upon which the king moſt ſet his heart) to induce the ſeveral aſſembled proteſtants to

* March 18, 1631.

take

take off the maſk at once, unite themſelves with him, and declare war againſt the emperor; but, thirdly, if ſome ſhould think theſe meaſures over-violent, and inconſiſtent with that obedience, which the Germanic body owes its chief, then to allure them to raiſe troops for the protection of their reſpective territories, and allow him, Guſtavus, who alone defended their religion, lives, and properties, a certain annual penſion or ſubſcription for the ſupport of the common cauſe, as alſo free paſſage, proviſions, forage, and permiſſion likewiſe to enter into fortified towns in caſe of a retreat: and, laſtly, if neither the bold nor the moderate propoſal ſhould pleaſe them, then to ſuggeſt a ſtill gentler method, and inſiſt upon their forming ſeparate alliances amongſt themſelves, which they were to keep ſecret till time of need. 1631.

Never were propoſals better calculated, either by a brave man or a cautious one: how they were reliſhed, or how they were anſwered, cannot from hiſtory be aſcertained; but ſure we are, that this account of the affair was allowed by Oxenſtiern to be genuine. But what could be done with a prince of ſuch ſtrange diſpoſitions as the elector of Saxony? who, though he opened the aſſembly with a well promiſing ſpeech, was ſo circumſtanced, that it was extremely difficult to manage him. He hated war, and was greatly addicted to the pleaſures of hunting and drinking: he had an implicit confidence in the king of Denmark, and a radical diſguſt to the king of Sweden; and the rather, as their pretenſions co-incided with reſpect to the biſhoprics of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt. He had, moreover, conceived both dread and jealouſy againſt the houſe of Weymar, under pretence, that the princes of the union, in the *Anhaltine* papers found at the battle of Prague, had promiſed his electorate (concerning which promiſe we know nothing certain) to a duke of Sax-Weymar, deſcended from that line, which Charles V. had deprived: he was partial likewiſe to the Imperial intereſts, through antient habitude; and was induced thereto by ſome private reaſons: for Bohemia and the incorporated provinces lay contiguous to his territories, and he always hoped to obtain ſome grants upon them, in caſe the houſe of Auſtria grew proſperous in her victories. To complete all this, he profeſſed an averſion to

1631. all foreign interferences in the empire, and, what was ſtill more, had one favourite principle at heart, which was to bring about a general peace in Germany, and transfer the ſeat of war into ſome foreign country, as Sweden, Poland, the Valteline and Italy. In this object he had two views, to give a diverſion to the enterprizing ambition of the Auſtrian family, and maintain his own country in repoſe till he could indemnify himſelf for the fatigues, expences, and depopulations of a tedious war. Theſe were Arnheim's maxims rather than his own. And beſides all this, the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who was the elector's ſon-in-law, held a ſtrict correſpondence with the Imperial miniſtry; and Francis Albert duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, who then ſerved under Guſtavus, was ſtill more liable to ſuſpicion. What embroiled matters more at the court of Dreſden, was, that Arnheim, general in chief of the Saxon army, had ſerved many years under Walſtein, in the capacity of his obſequious creature and moſt implicit follower. This mean compliance of his temper might not have made him formidable; but his artifices and diſſimulation were unparalleled. Richelieu uſed to ſay, the church loſt in him the completeſt Jeſuit that ever lived *; and (having been often tormented with his

* Or, as Grotius has delivered down the anecdote in a private conference, "robbed the "world of the moſt inſidious and negotiating "cardinal, that the ſee of Rome could ever "have produced."

John George Arnheim was a gentleman of Brandenburg. He had an inventive head in matters of diſſimulation, artifice, and deceit, and may be conſidered as the prime author of all the elector of Saxony's duplicity. Amongſt other things, he betrayed the Swedes in 1633, and negotiated the alliance between his maſter and the emperor, being always a creature, who ſubjected himſelf to the *ferula* of Walſtein. His behaviour to count Thurn and Dewbatel was highly ungenerous; for he attacked them in the night whilſt they were his allies and ſerving him; took all their ſoldiers priſoners, and transferred them to the Imperial ſervice. Walſtein, who was magnificent in every thing, where his private paſſions were unconcerned, was ſo aſhamed of this action, that he diſmiſſed theſe officers without ranſom; a piece of private hiſtory, which few hiſtorians have been able to account for; as no priſoner would have been ſo acceptable to the emperor as the former.

Arnheim being taken by the Swedes in ſome rencounter about the year 1638, was conducted with great joy to Stockholm, and made a ſtate-priſoner in the caſtle there. M. du Maurier tells us †, that he often ſaw him at his window reclining his head on his hand, and muſing like a man, that ſeemed loſt in meditation. He at length gave a new proof of his abilities in ſtratagem; for pretending to be in a ſort of dying condition, he ſignified to the miniſtry, that he could make a diſpoſition of part of his eſtate by ſale greatly to his advantage, if they would grant a paſſport to one of the gentlemen

† Memoires, p. 259.

his tergiverſations and ſhifting parties) rejoiced and made little geſti- 1631.
culations like a child, when the Swedes took him priſoner. Nor was the general alone inſincere to the Swediſh cauſe; for the chaplain had his ſhare, and the miniſtry likewiſe.

Upon the whole, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that the elector of Saxony wanted to pleaſe, and not diſpleaſe, both contending parties; a taſk unworthy of a great man, becauſe of the improbable ſucceſs which attends it, and too difficult for a weak or timorous man to execute; the reſult of whoſe wonderful cunning and addreſs is, to render each party diſcontented!

After various debates, it was at length agreed by univerſal conſent, "To petition for the revocation of the *edict*; to relieve the proteſtant "princes and ſtates, that were oppreſſed; and maintain the Augſburg "confeſſion in its full vigour and purity: to demand, that the Im-"perial troops ſhould be removed; otherwiſe not to grant them paſ-"ſage, proviſions, or quarters: to preſerve the liberties of the Ger-"manic body without infringing the prerogative of the emperor: to "reſtore peace conſiſtently with law, and renew old friendſhip with "the papiſts: to find expedients, whereby they might realize the pro-"poſals made at the diet of Ratiſbon; and, above all, to put them-"ſelves in a poſture of defence, in order to preſerve their eccleſiaſtical "poſſeſſions, and oppoſe the completion of the edict of reſtitution."

Each circle, prince, and ſtate, was to ſubſcribe a certain contingent of men and money in defence of their lives, their properties, religion,

of his retinue to croſs over into Germany, having inveſted the ſaid truſty perſon with proper authorities. The regency made no difficulty of complying with ſo reaſonable a requeſt, and Arnheim artfully choſe a day to diſpatch his agent, when great rejoicings were made for the birth of a dauphin of France. Upon this pretext Arnheim's retinue made a public dinner, and diſtributed rich wines in great abundance to the perſons, that guarded their maſter, and in the cloſe of the evening Arnheim (who was ſuppoſed to be dying) iſſued out with the gentleman his agent in the character of his livery foot-man, well muffled in a large riding coat. He reached the ſea-coaſt with great celerity, and tranſported himſelf in a little veſſel into Germany. The remainder of his family at Stockholm carried on the farce with great ſolemnity; and as his pretended illneſs kept him from viſitants, too much time elapſed to give the miniſtry any opportunity of retaking him. The ſucceſs of this artifice threw Oxenſtiern into great diſquietudes †.

† Lotichius de rebus Germanicis, Fol. Tom ii. p. 521.

1631. and liberty, conformably to the laws of the Germanic ſyſtem, and the common principles of ſelf-preſervation.

They then entered into a common treaty to aſſiſt and vindicate one another, and a choſen juncto (of a few only) was appointed for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of important buſineſſes, veſted with full authority to act for the reſt. And laſtly, it was reſolved, by way of corroborating their intereſts, and giving ſanction to their determinations, to invite the king of Denmark, the duke of Holſtein, and the maritime towns of the Auguſtan poſſeſſion, to accede; and that letters ſhould be addreſſed to all foreign proteſtant princes and ſtates upon the ſame ſubject. Nor muſt I here omit, that it was determined upon the whole to raiſe an army of 40,000 men *, with reſtrictions to all outward appearance of acting only in a defenſive capacity. Care was taken likewiſe not to mention a ſingle ſyllable with reference to the irruption of Guſtavus into Lower-Saxony; nor was the leaſt promiſe made of affording any aſſiſtances to the emperor.

Thus ended the famous Leipſic concluſions; and the aſſembly was diſſolved on Palm-Sunday, the 3d of April. Of all which proceedings the elector of Saxony ſent the emperor and the catholic electors a ſeemingly minute and circumſtantial account; imploring the former in terms as ſtrongly conceived as can be imagined, to exert the greateſt power the Supreme Being had been pleaſed to beſtow on any prince in Europe, in a manner worthy of the giver and the poſſeſſor, ſo as to reſtore the empire to its antient peace, and prevent a ſcene of blood-ſhed and ruin, the largeſt in extent, and the moſt dreadful in its conſequences, that the world perhaps might ever ſee. He then obſerved, that the confederations made at Leipſic turned purely on the defenſive ſide of the queſtion; and what had been there determined, related only to perſonal preſervation, and not the deſtruction of others. Be that as it will, this laſt attempt was unſucceſsful; for the emperor would not

* The number of this army can only be gueſſed at, but not poſitively aſcertained. All we find is, (making an equal proportion of foot and horſe, the regiments of the former being ordained to conſiſt of 3000 men, and thoſe of the latter 1000) that Saxony was to raiſe ſix regiments, Brandenburg three, the circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, three each; and the circle of Lower-Saxony to levy money for raiſing one regiment and paying it.

expunge

expunge one tittle in the edict of reſtitution. Of courſe the Saxon letter was filled with a repetition of old complaints, and the Imperial anſwer (which conſiſted of two monitory epiſtles, conceived and expreſſed with great acrimony againſt the ſeveral princes lately aſſembled at Leipſic) breathed nothing but reſentment and indignation. To this ſucceeded a prohibition of raiſing troops directed againſt each and every potentate of the evangelical, and the reformed perſuaſion; and ſtrict injunctions were addreſſed to the catholic powers, commanding them to with-hold all aſſiſtances from the proteſtants, under pain of confiſcating their reſpective fiefs. During this contrariety of ſentiments, ſome foreign powers interfered, with a view to make theſe diſtractions more unfavourable to the houſe of Auſtria, at whoſe overgrown power they had reaſon to be alarmed; and all the good Guſtavus could obtain from the elector of Saxony was, permiſſion to tranſport proviſions and powder through his dominions to the diſtreſſed garriſon at Magdeburg. As for money he refuſed to contribute a ſingle farthing; nor would he agree to unite his troops with thoſe of his majeſty, and conjointly raiſe the ſiege. The king petitioned like a ſuppliant for free poſſeſſion of Deſſaubridge, and beſought the elector to meet him and his army on the oppoſite banks of the Elb, from whence he purpoſed, that they ſhould march conjointly to Magdeburg, requeſting likewiſe to have leave given him to embark his artillery and heavy baggage at Wittemberg, and promiſing to give him draughts on the banquiers of Hamburg or Amſterdam for immediate payment of all the expences. But the elector continued like a man petrified, and referred all to the example of the elector of Brandenburg *. 1631.

But Guſtavus had no patience to ſee the diſtreſs of the unhappy town of Magdeburg, and renewing his ſolicitations by a ſecond letter, far more urgent than the former, told the elector, that he conſidered his firſt denials as marks of politeneſs and reſpect to the emperor; but that a higher obligation now ought to influence his actions, namely, his duty to God, and his affection to his faithful ſubjects. As to the approach of Aldringer and the German army, that had ſerved in Italy, he

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 120.

1631. confeſſed himſelf to be no ways diſmayed at ſuch an event, and recommending a perſonal interview to his electoral highneſs (as buſineſs of conſequence could not be carried on by the intercourſe of letters and the tedious perplexities of public miniſters) beſought him in one word *to remember his ſons* and *the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg* *.

Mean while Tilly employed himſelf ſeriouſly about the ſiege of Magdeburg †, a town of great ſtrength, in one of the moſt populous and fertile parts of North-Germany, ſituated between the electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg. This ſcheme of the Imperial general was not amiſs. He wanted to ſtrike ſome ſtroke of conſequence to counterbalance the glory of Guſtavus, and raiſe the reputation and ſpirits of his own army. He hoped likewiſe by a deciſive action of this ſort to fix the two wavering electors to the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, but overturned all this plan hereafter by his own eagerneſs and indiſcretion.

Pappenheim had formed a blockade round this city ſome weeks before, and, as he always relied upon the pen as well as the ſword, had made the governor an offer by letter of vaſt ſums of money, and the title of count of the empire. Upon this occaſion, Falkenberg acted both with prudence and ſpirit; for he examined the trumpeter, who delivered the letter in preſence of all his officers, ſending word back to Pappenheim (for he did not write) that he might find at home the ſort of men he wanted, but that Falkenberg was not a perſon of that ſtamp: and, friend, ſaid he, to the meſſenger, whoever comes here again upon ſuch an errand, ſhall receive an halter for the decoration of his neck, inſtead of a gold chain; which in thoſe days was the preſent of honour ‡.

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 120.

† Magdeburg, or *Maiden-town*, bears for arms a virgin crowned, ſuppoſed to be Venus, who was worſhipped in this country till the reign of Charlemagne, who converted ſome of the Saxons to Chriſtianity. Its duchy is 180 miles long and 96 broad. In the town there is a copy extant of a painting of Venus, which was preſerved here in a place un-noticed till the year 780. In this picture was a golden car, drawn by two ſwans, and two white doves. A naked Venus leans forward, having a roſe in her mouth, and a myrtle-garland on her head; the treſſes of her hair waving. In her left-hand ſhe holds the terreſtrial globe; in her right three golden apples. On her left-breaſt is a pointed dart, on her right a blazing torch. Behind the car ſtand the three graces with their arms folded.

‡ Chemnitius, Tom. i. 123.

Tilly

Tilly inveſted Madgeburg about the beginning of March, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of various forts and outworks: one by way of peculiar ſtrength was called *Pappenheim's Fort* *; and was ſo named in order to imply, that it was an object worthy of that general's ardor and courage. Nevertheleſs, Pappenheim took it ſword in hand. Another was called *Tilly's Diſguſt*, which underwent the ſame fate. The Toll-ſconce, which the Imperial general attacked laſt, coſt him the lives of 500 men. It was defended vigorouſly by Falkenberg †, the governor, who had thrown himſelf into the town in the habit of a peaſant ſeveral weeks before; yet he ought to have maintained this outwork (which commanded the bridge) at all hazards, ſince from the moment it became a prey to the enemy, the city, which was of great extent, though commanded by no eminence, was left naked to the enemy, being defended only by the town-walls and a rampart, not extremely ſtrong. 1631.

But though the governor was a good officer, matters went not extremely to his ſatisfaction within the walls. His garriſon was weak, conſiſting of but 2000 foot and 250 horſe, new-raiſed levies, and ill-paid. The money promiſed by Guſtavus to the adminiſtrator ‡ could not be conveyed to him at the day appointed; for the enemy had inveſted the town ſomewhat ſooner than was expected. Tilly had penſioners among the magiſtrates, who betrayed the debates of every council. The town was ill-ſupplied with proviſions. The commander moreover wanted powder; which was partly owing to an indiſcreet enterprize in one of his officers, who, juſt before Tilly's army invironed the town, went with a detachment to fetch 200 quintals, that were lodged in the bailywic of Gomern, ten miles diſtance from Magdeburg: and then out of pure gaiety of courage, hearing that count Ladron, a Bavarian colonel, was coming down the Elb with a party of troops, made a digreſſion from the object of his journey, and killed him and moſt of his eſcort within ſight of Deſſau-bridge, in whoſe fortreſs the

* Waſſembergii Florus Germ. p. 229.

† Falkenberg was a German born, and grand maréchal of the court at Stockholm.

‡ Chriſtian William, uncle of the elector of Brandenburg, adminiſtrator and archbiſhop of Magdeburg, was a layman. The emperor had proſcribed him for not giving way to the edict of reſtitution.

Imperialiſts

1631. Imperialiſts had a garriſon; whilſt the powder very unfortunately fell into the enemy's hands.

Amongſt other expectances, this diſcretionary adventurer conceived a vain hope of ſeizing papers of great conſequence from the elector of Bavaria to Tilly: but a ſingle line of conſequence was never diſcovered; and not being able (by reaſon of the digreſſion he had made) to repaſs the enemy's lodgments and enter Magdeburg, he retired with great diſcompoſure to Leipſic, for it is thought he killed Ladron and his men in a very unſoldier-like manner, and being there ſeized with the plague, died delirious under extraordinary remorſe and horrors.

Mean while, according to the cuſtom of the times, many furious ſallies were made, ſome ſucceſsful, and ſome unproſperous. Falkenberg conducted one or two, which ſhewed more zeal than diſcretion. However, Pappenheim in a particular rencounter had like to have been killed or taken priſoner; which ſingle event might have given a turn to the whole ſtate of affairs.

In about a month Tilly began to cannonade the town very furiouſly; having raiſed four batteries againſt the new city, each mounted with ſixteen pieces of large artillery. On the ſeventh day from that period, he carried his entrenchments to the foot of the wall (the town-ditch being dry *;) yet the breach was not large enough to be eſteemed aſſaultable. Nevertheleſs he flattered himſelf, that the city would then ſurrender; having negotiated an accommodation by the means of the Hanſe-towns; but it was only the amuſement of falſe hope. The troops did their duty with incredible ſpirit on both ſides, ſo fierce and ſo uninterrupted a firing had not been ſeen in thoſe wars before. There was likewiſe great mining and countermining; for Guſtavus had taught both enemies and friends to be more compendious in the affair of ſieges. Tilly wrote divers letters to the adminiſtrator and chief magiſtrates, but they rejected all accommodation, and ordered the cannoniers to fire with double diligence. He had obſerved particularly, that Falkenberg owed an

* Brief, but Authentic Relation of the Siege and Storming of Magdeburg in High Dutch, 4°. This work muſt not be confounded with the hiſt. but authentic Relation in Low Dutch, three Tomes, folio.

allegiance

allegiance to the emperor, as being a German born; to which the gover- 1631.
nor returned this ſhort anſwer: *I agree with the adminiſtrator and the ſenators; and will take care neither to hurt my conſcience as a Chriſtian, nor my reputation as a ſoldier* *. In conſequence of this, Tilly, on the eighth of May, ſent a trumpeter in form to propoſe a capitulation, who was detained in town till the tenth before a proper anſwer could be diſpatched to the Imperial general. During this interval, the batteries played night and day without intermiſſion: at length the tower and baſtion of the new gate were overturned; the Imperialiſts crouded from all parts to begin the ſtorm, but the breach was not to be entered with common ſafety. By this time powder grew ſo ſcarce within the city, that the inhabitants were forced to grind it with hand-mills.

During the detention of Tilly's trumpeter, the adminiſtrator diſpatched another to him, offering to enter into terms, on condition Tilly preſerved the privileges of the city, and left him in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric; proteſting further, that he would abide by any ſubſequent articles, that the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg ſhould agree to. But the Imperial general did not chuſe to aſſent to this propoſal, having previouſly felt the pulſes of theſe princes on the occaſion, who excuſed themſelves, and requeſted the favour of continuing neutral, partly through fear of diſobliging their proteſtant brethren, and partly becauſe the aſpect of things appeared at that time ſomewhat indiſtinct on the Imperial ſide.

Thus Tilly kept up ſtill an uninterrupted fire, and made galleries along the foſſé, that fronted the Sudenburg and the new town. He then ceaſed firing.

The citizens vainly hoped, that the Imperialiſts had formed a deſign to raiſe the ſiege. It is more than probable, that Tilly intended they ſhould think ſo: be that as it will, the ſame night he ſummoned a general council of war; of which the reſult was, that an univerſal attack ſhould be given the next morning at break of day, when it was ſuppoſed, (and not without reaſon,) that half the garriſon would be aſleep; not only becauſe the beſieged were extremely fatigued, but be-

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 127.

cauſe

1631. cauſe moſt of them were perſuaded, that the enemy was determined to ſhift his quarters; a circumſtance, which Tilly's agents within the walls took care to propagate with additions and improvements.

The tenth of May the Imperial general held another council of war at one in the morning, with a view, that no ſecret might have time to ſpread itſelf abroad. The important affair was debated and re-conſidered once more: and the majority, with Pappenheim at their head, reſolved (as at the laſt council) in the affirmative; though all agreed, that the breaches were not in that condition, which a prudent beſieger would wiſh to have them. But Pappenheim, who had an appetite for danger, and who thought many things were done by the mere dint of reſolving to do them, declared ſtrenuouſly (as was uſually his cuſtom) for the fighting part. His perſonal courage made him the darling of the ſoldiers, and his great experience, prudence, preſence of mind in danger, and above all his inventive faculty in military ſtratagems, made the other generals liſten to him with reſpect and pleaſure.

At the head of Savelli's, Wrangel's and Gronsfelt's regiments (and when we ſpeak of Imperial regiments it muſt be obſerved, that they were at leaſt double in number to thoſe of Guſtavus) he began the attack, on the late-erected fortifications of the new city (which was near the banks of the Elb, and where the adminiſtrator commanded) preciſely at five in the morning, one piece of cannon being diſcharged by way of ſignal to all the troops. His watch-word was Jeſu Maria (the ſame afterwards uſed at the battle of Leipſic) and each ſoldier wore a white ribbon on his right-arm *.

At the ſame inſtant two other attacks were commenced with an equal number of troops, conducted by Adolphus duke of Holſtein, and count Mansfelt: the latter attempted the Sudenburg-quarter near the great cathedral, where Falkenberg commanded, and the former directed his force againſt the Cröcken-gate, which watch maſter general Amſteroth undertook to maintain. The defence of the banks of the Elb (that river not being ſuppoſed paſſable by reaſon of its depth, and through want of boats) was left to the care of fiſhermen, and ſome few other inhabi-

* Brief, but Authentic Relation of the Siege of Magdeburg in High Dutch, 4°. Magd. 1709.

tants.

tants *. Tilly diſmiſſed his officers with a ſhort ſpeech, and kept aloof at the head of a body of reſerve, in order to convey ſupports and aſſiſtances wherever they might be wanted. 1631.

Mean while all things kept as quiet within the town, as if nothing had been in agitation. Falkenberg, after watching the whole night in the ramparts, was unfortunately gone to a council held at the town-hall, in order to diſpatch the trumpeter above-mentioned to Tilly, as was alſo the adminiſtrator.

Pappenheim, the mean while in the poſt of honour allotted for him, having ordered all his cavalry to diſmount in an inſtant, drove the city-ſoldiers out of the fauſſebraie, and obliged them to retreat behind the upper wall. He next cauſed the new work to be attacked, and then filing along under the town-wall, upon which was ranged a battery of cannon, made one furious effort upon the laſt parapet. Hither Falkenberg flew from the ſenate-houſe, with all the troops he could collect together, and puſhed him back beyond the new work, marching over the bodies of a hundred ſlaughtered Imperialiſts. At length being mortally wounded, he was obliged to be carried back to the neareſt part of the town, where he continued to give his orders with unparalleled reſolution †.

Mean while Pappenheim perceiving the courage of the beſieged to ſlacken, and making a ſecond attempt with greater ſucceſs than he could have flattered himſelf, entered the ſtreets about ſeven in the morning. It was then that Falkenberg greatly wanted his cavalry, which might have overborn the enemies before their own horſe were admitted; but he found to his great mortification in his dying moments, that ſome perfidious citizens had barricaded the ſtreets with chains. All we know further with reſpect to him is, that his body periſhed in the flames.

* Chemnitius, 126. Brachel. 251.

† In this conflict the traytor Quinti Aligheri was killed, who, as Chemnitz tells us, was lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Savelli: but a ſubſequent account [page 237] gives that poſt to don Joſeph de Ainſa. Nevertheleſs the difficulty may be eaſily ſolved. Theodanus in his narrative calls Ainſa the lieutenant-colonel, ſome days after the action, by which time the general might have filled up the vacant commiſſion.

1631. During this rencounter one captain Smith greatly ſignalized himſelf: he repulſed the Imperialiſts a ſecond time, but an unfortunate ſhot ſoon put an end to his generous efforts; and when the alarum-bell began to ſound, the citizens loſt all courage, and each man provided for his own private ſafety by retiring to his own houſe, or attempting to abſcond and ſhelter his perſon elſewhere. The duke of Holſtein *, by Pappenheim's aſſiſtance, then entered the Hamburg-gate, after having made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts before, and pointed the cannon of the ramparts againſt the ſtreets. At length Mansfelt got into the town, and in the interim the cavalry broke in like a torrent through the Hamburg-gate. This hindered the remaining part of the garriſon from uniting, and making one general defence in the public ſquare.

The adminiſtrator, at the beginning of the firſt attack, had his thigh ruffled with a cannon-ball, and received afterwards ſeveral muſquet-ſhots, one particularly in the left-leg: he was at length taken priſoner, under promiſe of kind and humane uſage ſuitable to his quality; yet ſoon after ſome freſh ſoldiers fell upon him, who not only killed his domeſtics, that attended him, but gave him two wounds in cold blood, one with a piſtol on the leg, and one with a battle-ax on the head. They then ſtripped him almoſt naked, and had diſpatched him without remorſe, if Pappenheim had not flown to his aſſiſtance, and ordered him to be carried on two pikes to his tent, fainting, and half-naked. Next morning Pappenheim conveyed him in a coach to Wolmerſtadt, and ordered his own chaplain and gentleman of the bed-chamber to attend him. The dukes of Holſtein and Saxony † had the unpoliteneſs to reproach him in very groſs terms; but he defended the juſtice of his cauſe with manly anſwers, and acquitted himſelf conformably to the ſpirit of a prince and man of honour.

Some time afterwards Pappenheim aſked him, how he could be ſo ill-adviſed as to expoſe his life, and all that he poſſeſſed, for the ſake of

* Afterwards killed at Leipſic.

† Rodolph duke of Sax-Lauenberg. He performed wonders at the battle of Leipſic, and with two or three horſemen reſcued Tilly when taken priſoner.

perſons, who ſold him every day, and informed the beſiegers of the or- 1631.
der of the guard, the numbers deſtined to the ſupport of each ſtation, the weakneſs of the fortifications, and the ſeveral inconveniencies they laboured under? That conformably to theſe reports he had laid the plan of the laſt attack, and thereby judged preciſely when and where to make it.

When the adminiſtrator was brought before Tilly, he told him and his generals boldly; *That the Supreme Being would take vengeance upon them: that blood could only be expiated with blood: that acts of maſſacre were fatal to armies; and that ſooner or later the catholic forces would ſuffer juſtly an equal degree of chaſtiſement with what they had inflicted: that the Imperial cauſe was verging towards its decline, and the glory of Tilly lay interred in the ruins of Magdeburg.*

And now began a maſſacre not to be paralleled in modern ages. I know nothing approaches to it but the ſtorming of Drogheda by Cromwell, who ſeems to have copied Tilly in the very meaneſt part of his character. The ſoldiers fired promiſcuouſly in the ſtreets, churches and ſquares, upon perſons of all ages, ſex, and conditions, with the ſame fury as in the day of battle. The very beſt troops, the old Walloons, behaved the leaſt like men, and, as there may be a juſtice ſometimes in cruelty, ſpared not their own friends within the town, namely, the informers, in the general maſſacre. The Croatians exerciſed barbarities unknown to ſavages. The young men and the new-raiſed ſoldiers were the only people, that ſhewed any viſible ſigns of compaſſion. When the ſtreets and public places were filled with dead bodies, (and this ſcene may be conſidered as the very mildeſt part of their cruelty) the troops diſbanded themſelves, and began to enter the houſes. Here began a more deliberate perpetration of murther: even the aged, the ſick, and the young, found no mercy. Two ſoldiers held an infant by the legs with the head downwards, and chined it with their ſwords. Eight Croatians violated a poor girl, and then transfixed her to the ground with an halbert. A young lady of quality was ſeized by an officer, but as he dragged her over the Elb-bridge, ſhe begged leave to have the uſe of her hands to

1631. take out her handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and that inſtant plunged herſelf into the river, and there expired. Another young woman of faſhion, remarkable for her beauty, knowing that in ſuch a caſe her charms were the leaſt part of her protection, deliberately plunged herſelf into a well: and twenty young girls, who were aſſembled together * at a houſe near the banks of the Elb, ruſhed out of the doors all at once, and embracing each other, threw themſelves into the river.

By this time the whole city was in flames. Moſt hiſtorians attribute this to accident; but as the fire began in various places at once, many may be inclined to conſider it as a part of the beſieger's cruelty. Thus the few periſhed, who had concealed themſelves, and by the juſtice of Providence, the Imperialiſts loſt the greater part, not only of what they had plundered, but of what the inhabitants had hidden.

Nothing remained of the town but the cathedral, the church and convent of Notre Dame, ſome few houſes, that ſtood round it, and about eighty or an hundred fiſhermen's cottages on the banks of the Elb. Out of 40,000 inhabitants †, it is thought, hardly the number of 800 eſcaped. Some retired to the cathedral, ſome obtained quarter in hopes of

* The author of the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburg is pleaſed to do more honour to the heroic virtue of the fair-ſex than my collections can authorize me to ſet forth; for he makes the number of theſe Clœlia's amount, according to ſome relations, to 1200.

† When I ſay 40,000 inhabitants, I ſpeak only from others, it being my own private opinion, that including the garriſon, there could not be above that number in the town: nevertheleſs ſure it is, that many gentry in the neighbourhood, and many country people, who had connexions with the citizens, refuged themſelves therein. It may be proper therefore upon this occaſion to give a tranſcript verbatim from the German relator, whom I have twice quoted already. "It is impoſſible, ſaith he, to aſcertain the number of perſons, that periſhed in the city; for "the ſword and fire made equal ravages, and "the flames, perhaps, deſtroyed as many perſons, if not more, than the cruelty of the barbarians; for when the vaults and cellars came "to be opened, in moſt of them were found "three, four, or five women and children, who "had been ſuffocated. The number of the "dead cannot be judged from the liſt of burials; "for ſome ſuppoſe 6,440 bodies to be thrown "into the Elb, not to mention thoſe, which the "fire conſumed, and others, that were buried "in the ruins; ſo that a quarter of a year "elapſed before many could be found. From "the few ſurvivors we might have received ſome "certain intelligence, but moſt of them were "carried into different camps, from whence they "eſcaped and diſperſed themſelves over Germany and Europe. According to the common opinion and report, it was judged, that "about 400 citizens remained alive *(meaning thoſe that Tilly found in the great cathedral)* "part "whereof were detained priſoners with their "wives

of ranſom, ſome eſcaped over the walls, ſome were dug out of the ruins, and ſome few were preſerved by the ſeeming interpoſition of Providence. An handful of the garriſon, which held out to the very laſt man, obtained conditions; but all the officers were put to the ſword, excepting Amſteroth, who was taken priſoner, and died the next day, and a lieutenant-colonel and major, whoſe lives were ſpared. 1631.

When one conſiders Tilly's bigotry and extreme averſion to the proteſtants, Pappenheim may be eaſily excuſed from being the author of this monſtrous ſcene of cruelty. Why elſe did Tilly make but momentary viſits to the town, which laboured then under ſo extraordinary misfortunes? or why, when ſome of the officers made remonſtrances to him, did he reply coldly and unconcernedly: *The town muſt bleed: it hath not yet made ſufficient expiation. Let the ſoldiers perſiſt another hour, and then we will re-conſider the matter!*

Some have ſaid in behalf of the Imperial general, (and Cromwell is reported to have made the ſame excuſe) that ſeverities of this kind were exerciſed only *in terrorem*. But if that had been the caſe, the garriſon alone was the true object of reſentment; an act, even in that light, highly unjuſtifiable, being diſgraceful to common humanity, and irreconcileable with the prudence of a great commander, who knows the revolution of chances in war, and never deſires to make it more bloody than it is well known to be in its own nature.

Three days after the aſſault, the Imperial general made his public entrance into the town, and went directly to the cathedral, where about 400 people of both ſexes had locked in and barricaded themſelves, having neither eat nor drank ſince the city was ſtormed. He ordered them ſome proviſions, impriſoned the men in the adminiſtrator's palace, and ſent the women and children into his camp. He is ſaid to have repeated the following paſſages from Virgil on the occa-

" wives and children: ſome were ranſomed, " and others made their flight under favour of " the night, and by means of a fire, which " broke out in Tilly's camp at Fermerſleben, " on the fourth day after the town was taken, " which conſumed the greateſt part of that " plunder, for whoſe ſake the ſoldier had exchanged his honour and his humanity——In " a word, the everſion of the beautiful and illuſtrious town of Magdeburg can only be " compared with the deſtruction of the cities of " Troy, Saguntum, and Jeruſalem."

ſion,

1631. ſion, which might very well happen, as he had received his education among the Jeſuits;

Venit ſumma dies & ineluctabile fatum.
——fuit Ilium, & ingens
Gloria Parthenopes *.

He examined the few ſurviving ſoldiers of the garriſon with great attention, being determined to make an example of all deſerters, and reproached them (for which there was no reaſon) for making, as he ſaid, ſo poor a defence; and then gave his orders, that plundering ſhould ceaſe from that moment. Next morning a dreadful fire broke out in his camp, fortunately enough for Stalman, the Swediſh reſident, who had been confined there under a cloſe guard; for amidſt the extraordinary hurry and confuſion he recovered his liberty, and rejoined his maſter †.

Theſe barbarities touched the king of Sweden to the very heart, and raiſed his indignation to ſuch a pitch, that he proteſted firmly, with a tone of anger, that he would be revenged *on the old corporal* for this maſſacre, or loſe his life in the attempt. To give vent to his paſſion, he publiſhed a ſenſible and well-reaſoned manifeſto, wherein he plainly ſhewed, that the citizens of Magdeburg in general had behaved very inſincerely with him, having made no ſubſcription for their common defence, nor given any proper accommodations to the garriſon till the town was actually inveſted; and then ſuch aſſiſtances were adminiſtred grudgingly, and came too late.——That they had turned a deaf ear to the repreſentations of the adminiſtrator laſt ſummer; who, if his remonſtrances could have carried any weight with them, would have fruſtrated Pappenheim in the blockade he then formed; and allowed his majeſty to have planned out ſome fortifications, which might have rendered the town impregnable, and conſequently have removed the ſeat of war into ſome other country.——He taxed the inhabitants with infidelity to the proteſtant cauſe, and reminded them of the ſupplies he

* Tranſlated literally Parthenopolis; Magdeburg ſignifying in the German language, *Virgin's town.*

† Brief but Authentic Relation, 4°.

formerly

formerly drew for them from the banks of Hamburg and Lubec.——As 1631.
to any promiſe of raiſing the ſiege, he deſired the public to reflect, that ſuch engagements carry a tacit implication with them of being eventual, and muſt be regulated by convenience, poſſibility, and the ſtate of things. And here he obſerved occaſionally, that after having made himſelf maſter of Gartz and Griffenhagen, he had certainly ruined the ſeparate army under Schomberg, and in conſequence thereof raiſed the ſiege of Magdeburg too, if the governor of Cuſtrin, (which belonged to the elector of Brandenburg) had not denied him the poſſeſſion of that town at ſo critical a conjuncture. He then continued to remark, that it was incumbent upon him, before he marched to relieve Magdeburg, to take Francfort, clear the Imperial troops diſperſed along the banks of the Oder and the Sileſian ſide of the Worta, and defeat Schomberg, who was ſuperior to him in cavalry, and conſequently had the power of haraſſing the rear of his army, or diſturbing his quarters every moment.—That Tilly during this interval had greatly ſtrengthened the army of obſervation, which lay near Francfort; ſo that it was dangerous to make long marches, or conſiderable movements, when a ſuperior force had always the power to tread on his heels.—Nevertheleſs, ſuch was his Swediſh majeſty's zeal, that for the ſake of relieving Magdeburg, he made that haſty and furious ſtorm on Francfort, and thence marched to Spandau, where he found a reſerved and jejune reception from the elector of Brandenburg: adding likewiſe, that the duke of Saxony had denied him proviſions and boats to convey his troops down the Elb, and had refuſed him a paſſage over that large river, either at Wittemberg or the Deſſau-bridge; ſo that hitherto he could pronounce nothing with certainty concerning thoſe two princes, till they had ſpirit and magnanimity enough to take off the maſk, and act as open enemies or declared friends. Laſtly, all the world might ſee, that his intereſt and inclination were both equally concerned in the relief of Magdeburg, ſince upon the news of its being taken, he was obliged to cauſe his army to retreat, and vary the whole plan of his operations. Nevertheleſs, he even then had relieved Magdeburg, if the ſaid electors had co-

operated

1631. operated with him, or indulged him only with a free paſſage through their territories *.

Many preceding accidents and prodigies were called to mind upon the completion of this event, conformably to the reigning diſpoſition of that age. Some weeks before the blockade was formed a part of the city-wall tumbled down without any aſſignable reaſon †.

When the adminiſtrator mounted his horſe at Hamburg, in order to take poſſeſſion of the town, two loud ſudden thunder-claps were heard in a clear ſky.

Whilſt Tilly held his council of war at Hamelen in company with Pappenheim, Gronsfelt, commiſſary general Rupa, and others, and determined at once to undertake the ſiege, immediately aroſe a hurricane, which overturned a magazine of powder with ſuch force, that the falling ſtones ſtruck fire, and ſo aſtoniſhing an exploſion enſued, that they all fell down on their knees, and offered up their prayers, ſuppoſing it to be an earthquake. The ſame ſtorm reached Magdeburg; for Falkenberg, who happened at that time to be riding in the fields, was thrice blown off his horſe: and the ſtatues of the wiſe virgins (which ſtood in Paradiſe-chapel, belonging to the great cathedral) were overturned, and their lamps thrown out of their hands ‡.

But the prodigy, which puzzled all men, and concerning which we have ſpoken incidentally in another place, was what happened to an exempt corporal's wife, who died in labour with inexpreſſible agonies, in the new city, which Pappenheim ſtormed, requeſting above all things, that her body might be opened, which produced to the public a boy as large as a child three years old, cloathed in armour of fleſh like a coat of mail; and, if the reader chuſes to peruſe the account in its original form (for all authors mention it) he may find the exacteſt deſcription in the places referred to at the bottom of the page ‖.

But to return to the maſſacre at Magdeburg: in the opinion of many judicious readers, I may be thought to violate the dignity of hiſtory, by

* Chemnit. de Bello Sueco Germ. Tom. i. 134, &c. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part i. p. 96, &c.

† Waſſenbergii Florus Germ. de Bello Magdeburgico.

‡ Arma Suecica, 66, 67.

‖ Brief but Authentic Relation in High Dutch. Chemnitius, Tom. i. 132, Brachel. p. 254.

inſerting

inſerting here two narratives, which contain a diſtinct account of the 1631.
ſtorming Magdeburg: The one written by M. Theodanus, then miniſter of the church of St. Catharine, and the other by a fiſherman, who died about the year 1720, having ſurvived the deſtruction of his native town at leaſt ninety years. But the two relations appear to me ſo very intereſting, and ſo ſtrongly marked with authenticity, that I cannot allow myſelf the permiſſion to ſuppreſs them.

" Going * out of church, immediately after ſermon †, ſome people " of St. James's pariſh paſſed by, and told me the enemy had entered " the town. With difficulty could I perſuade myſelf, that this was any " thing more than a falſe alarm: but the news unfortunately proved too " true. I then loſt my preſence of mind, and as my wife and maid-" ſervant were with me, we ran directly to my collegue M. Malſio's " houſe, and left our own houſe open. At M. Malſio's we found many " people, who had fled to him in great perplexity. We comforted and " exhorted each other, as far as the terror of our minds would give us " leave. I was ſummoned thence to diſcharge the laſt duties to a colo-" nel, who lay dangerouſly wounded. I reſolved to go, and ſent my " maid to fetch my gown: but before my departure from my wife and " neighbours, I told them, that the affair appeared to me to be concluded, " and that we ſhould meet no more in this world. My wife reproached " me in a flood of tears, crying, *Can you prevail on yourſelf to leave me to* " *periſh all alone? You muſt anſwer for it before God!* I repreſented to her " the obligations of my function, and the importance of the moments " I was called upon to give my aſſiſtance in.

" As I croſſed the great ſtreet, a multitude of matrons and young " women flocked round me, and beſought me, in all the agonies of " diſtreſs, to adviſe them what to do. I told them, my beſt advice was " to recommend themſelves to God's protecting grace, and prepare for

* Angeli; Hiſt. de la Ville de Magdeburg, 12°. 1714.

† Hübner mentions the text, that was preached on;—*The ſnare is broken, and we are delivered,* Pſalm cxxiv. 7. which proved to be inauſpiciouſly choſen; nevertheleſs, it plainly ſhews, that the prevalent opinion then was, that the enemy intended to raiſe the ſiege. Geogr. de Hübner. Tom. vi. 190.

1631. " death. At length I entered the colonel's lodgings, and found him " ſtretched on the floor, and very weak. I gave him ſuch conſolation " as the diſorders of my mind would permit me: he heard me with great " attention, and ordered a ſmall preſent of gold to be given me, which " I left on the table. In this interval the enemy poured in by crouds " at the Hamburg-gate, and fired upon the multitude as upon beaſts of " prey. Suddenly my wife and maid-ſervant entered the room, and per- " ſuaded me to remove immediately, alledging we ſhould meet with no " quarter, if the enemy found us in an apartment filled with arms. We " run down into the court-yard of the houſe, and placed ourſelves in " the gateway. Our enemies ſoon burſt the gate open, with an eager- " neſs that cannot be deſcribed. The firſt compellation they beſtowed " on me was, *Prieſt, deliver thy money.* I gave them about four-and- " twenty ſhillings in a little box, which they accepted with good-will; " but when they opened the box, and found only ſilver, they raiſed " their tone of language, and demanded gold. I repreſented to them, " that I was at ſome diſtance from my houſe, and that at preſent I could " not poſſibly give them more. They were reaſonable enough to be " contented with my anſwer, and left us, after having plundered the " houſe, without offering us any inſult. There was a well-looking " youth among the croud, to whom my wife addreſſed herſelf, and be- " ſought him in God's name to protect us: *My dear child*, ſaid he, *it is* " *a thing impoſſible: we muſt purſue our enemies*; and ſo they retired.

" In that moment another party of ſoldiers ruſhed in, who demanded " alſo our money. We contented them with ſeven ſhillings, and a " couple of ſilver ſpoons, which the maid fortunately had concealed in " her pocket. They were ſcarce gone, before a ſoldier entered alone, " with the moſt furious countenance I ever ſaw. Each cheek was " puffed out with a muſquet-ball, and he carried two muſquets on his " ſhoulder. The moment he perceived me, he cried with a voice of " thunder, *Prieſt, give thy money, or thou art dead.* As I had nothing " to give him, I made my apology in the moſt affecting manner: he " levelled a piece to ſhoot me, but my wife luckily turned it with her " hand, and the ball paſſed over my head. At length, finding we had

" no

" no money, he aſked for plate: my wife gave him ſome ſilver trinkets, 1631.
" and he went his way.

" A little after came four or five ſoldiers, who only ſaid, *Wicked*
" *prieſt, what doſt thou here?* Having ſaid thus much, they departed.

" We were now inclined to ſhelter ourſelves in the uppermoſt lodg-
" ings of the houſe, hoping to be there leſs expoſed, and better con-
" cealed. We entered a chamber, that had ſeveral beds in it, and
" paſſed ſome time there in the moſt inſupportable agonies. Nothing
" was heard in the ſtreets but the diſcharge of muſquets, and the
" cries of expiring people: nor were the houſes much more quiet;
" every thing was burſt open, or cut to pieces. We were ſoon diſ-
" covered in our retirement: a number of ſoldiers poured in, and one,
" who carried an hatchet, made an attempt to cleave my ſkull; but a
" companion hindered him, and ſaid, *Comrade, what are you doing?*
" *Don't you perceive, that he is a clergyman!*

" When theſe were gone, a ſingle ſoldier came in, to whom my
" wife gave a crape handkerchief off her neck: upon which he re-
" tired without offering us any injury. His ſucceſſor was not ſo rea-
" ſonable; for entering the chamber with his ſword drawn, he im-
" mediately diſcharged a blow on my head, ſaying, *Prieſt, give me thy*
" *money.* The ſtroke ſtunned me, the blood guſhed out in abundance,
" and frightened my wife and ſervant to that degree, that they both
" continued motionleſs. The barbarian turned round to my wife,
" aimed a blow at her, but it glanced fortunately on her gown, which
" happened to be lined with furs, and wounded her not. Amazed to
" ſee us ſo ſubmiſſive and patient, he looked at us fixedly for ſome mo-
" ments. I laid hold of this interval to repreſent to him, that I was
" not in my own houſe, being come to the place where I was, to diſ-
" charge my duty to a dying perſon; but if he would grant us quarter,
" and protect us to our home, I would then beſtow upon him all I had.
" *Agreed, prieſt*, ſaid he, *give me thy wealth, and I will give thee the watch-*
" *word: it is Jeſu Maria; pronounce that, and no one will hurt thee.* We
" went down ſtairs directly, highly contented to have found ſuch a
" protector. The ſtreet was covered with the dead and dying; their

1631. " cries were enough to have pierced the hearts of the greateſt barbari-
" ans. We walked over the bodies, and when we arrived at the church
" of St. Catharine, met an officer of diſtinction on horſeback. This
" generous perſon ſoon diſcovered us, and ſeeing me covered with blood,
" ſaid to the perſon, who conducted us, *Fellow ſoldier, fellow ſoldier, take*
" *care what you do to theſe perſons.* At the ſame time he ſaid to my
" wife; *Madam, is yonder houſe yours?* My wife having anſwered it was:
" *Well*, added he, *take hold of my ſtirrup, conduct me thither, and you ſhall*
" *have quarter.* Then turning to me, and making a ſign to the ſol-
" diers with his hand, he ſaid to me, *Gentlemen of Magdeburg, you*
" *yourſelves are the occaſion of this deſtruction; you might have acted other-*
" *wiſe.* The ſoldier, who had uſed me ill, took this opportunity to ſteal
" away. Upon entering my houſe, we found it filled with a multitude
" of plunderers, whom the officer (who was a colonel *) ordered away.
" He then ſaid he would take up his lodging with us, and having poſted
" two ſoldiers for a guard to us, left us with a promiſe to return forth-
" with. We gave, with great chearfulneſs, a good breakfaſt to our
" centinels, who complimented us on the lucky fortune of falling into
" their colonel's hands; at the ſame time repreſenting to us, that their
" fellow-ſoldiers made a conſiderable booty, whilſt they continued in-
" active, merely as a ſafe-guard to us, and therefore beſeeching us to
" render them an equivalent to a certain degree. Upon this I gave
" them four roſe-nobles, with which they were well contented, and
" ſhewed ſo much humanity, as to make us an offer to go and ſearch
" for any acquaintance, whom we deſired to place in ſafety with us. I
" told them I had one particular friend, who had eſcaped to the cathedral,
" as I conjectured, and promiſed them a good gratuity on his part, if
" they ſaved his life. One of them, accompanied by my ſervant-maid,
" went to the church, and called my friend often by name; but it was
" all in vain, no one anſwered, and we never heard mention of him
" from that period.

" Some moments after our colonel returned, and demanded, whether
" any perſon had offered us the leaſt incivility. After we had diſculpated

* He was only a lieutenant-colonel.

" the

" the ſoldiers in this reſpect, he haſtened abroad to ſee, if there was any 1631.
" poſſibility to extinguiſh the fire, which had already ſeized great part
" of the city: he had hardly got into the ſtreet, when he returned with
" uncommon haſtineſs, and ſaid, *Shew me the way out of town, for I ſee*
" *plainly we ſhall periſh in the flames, if we ſtay here a few minutes longer.*
" Upon this we threw the beſt of our goods and moveables into a
" vaulted cellar, covered the trap-door with earth, and made our eſcape.
" My wife took nothing with her but my robe; my maid ſeized a neigh-
" bour's infant-child by the hand, whom we found crying at his fa-
" ther's door, and led him away. We found it impoſſible to paſs through
" the gates of the town, which were all in a flame, and the ſtreets burnt
" with great fury on either ſide. In a word, the heat was ſo intenſe,
" that it was with difficulty we were able to breathe. Having made
" ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, we determined at laſt to make our
" eſcape on the ſide of the town next the Elb. The ſtreets were clogged
" with dead bodies, and the groans of the dying were inſupportable.
" The Walloons and Croatians attacked us every moment, but our gene-
" rous colonel protected us from their fury. When we gained the baſti-
" on, which ſtands on the banks of the Elb, we deſcended by the ſcal-
" ing ladders, which the Imperialiſts had made uſe of in the aſſault,
" and arrived at length in the enemy's camp near Rottenſee, thoroughly
" fatigued, and extremely alarmed.

" The colonel made us enter into his tent, and preſented us ſome re-
" freſhments. That ceremony being over; *Well*, ſaid he, *having ſaved*
" *your lives, what return do you make me?* We told him, that for the pre-
" ſent we had nothing to beſtow, but that we would transfer to him all
" the money and plate that we had buried in the cellar, which was the
" whole of our worldly poſſeſſions. At this inſtant many Imperial
" officers came in, and one chanced to ſay to me, *Ego tibi condoleo, ego*
" *ſum addictus Fidei Auguſtanæ.* The depreſſed ſtate I found myſelf in,
" made me unable to give a proper reply to the condolances of a man,
" who carried arms againſt thoſe, whoſe religion he profeſſed, and whoſe
" hard fortune he pretended to deplore.

" Next

1631. "Next day the colonel ſent one of his domeſtics with my maid-ſer-
" vant to ſearch for the treaſure we had buried in the cellar; but they
" returned without ſucceſs, becauſe, as the fire ſtill continued, they could
" not approach the trap-door. In the mean while the colonel made us
" his gueſts at his own table, and during our whole ſtay treated us
" not as priſoners, but as intimate friends.

" One day at dinner an officer of the company happened to ſay, *That*
" *our ſins were the cauſe of all the evil we ſuffered, and that God had made*
" *uſe of the catholic army to chaſtiſe us:* to whom my wife replied, that
" the obſervation perhaps was but too true: *However, take care,* con-
" tinued ſhe, *leſt God in the end ſhould throw that very ſcourge into the*
" *flames.* This ſort of female prophecy was fulfilled ſoon afterwards on
" the ſelf ſame Imperial army, which was almoſt totally deſtroyed at
" the battle of Leipſic *.

" At length I ventured one day to aſk our colonel to give us leave to
" depart; he complied immediately, upon condition we paid our ran-
" ſom. Next morning I ſent my maid into town to try, if there was
" any poſſibility of penetrating into the cellar: ſhe was more fortunate
" that day, and returned with all our wealth.

" Having returned our thanks to our deliverer, he immediately or-
" dered a paſſport to be prepared for us, with permiſſion to retire to
" whatever place we ſhould think proper, and made us a preſent of a
" crown to defray the expence of our journey. This brave Spaniard
" was colonel of the regiment of Savelli, and named Don Joſeph de
" Ainſa †."

I ſhall

* There is reaſon to think our Spaniſh officer was killed there, for many accounts reckon Savelli (in whoſe regiment he ſerved as lieutenant colonel) among the dead: but Savelli in truth was then abſent, being gone to Vienna in order to be examined concerning the ſurrender of Damin: and thus the ſubſtitute might be confounded with the commander he repreſented.

† I find Don Joſeph de Ainſa only once mentioned in the thirty years wars, and that was in 1625, when Spinelli and he commanded a body of troops of 5000 men, and had a deſign to attack Mansfelt near Namur. The reader at this time of day may conſider our Spaniſh hero, as no ſuch example and pattern of tranſcendent generoſity; and may be ſurprized at the gratitude the good paſtor ſhews him in his narrative, and at the expreſſions of protector, deliverer, &c. And the rather, as the ſaid officer, after all his courteſies, took from him the whole he poſſeſſed, if we except liberty and life. But the ſtate of war, and the manners of that

I ſhall next give my readers the fiſherman's ſhort narrative verbatim, 1631.
in its own natural caſt of expreſſion *.

" The 10th of May, early in the morning, at the time the regent " or maſter of our ſchool was reading prayers, a report flew through " the ſtreets, that the town was taken, which was confirmed by the " ringing of the alarum bells. Our regent diſmiſſed us all in a mo- " ment, ſaying, *My dear children, haſten to your homes, and recommend " yourſelves to the protection of God; for it is highly probable we ſhall meet no " more except in heaven.* In an inſtant we all diſappeared, ſome one " way, and ſome another way. For my own part, I took my courſe " with ſpeed along the high ſtreet, and found, where the public ſtyllyards " are, (and where the grand guard of the city was kept) a conſiderable " body of troops, with their ſwords drawn; and ſaw near them, and at " a diſtance round them, a great number of ſoldiers ſtretched dead on " the pavement. Terrified with ſo melancholy a ſight, I ſhaped my " courſe down the ſtreet, called Pelican, with a view to conceal myſelf " in my father's houſe; but had hardly advanced a few ſteps, before I " fell in with a band of ſoldiers, who had that moment murdered a " man, whom I ſaw weltering in his blood. This ſight ſhocked me to " ſuch a degree, that I had not power to move forwards; but ſhelter- " ing myſelf in an houſe oppoſite to the Pelican inn, found a kind- " ſpeaking aged man, who ſaid to me, *Child, why comeſt thou hither? " Save thyſelf before the ſoldiers ſeize thee.* I was ſtrongly tempted to put " his advice in practice; but in that moment a party of Croatians " ruſhed in, and holding a ſabre to his throat, demanded his wealth. " The old man immediately opened a coffer to them full of gold, and " ſilver, and precious ſtones. They crammed their pockets with his " riches; yet, as the coffer was not emptied, they filled a ſmall baſket " with the part that remained, and then ſhot the poor old man through

that age, were greatly different from what hath ſince been practiſed. The commanders then made no ceremony of living by their ſwords: many of them conſidered conqueſt as matter of real right and property: but political œconomy, natural humanity, and public utility (not to mention the example of Guſtavus) ſoon changed theſe practices to a certain degree: yet room for amendment ſtill remained, and yet remaineth.

* Angeli; Hiſt. de la Ville de Magdeburg, 12°. 1714.

" the

1631. "the head. I ſtole away behind them, hoping to ſeek a place of ſafety "amongſt ſome empty caſks; and found there a young lady, perfectly "handſome, who conjured me to remove, and make no mention of "her. Anxiouſly reflecting where to diſpoſe of myſelf, the ſame "Croatians ſurprized me again, and one of them ſaid, *Baſtardly dog*, "*carry this baſket for us.* I took it up immediately and followed them "wherever they went. They entered ſeveral cellars, and rifled wo-"men, maidens, and all perſons, that fell in their hands, without re-"morſe. As we aſcended from one of theſe cellars, we ſaw, with "aſtoniſhment, that the flames had ſeized the whole fore-part of the "houſe. We ruſhed through the fire, and ſaved ourſelves. In all "probability, every ſoul was deſtroyed, that remained within doors. As "to my father, mother, and relations, I never heard a ſyllable concern-"ing them from that time to the preſent."

Thus ended the ſiege and ſtorming of Magdeburg; which latter incident may be conſidered as the moſt bloody and aſtoniſhing tranſaction, that we can poſſibly find in modern hiſtory. Upon this occaſion it, was ſaid of Tilly, with great juſtice, that moſt generals, who have enjoyed uninterrupted proſperity in battle, become cruel and vindictive upon the firſt reverſe of good ſucceſs. For Tilly, long before the ſurprize of Magdeburg, ſaw the die of fortune very inclinable to vary to his diſadvantage; his temper grew ſour and reſerved; his natural chearfulneſs deſerted him. He beheld, with infinite regret, a young, vigilant, intrepid and able adverſary, reſolved to make a trial of ſkill in the ſight of all Europe againſt an old man, who was obliged to ſee with other people's eyes, and commit the execution of the moſt important actions to inferior commanders: and, finally, what completed his unhappineſs was, his troops began to withdraw their confidence and obedience from him; for being glutted with rapine, and fleſhed with cruelty, like children over-indulged in vices by a fond parent, they took the liberty to deſpiſe that lawful authority, which had a ſort of natural right to their ſervices. And here it may be obſerved, that Cromwell's cruelty at Drogheda was not much inferior to the Imperial barbarity exerciſed at Magdeburg; and

and even Turenne's character will for ever be tarniſhed by the fatal irruption made by him into the Palatinate; in all which caſes one cannot help lamenting with the hiſtorian, *ne tanti facinoris immanitas aut non extitiſſe, aut non vindicata fuiſſe videatur.* 1631.

The ſiege of Magdeburg being over, which little ſucceſs on the Auſtrian ſide did not deter the ſtates of Holland from ſubſcribing 50,000 guilders a month to the uſe of Guſtavus*, all things were reduced to a new ſtate of confuſion between Brandenburg and Sweden: for the elector, much diſmayed at the event, re-demanded the fort of Spandau, (the time ſtipulated being rendered void by the reduction of the aforeſaid city) a place of extreme conſequence both to Tilly and the King; ſince, to all human appearances, the poſſeſſion of it ſeemed to determine the fortune of theſe two contending warriors. His majeſty had his own garriſon in it, conſiſting only of 400 men (for fear his neighbours might think him too encroaching on one hand, or too diffident of their ſincerity on the other); and from the rights of convenience and urgent neceſſity, he might have kept the ſame, and juſtified his conduct to the public. Leſs matter would have furniſhed out a very plauſible manifeſto; and a timorous or unconſcientious perſon would have ſeized this opportunity at all hazards, and indulged a certain freedom of fixing his poſſeſſion therein at every event, eſpecially as the elector of Brandenburg was no leſs than brother-in-law to the king of Sweden: but Guſtavus, determined to obſerve the ſtricteſt rules of honour, knew not how to purchaſe ſucceſs (though the fate of his army and his whole military character lay at ſtake) at the expence of his reputation and good faith. And conſidering likewiſe, that his garriſon had taken an oath to the elector, which he looked upon as matter of indiſpenſible obligation even in the emergencies of war, he, who had always the gift of deciding in an inſtant, ſent the elector word, by a trumpeter, with an air of anger and diſdain (for the mortification he felt was inexpreſſible), *That he was at full liberty to repoſſeſs Spandau: but that himſelf in perſon would make a viſit to Berlin; proteſting, in the ſame breath, that the effuſion of innocent blood ſhould not be laid to his charge.* At the

* Hiſtorical and Authentic Relation, &c. in Low Dutch, fol. Part ii. 77.

1631. heels of this meſſenger he diſpatched count Thurn with more ample orders, commanding him to tell the elector, *That the neutrality between them was now underſtood to ceaſe: and as whatever turned out to the detriment of Sweden and its allies, muſt conſequently prove advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria; of courſe the elector muſt excuſe him, if he occupied paſſes, took towns, and quartered his troops relatively to his own convenience: for he now made a declaration of hoſtilities in form, and allowed him only three days to return a definitive anſwer, without any regard to the future concurrence and co-operation of the court of Dreſden.*

The elector no ways reliſhed ſuch compendious methods of proceeding; but Tilly's removal into the foreſt of Hartz (which may be conſidered as an indiſcretion) with a view to terrify the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, leſſened the terrors he had conceived of the houſe of Auſtria; ſo, as Arnheim happened to be then at Berlin, he beſought the favour of him (as to all appearance, though not in truth ſo, a diſintereſted perſon, and one well known to the public in the character of no common negotiator) to undertake to avert the king's anger, and induce him to enter into ſome new agreement. Arnheim, (who in fact was ſent to Berlin in order to counterwork the Swediſh meaſures) took poſt-horſes, and reached the king forthwith, but could obtain no conceſſions. His majeſty then, conformably to his plan, ſoon brought matters to a ſhort concluſion; for he marched directly to Berlin at the head of five troops of horſe, one thouſand commanded muſqueteers, and four field-pieces, thinking it moſt prudent to make uſe of great force, and a ſuperior degree of compulſion. The aſtoniſhed elector negotiated three days to very little purpoſe: at length his conſort* and the exiled mother of the elector Palatin, (who had made Berlin her place of refuge) accompanied by ſome ladies of diſtinguiſhed quality, addreſſing themſelves a ſecond time to Guſtavus, ſoon made ſome impreſſion on his ſeeming impenetrability, and effected, partly by perſuaſion and partly by tears, what the men had vainly laboured to bring to a concluſion. In conſequence of this application, Spandau was granted to the king during the continuance of the war, the gates of Cuſtrin were ordered to be open to him upon all demands, and

* She was ſiſter to the unfortunate Frederic V. king of Bohemia and elector Palatin.

the

the elector was obliged to pay a certain contribution to the Swediſh army (amounting to about 3000l. a month *) till articles of treaty could be completed in form. Soon afterwards the whole royal army croſſed the Spree, and encamped round Berlin †; for the new aſſignment of Spandau and Cuſtrin determined the king to paſs forwards into Saxony, inaſmuch as he poſſeſſed Spandau in reality, and Cuſtrin in effect; having full power to march ſouthwards (that being his private deſire) and little to fear in returning northwards, in caſe the elector of Saxony ſhould join Tilly, and reduce him to the neceſſity of retiring nearer towards the Baltic ocean; it being then his intention to carry on a defenſive war in the duchies of Mechlenberg, Pomerania and Magdeburg. 1631.

Yet the king, in ſpite of his ſucceſſes, met with more difficulties and afflictions than one; for the peſtilence, which then raged violently in Berlin, made ſurprizing havock in his camp, which lay near the city walls, inſomuch that ſome regiments loſt each of them thirty men in the courſe of a week. About this time the ſoldiers too began to grow inſolent and rapacious, being much elated with an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs and proſperity, and took the liberty to plunder ſome Hamburg and Engliſh merchants of a conſiderable quantity of valuable effects, that were then to be tranſported (as is moſt probable) to the enſuing fair at Leipſic. Upon this the king added eighteen new articles, of a more ſevere nature, to his military code ‡, and compelled his men to reſtore all the goods unembezzled, and in the ſtate they ſeized them. Struck with ſuch an high example of juſtice and humanity, the German traders were ſoon prevailed upon to lend his majeſty a ſum (then preciſely convenient for the purpoſes of the war) amounting to ſomething more than 30,000l. But the Engliſh merchants could not be induced to advance him a ſingle farthing: nevertheleſs out of reſpect to their brave countrymen, who then fought under the Swediſh enſigns, Guſtavus took the opportunity to acknowledge his gratitude,

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 161.

† Danckaertz's Hiſtorical Authentic Relation, &c. publiſhed in Low Dutch, 1642, folio, with fifty maps and plans, beſides heads.

‡ They are preſerved in the Armis Suecicis, p. 96, &c.

1631 and made no difference between the merchants of London and thoſe of Hamburg*, &c.

Mean while the general Tilly, beſides removing into the foreſt of Hartz, had committed another overſight on the very day that Magdeburg was taken, which ſhews, that he wanted ſpirit to run a hazard, and procured likewiſe but indifferent intelligence: for not being ſure of maſtering the town, and fearing upon ſome falſe alarm, leſt Guſtavus ſhould approach him unexpectedly, he deſtroyed the Deſſau-bridge, a paſs of great importance†, lying croſs the confluence of the Multa and the Elb, conſiſting of ſeveral fortifications, that on the Elb ſide being extremely large and ſtrong. After his ſucceſs in ſtorming Magdeburg, he looked back with much affliction on this over timorous precaution ‡, ſince it excluded him from obſtructing the conqueſts of the Swedes on the other ſide of that river, and debarred him from the opportunity of approaching to the aſſiſtance of the two fluctuating electors, namely, thoſe of Saxony and Brandenburg.

The Imperial general found himſelf ſufficiently exhauſted and fatigued with the ſiege of Magdeburg, which had thinned his army in that reſpect, where the loſs is moſt conſiderably felt; for good part of his veteran troops were deſtroyed. He therefore judged it more convenient to omit ſieges of long duration for the future, and decamping from Magdeburg in the end of May, left 5000 men in the town by way of a garriſon; and then pointed his courſe through the country of Hartz, taking Allenſleben || and Mansfelt in his way, and entering into conference with ſeveral deputies from the free towns and the elector of Saxony, proceeded onwards as far as Erfurt, where the magiſtracy formed ſome engagements with him. In his paſſage through the Hartz, the peaſants, in order to be revenged for the cruelties exerciſed at Magdeburg, killed him ſuch a number of diſperſed and ſtraggling ſoldiers, that the fields adjoining the road were ſtrewn with

* Monro's Expeditions, Part ii. p. 45.

† Here Walſtein beat Erneſt count Mansfelt in 1626.

‡ Pietro Pomo; Guerre de Germania, lib. i. p. 22.

|| I fancy it muſt be read Alverſlaben, that town lying directly in his road on the banks of the river Bever: nor muſt it be confounded with Aſcherleben in the principality of Halberſtadt.

dead

dead bodies; ſo that he loſt as many men in this march, as if he had engaged himſelf in a moderate battle*. At length he turned his thoughts to deviſe by what means he might deter and terrify the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had given more than equivocal indications of having a ſecret good will to the Swediſh cauſe. Of courſe he meditated an intuption into that prince's territories; but a letter from Pappenheim, giving him an account of the king's progreſs on the banks of the Elb, made him change his plan, and reflect ſeriouſly on the conduct of another potentate, of much greater importance in the Germanic ſyſtem than the landgrave could be: but the letters he ſent to the elector of Saxony on the occaſion, ſeemed rather to put him on his guard than diſmay him; for that prince, meerly on account of this epiſtolary intercourſe, raiſed an army of 20,000 men, and placed Arnheim at their head. The troops were young, healthy and vigorous; they were well paid and well cloathed; but wanting the habit of valour, and being deſtitute of experienced and good ſubaltern officers, they were hardly able at the battle of Leipſic to look Tilly's hardy and experienced veterans in the face, whoſe cloaths, as ſomebody hath remarked, were torn and dirty, but their muſquets always clean and bright. 1631.

Tilly not being able, or not having means to give the elector of Saxony a deciſive turn, only hurt himſelf and the catholic league, by alarming him juſt ſo far, as to force him to embrace ſome ſalutary meaſures at ſo critical a conjuncture. Of this we have a manifeſt proof; for the elector by letter ſoon ſignified to the emperor, "That the edict "of reſtitution merited well to be re-conſidered, before it was carried "into full activity: that, by preceding capitulations and Imperial "conſtitutions, the princes and ſtates of the Germanic body were not "obliged to ſubſiſt and re-inforce the emperor's armies: that the pro-"teſtants at Leipſic had only formed an union in contradiſtinction to "a prior league among the papiſts, with this difference, that the for-"mer propoſed to proceed defenſively, as the latter had determined to "act the part of aggreſſors." The court of Vienna underſtood the import of this letter without an interpreter.

* Brief but Authentic Relation, in High Dutch, 4to.

Mean

1631. Mean while his majeſty having been entertained magnificently in the electoral garden at Berlin (that evening being devoted to extraordinary rejoicings) and having appointed Horn, with an army of 10,000 men, to watch Schomberg's motions, and cover the conqueſts lately made on the frontiers of Sileſia, parted from Berlin at break of day, and making a ſpeedy viſit to Stetin, gave audience to Fedor Adreovitzki*, the Muſcovite ambaſſador, who coming from a barbarous part of the world, then leſs known than at preſent, aſtoniſhed the Swedes with half a dozen coaches and ſix, and a retinue of 150 perſons extremely well dreſſed. With reſpect to his embaſſy, one can pronounce nothing diſtinctly. An offer was made of ſoldiers and money, and Guſtavus appeared to be highly delighted therewith. But the ambaſſador died in the Auguſt following, and the whole propoſal and agreement vaniſhed into air †. With the ſame peſtilential fever, in the ſame month, died the beautiful and virtuous Chriſtina, wife to Guſtavus Horn, and daughter of the high chancellor Oxenſtiern. She thought it her duty to attend her huſband in all his wars: and indeed they were a ſhining example of reciprocal conjugal happineſs and fidelity. She breathed her laſt breath in the arms of her conſort, yet he had the good fortune to eſcape the contagion; and though young, rich, accompliſhed, and handſome, yet never could be induced to make choice of a perſon worthy to replace his deceaſed wife, whoſe remains he took care to convey to Sweden in a marble coffin.

As ſoon as the king had concluded his conference with the Muſcovite ambaſſador, and regaled him at an entertainment full as magnificent as a ſoldier ought to give, or as times would then admit, he haſtened with his uſual induſtry to the camp before Gripſwald, which town had been blockaded ſome months by Banier, and was the only city, that remained to the emperor in all Pomerania. Peruſi, a colonel of Croatians, knight of the Golden Fleece, commanded in it; he was brave to a degree of gallantry, but the country hated him, for he had the misfortune to be miſerably avaricious. Nevertheleſs his love of military fame ever got the better of his paſſion for riches, in all ſuch com-

* Hiſtorical but Authentic Relation, Tom. ii. 104. † Chemnitius; lib. i. p. 143.

petitions,

petitions, where the honour of a ſoldier was concerned: and for this reaſon, though he had heaped up much wealth in the town, he ſhewed himſelf quite inflexible in the article of ſurrendering, having never once allowed the idea of ſuch a tranſaction to enter into his thoughts. To relieve the exigencies of his garriſon in ſo long a blockade, he had coined tin-money with this inſcription, NECESSITAS GRYPHISWALDENSIS; and had retrieved ſome old diſcontinued ſalt-ſprings, that lay within the city walls, which proved of great uſe in preſerving proviſions for the garriſon. Over and above all this, he was an excellent military architect, and had fortified his town ſo well, that Guſtavus (no ill judge in thoſe matters) confeſſed himſelf greatly ſurprized, when he examined the works, having ſeen nothing amongſt his enemies contrived upon the ſame principle before. 1631.

Banier, who had been ſent hither to aſſiſt Todt, who formed the original blockade, wrote a civil letter to colonel Peruſi, inſinuating, that he had intereſt enough with the king his maſter to procure for him very ſoldier-like conditions, in caſe of a capitulation. He exhorted him not to ſacrifice a body of brave troops under his command; and repreſented to him the unchriſtian depopulations and cruelties, which he had exerciſed throughout the whole diſtrict, that lies round Gripſwald *. Peruſi's anſwer was very laconic; that it was not convenient for him to leave the town ſo ſuddenly: nevertheleſs, if permiſſion was given him, he would conſult Tilly on the occaſion.

Some Swedes, knowing well the governor's appetite for fighting right or wrong, preſented themſelves in bravado before the walls, and induced him to make a very raſh and deſperate ſally, by means of which, according to the cuſtom of war at that time, he was allured on by degrees into an ambuſcade. He was imprudent enough, upon this occaſion, to wear his gold chain and order above his armour; which in all probability coſt him his life, as every common ſoldier ſtrove to poſſeſs ſo diſtinguiſhing a booty; and from hence moſt people conclude, that he believed his body, conformably to a report propagated concerning him in both armies, to have been rendered invulnerable by incantations

* This letter is preſerved in the Armis Succicis, p. 107.

and

1631. and magical ſignatures*, and being a native of Italy he gave more eaſily into theſe vain imaginations; for the Italian aſtrologers were greatly reſpected among the German troops, of which we have an uncommon example in Walſtein's practice, who undertook nothing of moment, till he had firſt conſulted Battiſta Seni, to whom he allowed a table, a coach and ſix horſes, and all the appointments of a general officer.

Though Peruſi had the misfortune to be betrayed into an ambuſcade, (accompanied by his camerade, a knight of Malta, who fell firſt) yet he died heroically, and fought with his colours by him to the laſt gaſp, though his Croatian horſe, according to cuſtom, had deſerted him, and thrown themſelves into the river Rick, which divides the beautiful valley of Roſendal into two parts.

Peruſi's ſucceſſor, whoever he was, (though, if I miſtake not, he was only a captain, and named Dracksted) made a good ſhew of reſiſtance: for being required to ſurrender, he ſent word back, that the loſs of the late commander was merely perſonal, and that the honour and reſolution of the garriſon did not expire ſympathetically with him. Nevertheleſs, after ſome rencounters, (not to mention a very furious ſally, which miſſed little of ſucceeding) he thought it prudent to capitulate, and marched out with more military diſtinctions than are uſually allowed in like circumſtances: (for the Croatians, upon this occaſion, as the Swedes greatly wanted to poſſeſs Gripſwald, were permitted to receive conditions) but as the eſcort, which conveyed the governor and his ſoldiers, was not ſtrong enough to preſcribe laws to him, for it conſiſted only of 150 horſemen, he changed his mind on the road, and ſhaped his courſe to Havelburg, and not to Roſtock, the place agreed upon in the articles of ſurrender. By way of puniſhment for this infraction of ſtipulations, colonel Hall thought it allowable to attack him, and ſo much the rather, as Banier, under whom he then ſerved, had a particular deſire to ſecure Havelburg, as it helped to

* His body was ſuppoſed to be rendered ſhot-free by myſtical words and charms of magic, which the Germans elegantly enough call *gefrorn*, i. e. *frozen*. He bore the firſt muſquet ball very well, but the ſecond killed him. Honeſt Lotichius, unwilling to give up the doctrine of incantations, pretends, that Peruſi was only *gefrorn* with reſpect to ſwords and pikes; for though the ball, ſaith he, tranſpierced his body, he expired without bleeding, and only groaned once or twice. De Rebus German. Tom. i. 915.

protect

protect the camp, which his maſter propoſed to fix at Werben. In this rencounter, a conſiderable number of the Germam garriſon (which was very numerous) loſt their lives, particularly Drackſted, who commanded them in chief; and about 1500 ſoldiers ſubmitted to be diſarmed; of whom the greater part enrolled themſelvee under the Swediſh enſigns. Thus the generality of writers recount the ſtory; yet I have ſome doubts concerning its exactneſs in one or two particulars, my private conjecture being, that the officer, who commanded the eſcort (for Hall's action ſeems to be out of the queſtion) had committed ſome outrage, which induced the Imperial commander to think, that he might abſolve himſelf from making good the remaining part of the conditions. For had not the fact ſtood preciſely thus, it is not to be comprehended, why the king (though it is certain his mercy always kept pace with his valour) ſhould order general Todt to impriſon captain Smith, who commanded the eſcort, as alſo all the officers and ſoldiers, who had been employed in that expedition, with this remarkably ſevere clauſe, that they were to be ſent to the royal camp either dead or alive! And yet after all this, a new doubt preſents itſelf, for it does not appear, that Smith or any of his ſoldiers were ever puniſhed; but one hiſtorian * tells us, that private notice had been given them of their maſter's reſentment, and that they all abſconded till the king had forgotten his anger; who immediately ſummoned the Imperial officers to appear before him, aſſuring them, that if any ſoldier belonging to their garriſon had entered into the Swediſh ſervice contrary to his real inclinations, he from that moment might conſider himſelf as *free*, and had leave to *depart without ranſom: but gentlemen*, continued he, *if my men have injured you, your complaint muſt be lodged in my court-martial; for I alone am the legal and competent judge; and you muſt ſign a paper, as cavaliers of honour, not to traduce even in private converſation, by the moſt diſtant innuenendos, me, or my army in general, merely for the tranſgreſſion of orders in a few individuals.* 1631.

But to leave the further diſcuſſion of this matter to more enlightened hiſtorians (for Chemnitius's † way of ſolving the difficulty gives me no

* Chemnitius de Bello Suec. Germ. Tom. i. 144. † Idem, ibidem.

1631. content, as it is the aſſignation of *non cauſa pro cauſa*, except it relates to Smith, and not to Hall,) it may ſuffice to obſerve, that the Swedes at length, by poſſeſſing Gripſwald, had rendered themſelves maſters of every inch of territory in the duchy of Pomerania; in conſequence whereof Guſtavus appointed a ſolemn thankſgiving to God throughout all his dominions *.

It was about this time, that his majeſty entertained ſome freſh ſuſpicions of the king of Denmark, who ſent forth a fleet of twenty ſhips under pretence of guarding his dominions from pirates and invaders: but Guſtavus aſked ſuch pertinent queſtions concerning the deſtination of this naval armament, that his Daniſh majeſty ſoon promiſed to be a true and faithful neighbour, in proportion as ſuch conduct was conſiſtent with the allegiance he owed the emperor. True it was, he hated Guſtavus, but then he dreaded him likewiſe: and the report of re-inforcements from France, England, Sweden, and Holland quite deterred him from purſuing the reſolutions, whatever they might be, which he had firſt conceived †.

Mean while John-Albert and Adolphus, the two diſpoſſeſſed dukes of Mechlenberg, who had lived the life of exiles at Lubec, remained not idle; for neither they, nor their ſubjects, could perſuade themſelves to acquieſce with common patience under the inſolent uſurpation of Walſtein.

Having gathered together a ſmall army, and united themſelves with colonel Todt, who by this time had given the finiſhing ſtroke to the reduction of Pomerania, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes. At length Guſtavus generouſly co-operated with them in perſon, ſo that the new uſurper poſſeſſed nothing in their territories, except Wiſmar, Roſtock, and Dœmitz. Nevertheleſs, at the ſame time it muſt be obſerved, that the two firſt of theſe places were the largeſt and faireſt towns in the duchy. Dœmitz indeed was only a ſmall fortreſs, but its ſituation was fortunate, and its importance great; for (beſides commanding the Elb, juſt where the Elda falls into it) it was poſſi-

* Hiſtorical Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, p. 105.

† Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. lib. viii. 583.

ble

ble likewiſe to float the country all round it, and convey private ſupplies into it by means of the river firſt mentioned. 1631.

His Swediſh majeſty being arrived at Guſtrow, which journey he undertook merely to relieve the oppreſſed, applied himſelf in good earneſt to re-inſtate the two proſcribed princes into their lawful dominions *. As that age loved pomp, the ceremony of their ſecond inauguration was more magnificent than one could imagine to happen in the midſt of a profound war. The clergy, the ſenators, and the nobility (the latter only amounting to the number of 800) began the proceſſion; then ſucceeded the elder duke, attended by thirty-ſix halbardiers. To ſhew his humility, he wore that day a ſuit of black cloaths. Next came the ſame number of trumpeters in different liveries. Then followed the king of Sweden on horſeback, dreſt in green, with a blue and white plumage in his hat, attended by twenty-four running footmen, and eighteen horſe-ſoldiers. Him the junior duke of Mechlenberg marched after, accompanied by the prince of Denmark †, the dukes of Pomerania, and Courland, the princes and princeſſes of the houſe of Mechlenberg, and two colonels. The ladies of quality and faſhion cloſed the proceſſion in 130 coaches, guarded by a body of 1800 horſemen, all well mounted and well attired. This cavalcade marched firſt to the great church, where divine ſervice was performed, and a ſermon preached on the following text, *They that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy*: Pſalm cxxvi. 5. Departing thence they ranged themſelves in the town-hall, where the great-chancellor Oxenſtiern made his appearance, and exhorted all the ſubjects of the duchy to abjure Walſtein, and re-acknowledge their natural maſters; which requeſt was complied with

* The emperor conferred this duchy on Walſtein, together with the duchy of Sagan in Sileſia, as a fief, towards the latter end of the year 1628. The Imperial general ſoon made ſure of his inveſtiture, for he diſpatched immediately two lawyers, well furniſhed with edicts and manifeſtos, and three favourite colonels, namely Aldringer, St. Julian, and Walmerode, to ſecure his poſſeſſion. The crime of theſe unfortunate princes was aſſiſting Chriſtian, king of Denmark. In vain the elder brother made an offer of humiliating himſelf before the emperor. The court of Vienna had acquired an habitual deafneſs, and Walſtein, to ſay the leaſt of him, wanted to ſhine as a ſecond or third rate ſtar in the German hemiſphere.

† Ulric, third ſon of Chriſtian IV. He was killed afterwards with a piſtol-ball by Piccolomini's buffoon, as he came out of that general's tent, with whom he had conferred upon buſineſs in behalf of the elector of Saxony, in whoſe army he ſerved as volunteer.

1631. univerſally and joyfully. Medals were thrown to the populace, which had the heads of the two reigning princes on one ſide, and a pelican upon the reverſe, piercing two human breaſts with its beak, and feeding its young ones with ſtreams of blood. Guſtavus commanded expreſsly, that all parents ſhould explain the nature of this reſtoration to their children, that they might remember, with tranſports of thankfulneſs, the reſtitution of their lawful maſters, of their religion, and of their liberty *.

His majeſty in the midſt of all theſe rejoicings had his eye conſtantly fixed on the tranſactions of the campaign, and having iſſued out orders for the blockade of Roſtock and Wiſmar, returned without delay to his ſeparate camps, at, and near, New Brandenburg. From thence colonel Bernard Oxenſtiern, a relation of the chancellor's, was diſpatched in a public character to the French king at Lyons, being privately inſtructed to ſee the finiſhing hand given to the treaty of Berewalt, and ſolicit the prompt and punctual payment of the contingent ſubſcribed to the German war. This miniſter was received with great marks of eſteem at Lyons, and entertained at the public expence during his whole continuance there, though Curtius, the Imperial reſident, in conjunction with an agent ſent from Munich, tried to perplex him, and overturn his meaſures more than once; but all their efforts were unſucceſsful. At length being thoroughly baffled, they had the mortification to ſee all the promiſes on the part of France fulfilled duly; (for Richelieu as yet had not conceived a jealouſy againſt Guſtavus) and Oxenſtiern returned with a conſiderable ſum of money, which the court of Verſailles had advanced for the ſupport of the proteſtant cauſe in Germany.

By the perſuaſion likewiſe of Louis XIII, or in conſequence of his becoming reſponſible for other people, the chevalier de Rache was diſpatched by Guſtavus to the republic of Venice; but the refined and ſelf-intereſted politicians of that government concluded (not unreaſonably) that the ſcene of war lay at an undue diſtance from their meridian. They alledged likewiſe the inability of the ſtate to undertake campaigns, when the peſtilence had made ſuch ravage in all the dominions, that

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 167, &c.

belonged

belonged unto it; and diſcovered at the ſame time a determined unwill- 1631.
ingneſs to engage in ſuch meaſures, inaſmuch as the peace of Italy, far from being perfectly matured, could be conſidered only in a progreſſive ſtate of ripening at a diſtance of time then uncertain.

Mean while the emperor wrote to all the confederators, who had lately aſſembled at Leipſic *, requeſting them to diſband their troops, or unite all in one common alliance, in order to expel Guſtavus beyond the very extremities of the empire. He entreated them likewiſe to grant the Imperial armies free paſſage, and ſupply them with proviſions, forage, and money: obſerving that the former licentiouſneſs of his ſoldiers (ſuppoſing that allegation to paſs for an uncontroverted truth) could not juſtify them in undertaking an avowed rebellion againſt him, who was their ſovereign, chieftain, and head; and that their real intention, though concealed under a cloud of pretexts, was literally and truly to elude the edict of reſtitution, and extort a new religious peace from the catholics. Then followed a mandate directed to all princes, magiſtrates and commanders of note, enjoining them to iſſue out no freſh commiſſions for the enliſting of ſoldiers; but, on the contrary, to deny paſſage and quarters to ſuch, as had been lately levied, abſolving them by his own plenitude of power from the military oath they had taken to Guſtavus and his allies †. The catholic electors wrote one and all to the ſame effect, and conjured the new aſſociators not to puſh matters to the extremities of a rebellion.

But theſe ſort of anodynes were not ſufficient to compoſe the uneaſineſſes among the proteſtants: on the contrary, they conſidered them rather as the effects of timidity and deſpondence in the emperor. The people of Miſnia, Franconia and Suabia levied troops with freſh vigour; and the free towns (where manufactures, trade, and arts flouriſhed) exerted themſelves with a degree of zeal ſtill more diſtinguiſhable. Nettled at ſo lively an obſtinacy, the emperor now began to loſe his temper, and ordered Furſtenberg, at the head of the army lately arrived from

* Diet of Leipſic, 4° Lond. 1632. Vide APPENDIX.

† A ſecond edict was publiſhed afterwards to abſolve all feudatory perſons from complying with the commands of their reſpective ſovereigns, inaſmuch as the emperor only was *ſupremus feudorum dominus*.

Mantua,

1631. Mantua, to march directly into the territories of theſe more exemplary proteſtants, and deſtroy all before him with fire and ſword. That commander fulfilled his inſtructions with great rigidity, and ſoon obliged the towns of Memmingen, Kempten and Ulm, the inhabitants of Franconia, and even the duke of Wirtemberg, to renounce the concluſions of Leipſic: but as theſe ſubmiſſions proceeded from fear and compulſion, rather than from a ſenſe of obligation and obedience, they immediately revoked all their promiſes upon receiving the account of Tilly's defeat in Saxony.

And here perhaps, without being thought to violate the dignity of hiſtory, it may be allowed me to introduce the recital of a ridiculous accident, that happened at Hildeſheim, which the Imperialiſts, who were then ſuperſtitious to a ſurprizing degree, interpreted in a manner very inauſpicious to their cauſe. Moſt people know the low taſte of the German drama. The jeſuits college in this city exhibited a piece, where two hobby-horſe men repreſented Guſtavus and Tilly. The latter gave the former very ill language, and reproached him for his interference in the holy Roman empire. Words, according to the poet's plan, ſoon matured themſelves into action; piſtols, laden with powder only, were reciprocally diſcharged: but unluckily, and againſt the intention of the dramatiſt, he, that perſonated Guſtavus, was the better cavalier, and more valorous combatant, for in the heat of his theatrical fury he gave Tilly a violent blow, and unhorſed him. Upon this the houſe broke up in diſorder, and every ſpectator returned diſcontented to his reſpective home, full with indiſtinct pre-ſentiment of what the battle of Leipſic taught him afterwards to realize *.

Nevertheleſs, ſome authors recount a ſimilar ſtory with farther circumſtances, varying the year, wherein the event happened, and laying the ſcene at the town of Cham in the Lower Bavaria. It was permitted the children (ſay they) by the burgomaſter, to enroll themſelves into two fictitious armies, each boy being left at full liberty to enliſt himſelf under the Imperial or Swediſh enſigns; and as the town was truly Bavarian, the Pſeudo-Tilly, ſon to the chief magiſtrate, ſoon collected 150

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, p. 175.

well-

well-looking followers, whereas the mock Guſtavus (who had been forced to aſſume the name by drawing lots) could amaſs no more than thirty combatants, of ſmaller ſtature, and more mean appearance. But the perſonated king copied his original, in the very ſhining part of excellency; for having well entrenched his companions in a field adjoining the city, he invited the enemy by ſound of trumpet to force his lines. The prieſts gave a bleſſing to the Tillian party as they marched from the town, and exhorted them to acquit themſelves like warriors of ſpirit. After repulſe upon repulſe, they ſtill perſevered to lead the children on, till at length the whole corps diſunited, and the unconquerable Tilly became a priſoner. On this the young Guſtavus commanded his hands to be bound, and having led him to the houſe of his father, refuſed to deliver him without a ranſom *. 1631.

By this time his majeſty began to open his grand project of advancing ſouthwards, and having united into one army his ſeveral little camps, which lay round Brandenburg, ſhaped his courſe towards Saxony, carefully ſecuring and paving his footſteps of his progreſs as he went along. On this account, with a view to procure more certain intelligence of the enemies motions, he firſt explored the country at the head of all his cavalry and 1000 commanded muſqueteers, as far as the monaſtery of Jericho, and then to the bridge of Magdeburg city, into which place he forced Pappenheim to retreat for ſhelter: and finding no indications of any conſiderable interruption, taking care to leave Oxenſtiern behind him with one army in Pruſſia, and Horn with another in Sileſia, he croſſed the Elb by fording, and took the town of Tangermund (a place of great importance to him) by affixing a petard to one of the gates. Upon this event the garriſon lay at the mercy of the aſſailants, and ſuch as ſurvived, being about threeſcore in number, threw themſelves in a croud round Guſtavus, (for the Swediſh ſoldiers could not yet forget the maſſacre at Magdeburg) and begged for quarter: which the king granted them in a moment, obſerving at the ſame time, *That he ſhould not preſume to counterwork God's providence, which had preſerved them from the reſentment of his ſoldiers by a ſort of miracle* †. He then flung a bridge of boats over

* Theatr. Europæ, p. 518, &c.

† Heylmani Lee Arctoüs, p. 30.

the

1631. the Elb, for the convenience of his infantry; but ordered his cavalry and artillery to paſs through the river; the bare recital of which act of intrepidity (for nothing was loſt, but here and there an empty waggon) amazed Tilly beyond meaſure, for the ſtream in that part was not ſuppoſed to be fordable.

It was here the king, who loved great ſtrokes in the military way, conceived the idea of aſtoniſhing Europe by retaking Magdeburg *, and the rather, as it was thinly garriſoned, and as the fortifications had not been thoroughly repaired ſince the late diſaſter. The town likewiſe lay convenient for him, as it afforded an excellent paſſage acroſs the Elb, which half determined a campaign in that age, and as his majeſty was then circumſtanced: and ſomething there was of the illuſtrious and magnificent in the very action itſelf. But ſerious and mature reflexion ſoon threw a gloom over theſe dazzling appearances; for Pappenheim was in the town, whom Guſtavus conſidered in the character of a ſecond garriſon, though it conſiſted only of one man;

——— *concurrere bellum,*
Atque virum ——— :

Nor was Tilly far off, who lay incamped at Mulhauſen; but what he feared moſt, was allowing the elector of Saxony time to indulge his private diſinclination to the Swediſh cauſe, as alſo his natural timidity and inconſtancy. Therefore, making a ſacrifice all at once of his ambition, he preferred convenience to glory, and progreſſive ſecurity to fortunate rapidity; which is the more to be wondered at, as the natural turn of his temper was quick and haſty.

Conformably to this cool reviſion of things, the poſſeſſion of Havelburg and Werben were conſidered by him as two excellent preliminary ſteps: for being encamped at, or near, one of thoſe towns, (the latter indeed was his object of reſidence, as it lay almoſt upon the confluent angle of the Elb and the Havel, his back being guarded by both thoſe rivers,) he had the command of the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg, and the Old March, in front, and on his right hand; and his left ſide was protected by the Havel, which run through a friendly country; namely, the

* Chemnit. de Bello Suec. Germ. Tom. i. 147.

Middle

Middle March. By means of this river, he had power to convey down ſtream what proviſions and forage he thought neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. He was environed likewiſe by rich and plentiful towns: and, what was ſtill more, the poſt he had choſen was ſo protected by nature, that though the Imperialiſts had two armies, one on his right hand in Thuringia, and one on his left hand in Sileſia, he feared neither, inaſmuch as it was in his power to conteſt the paſſage of the rivers, previouſly to any grand and deciſive action. 1631.

In order to fix himſelf in this deſirable ſituation, he commanded Banier to take Havelburg by aſſault, ſince by poſſeſſing that place he became maſter of the Havel on the eaſtern ſide, having ſecured already the weſtern banks of that river as far upwards as Spandau. The attack was made ſword in hand at break of day, and Winkel's blue brigade of infantry not liking the enemy's fire at a diſtance, croſſed the river with aſtoniſhing reſolution, though the water reached up to the men's ſhoulders. The action was briſk on both ſides whilſt it laſted. Four hundred and forty of the garriſon were taken priſoners. Colonel Cag was appointed governor, who had under him his own regiment, and Fowle's regiment of Scots. Why Pappenheim left Havelburg a few days before cannot be accounted for, except he conſidered it as a place indefenſible, at leaſt as matters were then circumſtanced.

Havelburg being thus ſecured, his majeſty, conformably to his original plan, employed two good officers; namely, Bauditzen and count Ortemberg, to take the town of Werben ſword in hand, who carried their point, after having met with a very obſtinate reſiſtance, killing and making priſoners 200 horſemen belonging to the regiment of Munickhauſen. As the diſpute had continued long, and the weather proved then extremely warm (it being the laſt day of June) theſe two commanders thought proper to bathe themſelves in the Elb, and then crowned the performance with an over-free indulgence in Baccharah-wine. Of courſe they both fell into violent fevers; the former eſcaped by the ſkill of his phyſician, or the dint of conſtitution; but the latter expired ſoon afterwards at Berlin, to the great regret of Guſtavus, who loved him extremely for his abilities in the cabinet, as alſo for his

1631. courageous and enterprizing diſpoſition. He commanded the royal regiment of foot-guards.

By this time the Imperial general found himſelf obliged to give ſome check, if poſſible, to the progreſſes made by Guſtavus on the banks of the Elb, and having dropped his enterprize againſt the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, advanced as far as Wolmerſtadt, a ſmall town ten miles north-weſt of Magdeburg, and about forty miles from the Swediſh camp. Mean while the van-guard of his army, conſiſting of four choſen regiments * (the very flower of the Imperial cavalry) had advanced a conſiderable way before their general, which Guſtavus being apprized of, immediately conceived the thought of giving them a camiſado in an evening or two, for he never failed of procuring the beſt intelligence. To this purpoſe he ordered 2500 choſen troops, horſe, dragoons, and muſqueteers, to aſſemble themſelves at Arnſberg in the Old March, and at nine at night joined them privately, and conducted them to a village four miles beyond Tangermund. Nevertheleſs, whatever ſecrecy this expedition might require, as the next day proved to be Sunday, and as the enemy's advanced troops happened to be ſtationed at ſixteen miles diſtance, the king choſe to lie by privately, and ſet apart a certain number of hours for the ſervice of religion; diſpatching the watch-maſter general of the army with the royal regiment of horſe-guards to procure intelligence. This officer returned about five in the evening with ſeveral priſoners, who gave information, that the Impeſialiſts had taken up their quarters within the diſtance of two hours eaſy marching.

They were conducted by colonel Bernſtein, a brave and enterprizing commander, who took up his lodgings at three different villages, at a ſlight inconſiderable diſtance one from the other: and as theſe places happened to lie upon a line, the Swediſh party divided itſelf into three bodies, it being their intention to cut off all communication between the Imperial regiments at the right and left, the very inſtant the attack was begun.

* Pappenheim, Montecucoli, Holk, and Coronini.

At the point of time agreed, one body of Swedes gave a furious onſet on the regiment of Montecuculi *, which was partly routed and partly cut to pieces, before the men could mount on horſeback, and range themſelves in any tolerable order. But as no concerted attacks can well commence at a preciſe moment, Bernſtein heard the exploſion of the firſt fire-arms, and having cauſed his men to mount immediately, made a judicious diſpoſition of the better half of them, and at the head of one troop of his cavalry, marched to the entrance of the village, and gallantly received the enemy; but the impreſſion was ſo violent, the Swediſh troops being prepared and freſh, and Bernſtein's men both hurried and fatigued, that after a very briſk and obſtinate conteſt, the latter ſoon broke and began to ſhift for themſelves. The chance of eſcaping under favour of darkneſs is a great temptation to ſoldiers thus attacked, to behave themſelves ill; eſpecially when in ſuch confuſion it is morally impoſſible to diſtinguiſh particular offenders: conſequently the advantage is at leaſt two to one in behalf of the aſſailants, who have fixed their reſolution and advance determined. Be that as it will, Bernſtein ſtayed till the very laſt man, and was killed probably without being known. In him periſhed a family, for he had no kindred. He was an officer of approved ſervice, or otherwiſe Pappenhiem would not have allowed him to have conducted his own regiment of cuiraſſiers, and a body of troops, that appertained properly to his army. 1631.

Mean while Holk † made a reſiſtance, which appears incredible; for during the other attacks he had leiſure-minutes to draw out his men.

* The count de Montecuculi, who belonged to this regiment, was the uncle of him, who ſerved againſt Turenne. He was not preſent in the action.

† Holk, Henry, ſerved the king of Denmark as governor of Stralſund, but on ſome diſguſt accepted of a regiment of infantry under Walſtein. It was thought matter of levity in him to eſpouſe a young wife, at the time when the town he defended was reduced to the utmoſt danger. He gained immenſe wealth in the plunder of Leipſic. As to his religion, he changed it twice, for on his death-bed, being ſeized with the plague, he declared himſelf a proteſtant, and diſpatching round the country ſeveral troops of horſe, offered 100l. for the charitable aſſiſtance of a Lutheran miniſter in his laſt hours; but he had committed ſuch outrages, that no eccleſiaſtic would come near him till it was too late; and though he was at the head of an army of 10,000 men, all his officers and domeſtics deſerted him, excepting a young woman, whom ſome ſuppoſed to be his miſtreſs. In the Imperial patent, by virtue of which he was created a count, his name is ſpelt Holka.

1631. He received the Rhingrave unmoved, and diſputed the honour of the field inch by inch. In this tumult he had the unhappineſs to loſe two pair of colours, on one of which was depictured the goddeſs *Fortune*, and the word AUDACTER inſcribed beneath; but the other was ſtill more elegant, and more particular both as to its emblem and motto; for a *ſerpent* wreathed in ſpires rolled itſelf round a *drawn ſword*, (alluding to the wiſdom of the animal, and the bravery, which the weapon implied,) and the device was, HIS DUCIBUS, SITIS IMPERTERRITI.

His majeſty, for fear the ſoldiers might quit their ranks in queſt of plunder, gave private orders to ſet the villages on fire: for if the men had deſerted their ſtation in hopes of booty, a detachment from the enemy's camp, part of which lay hard by, might have robbed the Swedes of a conſiderable victory. Yet much plate was found, and a private ſoldier ſeized one thouſand pounds in Hungarian ducats. Abundance of excellent horſes fell likewiſe into the hands of the conquerors *.

His majeſty commanded perſonally in this engagement, but where or how far cannot be learned. Nevertheleſs, as the poſt of importance was attacking the middle village, and cutting off the communication, it is natural to think, that he fell upon Bernſtein's quarters †. He was extremely afflicted at the death of Charles, prince Palatin of Lautrech ‡, his own ſiſter's ſon, who received two piſtol-balls in that obſtinate reſiſtance, which Holk made. He fought at the head of the Rhingrave's regiment, and a few moments before his death had killed a cornet of the enemy's hand to hand; but the cornet's camerade, (as moſt officers in that age had a gentleman-volunteer, who ſerved with them under that title) ſoon revenged his friend, according to the manner above related. His corpſe was carried to Stetin, where the queen of Sweden, of whoſe arrival in the empire we ſhall ſpeak immediately, thought fit to honour it with a moſt magnificent funeral.

* Antiabæi Arma Suecica, p. 173.

† Since my writing this paſſage, I find the conjecture verified. Rex cum ſuis, in Rheindorfium, Bernſteinianæ legionis hoſpitium, impegit, &c. Lotichius, Tom. i. 720.

‡ That branch of the Palatin family became extinct in the year 1694. It had three little poſſeſſions, the duchy of Veldentz, the town of Lautrech, (which now belongs to the elector Palatin) and the county of Lutzelſtein; which at preſent is divided between the houſes of Birckenfeld and Sulzbach.

It

It muſt be obſerved, that this victory at Rheindorf or Angern (ſuch being the names of the principal villages where the Imperialiſts lay) was chiefly gained by the means of the intermingled muſqueteers, and by the aſſiſtance of ſmall parties of them, who filled up the avenues, where horſemen could not well be ſtationed. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and twenty eight colours taken, Tilly being advanced almoſt within hearing the diſcharge of the fire-arms; which mortified him not a little. 1631.

This action, not to mention the gallantry thereof, did the king great ſervice; for it aſtoniſhed the Imperialiſts to ſuch a degree, that he gained four days to make additions to the intrenchments and fortifications round his camp at Werben; for which labour he was afterwards repaid with abundant intereſt. He procured opportunity likewiſe to draft all the neighbouring garriſons, and ſummon to his aſſiſtance ſeveral ſcattered regiments, that lay near him; ſo that in truth (and thus it often happens in the conduct of great generals) the little action at Rheindorf facilitated the prudent encamptment made at Werben, and both together paved the way to that more important deciſion, which happened at Leipſic, which completed the operations of the year 1631. For all good campaigns, if rightly analyzed and duly explained, are nothing leſs than one continued ſeries of judicious cauſes, and fortunate effects*.

One cannot ſufficiently admire the king's great military judgment, in fixing his camp preciſely on that ſpot, which he had long wiſhed to occupy: for having thrown a bridge of boats over the Elb, he had it in his power at one and the ſame time to attack either the Imperialiſts, or the elector of Saxony, who could not well conclude a treaty at ſuch a diſtance and under ſuch circumſtances; nor could Tilly advance without giving Guſtavus the *choice* of a battle. I have before obſerved, that the camp of Werben could not poſſibly be diſtreſſed for want of provi-

* I remember in my youth to have heard the great earl of Peterborow make a very lively compariſon upon the occaſion: "Pope" ſaid he, (for Mr. Pope was then ſitting at table) "always "fixes firſt on the laſt rhyme of his couplet, "and the general caſt of the ſecond line: and "thus, (continued he) a good commander, "at the very dawning of a campaign, ſhould "pre-figure to himſelf by what action he pro-"poſes to conclude it; for the laſt ſtroke always "computes for ſomething in the year enſuing."

ſions

1631. ſions and forage, and ſhall remark here, that it had two the beſt natural foſſes behind it, that a general could wiſh for, namely, the Elb, and the Havel. Theſe rivers protected likewiſe its flanks: and as to the front, it was guarded one part in three by the town of Werben, which was fortified; ſo that a ſmall tract of ground only required the aſſiſtance of art, and that the king ſtrengthened by deep intrenchments, diſpoſing large batteries of cannon here and there. In this ſituation he commanded not only the Elb and the Havel, but had an eye likewiſe to the Oder and the Warta; ſo that within the great expanſion of command, the whole electorate of Brandenburg lay directly under his protection*.

During theſe occurrences, Maria Eleonora, queen of Sweden †, like a conſort worthy of the hero ſhe had eſpouſed, left the pleaſures of the court of Stockholm, in order to alleviate the fatigue and cares of her huſband, and brought with her a re-inforcement of 8000 men, half of whom joined the grand army, and the other half was employed in the ſervice of the dukes of Mechlenburg, with a view to facilitate the conqueſts of Roſtock and Wiſmar. This lady, who was a pattern of conjugal affection, had her ſhare likewiſe of reſolution and magnanimity: for inſtantly on her embarkation for Sweden, one large ſhip, ſurnamed the VASA, laden with heavy artillery and military ſtores, in a day entirely calm, at about two miles diſtance from ſhore, ſunk directly to the bottom, without giving any previous warning, and never ſtriking upon ſhelf or rock. The ſudden unaccountable loſs of a veſſel, that bore ſuch an illuſtrious family-name, might have terrified a poor woman, eſpecially in an age ſo unfortunately ingenious in expounding omens and prodigies: but the queen heroically purſued her courſe; nor did ſhe balance a moment between female fears, and the aſſiſtance, that was due to the great Guſtavus ‡.

On her arrival at Wolgaſt, where ſhe made ſome ſhort ſtay, (for the duke of Pomerania had ſent his deputies to ſee her well entertained, and her huſband had taken care to deſtine a palace for her reception) ſhe

* Loccenii Hiſt. Suecan. lib. 8. p. 582.

† Daughter of John Sigiſmond, elector of Brandenburg. She ſurvived her huſband three and twenty years.

‡ Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gentis, p. 21, 22.

was agreeably ſurprized with the celebration of a public thankſgiving throughout all Pomerania, on account of the revolution of an entire year ſince the landing of Guſtavus in thoſe parts; and about the ſame time, by way of counter-check for the ſatisfaction ſhe felt, her tenderneſs was alarmed and put to the trial; for it was indiſcreetly told her by ſome of her courtiers, that a jeſuit, diſguiſed in the habit of a cavalier, had been diſcovered by Bauditzen. It was confirmed too, that he had three more companions of his order, and had a deſign probably to aſſaſſinate the king. 1631.

Mean while Tilly, touched to the heart with the late diſgrace his troops had received at Angern, wiſhed moſt ardently to repay the Swedes in like manner; and the rather, as he found himſelf ſtill at the head of 24,000 ſoldiers, who breathed nothing but revenge and fury. It was time likewiſe to perform ſomething of the aſtoniſhing kind; all Europe expected an action of this nature, and his very ſoldiers demanded it. In addition to this it muſt be obſerved, that Pappenheim had perſuaded him to cruſh the king of Sweden firſt, aud then reduce the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel to reaſon at ſome more convenient opportunity. He therefore marched his army in full battle-array up to the Swediſh lines, and made his enemy the offer of an engagement upon equal terms: but the king, who never tranſgreſſed military prudence, when the welfare of the ſyſtem was concerned, and who huſbanded the lives of his officers and ſoldiers, though he dealt ſomething unſparingly now and then with his own perſon, choſe rather to confide in his intrenchments, and gave Tilly the choice of running, if he pleaſed, upon his own deſtruction; which he hoped might happen from the extraordinary ardour of Pappenheim. Beſides his grand object was, firſt to fix a firm alliance with the two proteſtant electors, and then give battle whenever a favourable opportunity preſented itſelf. What he thus wiſely foreſaw, was very ſoon realized; for Tilly being determined to make one trial of ſkill, led his troops up to the front of the king's camp at Werben, which, according to a plan * I have ſeen of it, was completely fortified by art

* One thing is remarkable in this plan; the king's tent was erected in a large area, defended with a ditch and parapet, almoſt in the center of his camp. Some general officers had their tents likewiſe in the ſame encloſure; but whether this was his majeſty's conſtant practice I cannot ſay.

and

1631. and nature, being ſomething in the ſhape of a bow, protected on the ſtrait ſide by the town of Werben (which had walls and outworks) as alſo by ſtrong redoubts and ditches; and guarded on the elliptical part by the river Elb, and part of the Havel.

When Tilly brought his greater artillery to act, the cannonading was deſperate on both ſides. From one battery of thirty two pieces, he pierced through the king's camp in ſuch a manner, that the major part of the troops was obliged to draw up in battle array behind the walls of Werben. Yet the king, who only oppoſed the Imperialiſts with half the number of forces that they had, (for his whole army amounted to little more than 12,000 men) never loſt his vivacity and preſence of mind for a ſingle moment: nor did he call in his advanced guards of cavalry and muſqueteers, relieving them only at proper intervals of time, and giving each and all the officers at parting theſe particular inſtructions, namely, to retreat inch by inch, in caſe the Imperialiſts ſhould overpower them by numbers, but never to turn their backs to the enemy.

Wearied out and chagrined with indeciſive ſkirmiſhes, Tilly at length determined to force the king's lines: and though this general had dealt too long in realities to rely greatly upon viſionary expectances, yet on this occaſion he had amuſed himſelf with the hope of corrupting ſome peaſants to nail the Swediſh cannon, and ſet fire to their camp in ſundry places, juſt before the grand attack ſhould begin. But it was not eaſy, even by the moſt clandeſtine correſpondence, to fruſtrate the vigilance of Guſtavus, who upon this and all occaſions had the preſence of mind to turn to his own advantage thoſe very incidents, that were calculated to diſtreſs him; for having diſcovered both the conſpiracy and the conſpirators, (one of them, for what motive I know not, making full confeſſion of the fact) he ordered fires to be kindled in various parts of his camp, and inſtructed the rabble of the army to imitate confuſion and noiſes of perplexity. What is more remarkable, he imparted the diſcovery of this treachery to no one of his generals*, but allowed his aſſailants to approach the very mouth of his cannon, without

* Mercure Francois, Tom. xvii. 170.

returning

returning any fire excepting that of his muſqueteers. Then, in an inſtant, broke forth a terrible diſcharge of grape-ſhot; the conſequences of which, far from being deſcribed, cannot well be imagined. It is true, the Imperialiſts advanced with determined reſolution and an air of confidence; but after this unexpected and terrible reception, it was impoſſible for their commanders to reſtore the ranks, or bring the men on to action a ſecond time. In this chaos of confuſion and diſmay, ſome Swediſh troops, conducted by Bauditzen and the Rhingrave, paſſed the lines, and fell upon the enemy's rear with great reſolution; but Tilly, with equal bravery and capacity, made his ſoldiers halt, and having brought his artillery to act, ſoon convinced the aſſailants, that every retreat was not a flight. Thus for once he eſcaped a diſgrace, which might have proved as afflicting, as that which befel him afterwards on the plains of Leipſic. The conflict was extremely ſharp and obſtinate. Bauditzen, in the tranſports of courage, mixed ſo far among the enemy's troops without reflexion, that at length he was taken priſoner by two horſemen; but young Wildeſein, a youth of quality (for in point of years he hardly merited the name of a man) who ſerved under him in the capacity of a volunteer, ſoon reſcued his general, who fought his way back with unparalleled reſolution; and having killed an Imperial commander of note, brought little more than the haft of his ſword out of his body. His good fortune, all things conſidered, was very particular, for he eſcaped without a wound; yet two balls carried away the pommel of his ſaddle, and the rowel of one of his ſpurs, and his horſe was ſhot in four places. Here Bernard, duke of Saxon Weymar*, gave the firſt diſtinguiſhing marks of that military genius, which procured 1631.

* This gallant prince inherited an irreconcilable hatred to the houſe of Auſtria, being deſcended from that elector of Saxony, who was taken priſoner at the battle of Muhlberg, and deprived of his electorate and the greater part of his other poſſeſſions. He was the youngeſt of eleven brothers, who all (excepting ſuch as died young) carried arms againſt the emperor. His mother, Dorothea, daughter of the prince of Anhalt, was left a widow in his infancy, yet gave him, and all her children, a moſt accompliſhed education. This laſt action, the ſiege of Briſac, may be conſidered as one of the fineſt military performances of that age; for he won four pitched battles, whilſt he inveſted the town; and ſent the four Imperial generals, namely, John de Wert, the duke Savelli, Furſtenberg, and Sperreuter, priſoners into France. In the laſt

1631. cured him afterwards the ſurname of Succeſſor to the great Guſtavus. He had one horſe killed under him with a cannon-ball, and mounting a ſe-

laſt of theſe engagements, he was obliged to mount ſix different horſes; and one being dazzled with a piſtol, that was fired cloſe to his eyes, reared up and fell backwards upon his rider; but the troops formed themſelves round their general to ſuch a degree, that it was impoſſible for the enemy to take him priſoner. Afterwards, John de Wert and he ſingled out each other, and maintained a combat hand to hand with ſo much bravery and obſtinacy, that the troops for a ſhort time pauſed, as it were, by conſent, to obſerve the behaviour of two ſuch diſtinguiſhed warriors.

When he took Briſac, and choſe not to aſſign it, by way of *depoſitum*, into French hands, his anſwer to Richelieu was very noble: *aſk a virgin to make a ſacrifice of her chaſtity?* Upon this, the cardinal loſt all patience, and obſerved decorum and management no longer. One remonſtrated againſt the advancement of money, and one urged the *quantum meruit* of the performance. Great propoſals were made the duke, if he would come to Paris; but he ſaw the net that was ſpread for him, and refuſed peremptorily to undertake the journey. He knew the court of Verſailles, and that court had known him before this period; for he did not chuſe, in the year 1636, to give precedence to Richelieu: and when he had his audience from the king, well conſidering what honours were due to his birth, as prince of the houſe of Saxony, and ſuppoſed to deſcend, by the Miſnian branch, from the race Imperial, he thought proper to rank himſelf on the ſame footing, upon which the French had lately placed the duke of Parma. (*Memoires touchant les Ambaſſadeurs, Tom. i. p.* 122.) This event was foreſeen and dreaded; but the miniſtry did not care to ſound his ſentiments upon that topic, for fear of ſuggeſting an idea to him, which perhaps had not then found an entrance into his imagination. Truſting therefore to pure chance, they thought it ſafeſt to allow him admiſſion without any previous diſcuſſion of difficulties. Of courſe, the moment the king covered himſelf, he, with great compoſure, put on his hat: upon this, the court was ſtruck dumb with aſtoniſhment; but there was no room at that time for open reſentment, ſince France needed more the duke's aſſiſtance, than the duke wanted her's.

Upon occaſions of a like nature, there were ſome miſunderſtandings too between him and Oxenſtiern, to whom, after the king's death, he gave the lead with great reluctance; and it was in conſequence of that unfortunate competition, that he threw himſelf into the arms of France.

This heroic prince died in 1639, in the thirty ſixth year of his age, having waged war againſt the emperor juſt half that time. Upon the approach of death he made his will, performed all the duties of a good Chriſtian, and pronounced a dying ſpeech to his officers on the ſubject of expilations, avarice and military jealouſies. Theſe brave men all ſhed tears on the occaſion. It was thought about that time he was entering into ſome negotiation with the emperor; but it is more probable, as I have obſerved fully in another place, that he was attempting to carry on the grand project of marrying the unparalleled Amelia, landgraveſs of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had juſt then quitted her weeds of widow-hood; which alarmed the French miniſter beyond all deſcription. He complained of a fiſh-ſauce he had eaten. And if there be any thing diſhonourable in that circumſtance, it muſt be attributed to Richelieu. His body was full of livid ſpots, which ſome phyſicians called the plague: the reader muſt take that part of the probability, which agrees beſt with his judgment. He bequeathed *Raven*, a poor miller's horſe he always fought upon, to count Naſſau, and his ſword to Guébriant: he left colonel Ohem 3000 l. and then deviſed to Naſſau, Roſa, and Erlach, 2000 l. each, 800 l. to his chaplain, and ſomething conſiderable to all his friends and domeſtics. He conſtituted the four colonels above mentioned commanders of his army proviſionally, till France and Sweden ſhould agree upon a proper general; commanders, I ſay, of that very army, which Richelieu, by the means of Erlach, ſeduced into the French intereſts; as he did alſo, the town and garriſon

a ſecond was forced to quit him, as that too was grievouſly wounded. 1631.
The king, who had the quickeſt eye to merit of any prince or general upon earth, gave him orders immediately to raiſe three regiments, and repair to the aſſiſtance of the landgrave of Heſſe; yet gently reprimanded both him and Bauditzen, partly for acting without orders, and partly for expoſing their perſons with too much freedom. Happy, could he have practiſed himſelf what he taught others with ſo much affection, and ſuch great clearneſs of reaſon!

Tilly now began to feel the manifeſt ſuperiority of Guſtavus, and diſcovered at length, that it was equally in his power (I will not ſay in his choice) to act the offenſive or defenſive part; being compoſed and phlegmatic, vigorous and operative, preciſely as ſuch conduct beſt agreed with his preſent ſituation. He learned moreover, by bitter experience, after having ſerved upwards of fifty campaigns, and gained no leſs than ſix and thirty battles, that a ſuperior genius, with an army not half equal in number to that of the aſſailants, cannot be compelled into a deciſive action, except he chuſes to embrace the offer. But beſides all this, it was manifeſt to Tilly, even in his own judgment, that the king greatly exceeded him in the methods of ſubſiſting an army, in the arts of entrenchment, and in the management of his artillery; and for theſe reaſons bent his thoughts from this moment to allure him to an engagement on plain ground. Conformably to this plan, he afterwards ſent him a romantic ſort of a challenge, and deſired to have the honour to diſpute the fate of the empire with him in open field, drawing up his troops in fair battle-array at half a mile diſtance from the Swediſh lines; but the king was reſerved, and checked his natural ardour with great command of temper, for he expected Horn and Todt to join him with a re-inforcement of 14,000 men, drawn from the garriſons of Pomerania and Brandenburg.

garriſon of Briſac. He beſtowed on every other colonel that ſerved under him, 1000l. and having ordered the ſoldiers to take an oath to their new leaders, bequeathed to each man a month's pay, which made upon the whole a ſum not much leſs than 20,000l. *Thomæ Carr, Tipperauenſis, Itinerarium. Tom. xi. cap.* 40.

It is certain, that M. de Turenne always acknowledged the duke de Weymar to have been his preceptor in the art of war: and the prince de Condé profeſſed the ſame obligations to another diſciple of Guſtavus, namely, Gaſſion. Memoires de la Farre, p. 23, 24.

1631. Mean while, Tilly, correcting his judgment at the expence of loſing 6000 men, the very flower of the Imperial army, in the two actions laſt recited, gave over, for the future, all thoughts of forcing his Swediſh majeſty's intrenchments, and waited with impatience for the reinforcements, that were ready to power upon him from all parts, in order to give the deciſive ſtroke at once, expecting ſucceſs from ſome fortunate unforeſeen event, or hoping by the dexterity of his marches, and the frequency of ſhifting from place to place, to ſurprize his majeſty unprepared, and upon equal ground. For theſe reaſons, and partly for want of proviſions to ſupport his army (whilſt Guſtavus drew food and forage in great plenty from the diſtrict round Havelburg, not to mention the actual arrival of Horn and Todt) he marched directly to Halle, with an intention to take Leipſic, and compel the elector of Saxony to abjure the cauſe of Sweden. But the king ſagaciouſly penetrated into theſe deſigns, and having paſſed the Elb at Wittemberg, joined the Saxons, as will appear hereafter; whilſt general Banier kept all open behind him, even to the Baltic ocean. Upon this, Tilly retired to Tangermund, and from thence to Magdeburg: and the king, not contenting himſelf to continue idle a ſingle moment, requeſted the ſtates general of the United Provinces, by letter, not to diſcharge their troops then in pay, but on the contrary exhorted them, to maintain them for the ſafety of the continent a little longer, or conſign them to him *.

And now, that we may not violate the connexion of our ſubject, we will reſume our narrative for a ſhort ſpace backwards, taking notice of the expedition of the marquis of Hamilton from England, and concluding that piece of Britiſh hiſtory once for all, though it reaches till the middle of the month of September in the enſuing year. And though perhaps I may diſagree with biſhop Burnet † in various places, yet I ſhall expreſs myſelf with the ſame candour, as if the author were now living, and had the opportunity of peruſing theſe papers; ſince it is impoſſible to be too guarded, or too modeſt, when one reviews the performances of a writer, who can no longer juſtify himſelf. The marquis

* Hiſtorical Authentic Relation, fol. Part i. † Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 113.

of

of Hamilton had the honour to be allied to the royal family, and was so much eſteemed by the queen of Bohemia for an attachment to her intereſts, and a certain heroic gallantry in his diſpoſition, that ſhe treated him as a kinſman, an adviſer, and a friend. But Charles I. had not ſpirit enough, to levy and tranſport abroad a body of troops openly and avowedly for the reſtitution of the Palatinate: of courſe he ſupplied the marquis with money, and the means of raiſing money underhand; and deſired, indiſcreetly enough, that Europe ſhould conſider him as a perſon removed entirely out of the queſtion. This method of proceeding ſeems to me to have ariſen purely from timidity and irreſolution, even though it gives a contradiction to that unhappy prince's paſt conduct: for certain it is, that he ſent Sir Thomas Roe ambaſſador to Guſtavus merely upon the ſubject of the German invaſion, which ſaid public miniſter continued at Stockholm till the month of June 1630 *. As he was a man of parts and ſpirit, he greatly reliſhed a Swediſh expedition into Germany, and upon all occaſions informed his court, that Guſtavus was an intrepid and judicious commander; one, who ſuſtained in his own perſon all the offices of ſoldier and ſtateſman, being (to uſe his own words) *Vir ad magnas res & revolutiones natus* †. 1631.

He repreſents farther, with no ſmall uneaſineſs, the ſtrong neceſſity of ſupplying Guſtavus with no inconſiderable ſums of money; in order to determine him to undertake the invaſion, which at that time employed his thoughts, and appears much diſcontented leſt De Charnacé ſhould ‡ conclude an agreement between France and Sweden, and rob England of an honour, which appertained more properly to her.

That Sir Thomas comprehended fully the true part he was to act, may be inferred not only from the jealouſy he conceived againſt De Charnacé, (who performed that for France, which our countryman wiſhed to effect in behalf of his own nation) but from the regard Guſtavus had for him, who honoured him with a preſent amounting to

* *Sir Thomas Roe's MS. papers.* The author is indebted for ſome excellent materials on this head to an extract communicated to him by his worthy friend, the reverend Dr. Birch.

† Letter to the earl of Carliſle, October 27, 1629.

‡ MS. letter to lord viſcount Dorcheſter, ſecretary of ſtate, April 20-30, 1630.

the

1631. the value of two thouſand five hundred pounds, eſteeming him doubtleſs as the promoter and encourager of the German expedition *. This preſent was accompanied with a letter from Oxenſtiern, wherein are to be found theſe remarkable words; *Quæ inter nos mutuis colloquiis ac diſcurſibus acta ſunt ratione belli à S. R. majeſtate, domino meo clementiſſimo, in Germaniam transferendi; cujus auctor & impulſor illuſtritas veſtra* NOMINE *ſereniſſimi regis ſui ſtrenuus extitit.*

Nevertheleſs, whatever commiſſion his Britannic majeſty might give Sir Thomas, it is plain, that miniſter (as ſuch inſtructions were conformable to his own ſenſe of things) promoted their taking effect with ſo much ſincerity and vigour, that the king his maſter was ſtartled, when he began to think of realizing them in good earneſt. By way of expedient therefore to get clear from ſuch bold and enterprizing meaſures, he allowed himſelf (as indeed he had done at intervals for two years before) to be amuſed by his enemies, almoſt as much as his father had been, and lent a liſtening ear alternately to the illuſory promiſes of the Auſtrians and Spaniards; and this, notwithſtanding the ſteps he had taken to perſuade Guſtavus to interpoſe in the empire, who, to do him juſtice, laid open his whole plan to Charles, and preſſed effectual, (not ſuperficial) aſſiſtances from England in the ſtrongeſt manner, partly by the applications of the elector Palatin, and partly by the repreſentations † of Spence, his ambaſſador, and Curtius, his reſident.

His Britannic majeſty in the ſecond place had great expectances from the negotiations of Sir Robert Anſtruther, who, conformably to this new-invented plan, was diſpatched to the diet of Ratiſbon, and laboured to bring to bear the reſtitution of the Palatinate in an amicable manner, at the very moment when Guſtavus firſt ſet his foot in Germany; and to give a new turn to the ill ſucceſſes, which attended that miniſter. Sir Henry Vane was deputed ambaſſador extraordinary to the king of Sweden, and landed at Hamburg in the month of October 1631, ſome few weeks after the battle of Leipſic. This genleman was

* To the ſame, Auguſt 16, 1631. (*In the Paper-Office.*)

† I take this perſon to be Sir James Spence, who was colonel of a Scottiſh regiment in the Swediſh ſervice.

con-

considered as a more proper political implement to work with at that time, and on the ſyſtem then adopted, than Roe appeared to be: nor did Vane obtain his new employment, but by the old court-trick of undermining his predeceſſor, who, in a letter to the queen of Bohemia, explains the whole myſtery, and gives vent to his juſt reſentments in that ſort of language, which uſually occurs to an honeſt man, who thinks himſelf ſupplanted. He calls Sir Henry Vane "a bold under-"taker," though I know, continues he, "he cannot build upon my "foundations. This blow came from Vienna upon new pretences, "That the proſperity of the king of Sweden would make our treaty eaſy, "if a man were employed, that would advance peace, to which I was "eſteemed an enemy.—I have honour enough in the ſincerity of my "negotiations, and that God had bleſſed them, and made me one inſtru-"ment; *though I boaſted not, until another would take my honour of bring-"ing the brave king into Germany, which I had rather have inſcribed on my "tomb, than titles dearly bought at the loſs of honour* *." And ſome months before this, he wrote to my lord Dorcheſter in the following words; "I "have received the encloſed from the chancellor of Sweden, wherein "I have honour enough done me, that I was the agent to bring that "brave king into Germany †." 1631.

At length his Britannic majeſty, amuſed by reſtleſs ſhiftings to and fro, but not relieved, gave the marquis of Hamilton private inſtructions to levy a body of troops, and conduct them into Germany. Upon this the Scottiſh nobleman diſpatched colonel Alexander Hamilton ‡, (Chemnitz gives him that Chriſtian name) brother to the earl of Hadinton, to the king of Sweden, and employed afterwards David Ramſay on the ſame errand the May following. Guſtavus took the propoſal in good part, and conveyed back immediately his own limitations and conditions of acceptance, of which (if I am allowed only to remark, with the above-cited hiſtorian §, that the king reſerved to himſelf the ſupreme power of command) the more material ſubſtance was as follows; "That

* London, Nov. 20, 1631. *(Paper-Office.)*

† August 16, 1631. *Ibidem.*

‡ There were five Hamiltons colonels under Guſtavus; Alexander, Frederic, James, John, and Hugh. The four former were knights.

§ Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 160.

"as

1631. " as the marquis had generouſly propoſed to raiſe 6000 men at his own " expence, to be employed againſt the Imperialiſts, and any other ene- " mies of Sweden, it was highly proper, by way of preliminary, that the " intended place of landing ſhould be firſt ſpecified; that 4000 infantry " ſhould conduct him to the Swediſh army, or wherever his troops were " to make an impreſſion; and that this eſcort was to be paid one whole " year at the Swediſh expence; that as the marquis ſuppoſes 2000 horſe " abſolutely neceſſary for the protection of his infantry, *expedients* " *ſhould be ſought for*, to procure ſuch a number of cavalry; that the " marquis ſhall not only have full command over this army in the " king's abſence, *but a counſellor ſhall be added to him, in order to render* " *his deliberations more expeditious, and leſs liable to objections*: whatever " the marquis *conquers ſhall belong to Sweden*, but the emoluments and " contributions ſhall appertain to him and his army; provided, at the " ſame time, that no outrages or extortions be committed. Laſtly, *the* " *ſaid marquis and his troops ſhall take an oath of fidelity to the crown of* " *Sweden* *."

I have never ſeen the marquis's original propoſals, which produced theſe conditions and limitations on the part of his Swediſh majeſty; but there is a ſpirit in the latter, and a political ability, which ſhew Guſtavus conſidered not himſelf in the ſituation of a ſuppliant prince. Not one ſyllable is mentioned in regard to the *Palatinate*, the only true and oſtenſible object of Great-Britain's interference. Nevertheleſs, it is probable, notwithſtanding all that Burnet inſinuates to the contrary, that the promiſe of an eſcort, and the co-operation of 4000 men in Swediſh pay, was always intended (as will appear more fully by and by) becauſe it was afterwards realized, which the biſhop alloweth not. But as to the clauſe relating to the addition of 2000 cavalry to the marquis's infantry, it is conceived in ſuch vague and indeterminate expreſſions, namely, *that, upon condition they ſhould be found neceſſary, expedients ſhall be ſought for to procure them*; that it appears to me, (and ought ſo *then* to have been underſtood) as a ſort of offer merely eventual, which the king intended to fulfil, or omit, as beſt agreed with

* See the treaty at large in the *Appendix*.

the

the exigencies of war. *The joining of a counſellor* (who probably was a man of the ſword,) *with the marquis* is a plain proof too, that it was never propoſed, that the Britiſh general ſhould have the *ſupreme command*: And that no *conqueſts* ſhould belong to him, or the parties whoſe cauſe he more immediately eſpouſed, was a farther proof, that no operations of his could have any effect in procuring the recovery of the Palatinate. The laſt article, *that of taking the oath of fidelity to the crown of Sweden*, proves the leaſt exceptionable of any one, that is to be found in the whole collection; yet even that gave ſome additional weight to his majeſty's power: nor is it uſually inſiſted upon, when a leſſer allied army co-operates with a larger body of troops: yet in this caſe Guſtavus aſked no more than he granted himſelf in relation to the garriſon, which he placed in Spandau. 1631.

In the body of the treaty, I paſſed over a circumſtance, which at that moment ſeemed too minute for an hiſtory of conſequence; but becauſe in the courſe of making theſe remarks one cannot but be ſtruck with the independent ſpirit, and ſuperior air of authority in Guſtavus, (not to mention the promptneſs and firmneſs of his mind, even at a time when he was greatly diſtreſſed, and requeſting a favour) I muſt here juſt obſerve, that though the king had promiſed the marquis bills of exchange to buy ammunition, and had alſo agreed to provide him with a great number of muſquets, pikes and cannon-balls, and a certain quantity of iron and utenſils to make ſome warlike inſtruments of that nobleman's own invention; yet in the ſame paragraph it was alſo ſtipulated, that if the treaty then agitating at Dantzic between the Swedes and Imperialiſts ſhould take effect, and a general peace be concluded, the marquis ſhould refund to his majeſty the particular ſums of money, that had been expended upon theſe military inſtruments by way of preparation. Be that as it will, Guſtavus choſe to preſcribe laws, and not receive them: and as he perceived the king of England wanted magnanimity to appear as he ought in ſo glorious a cauſe, he therefore choſe either to make him ſubſervient, or not depend on him at all, there being no other alternative in the tranſaction of an affair ſo critical with an irreſolute monarch.

1631. The March following, in the year 1631, the marquis at length, with the concurrence of the king his maſter, accepted of the above mentioned propoſals, and engaged to land his troops at the place ſtipulated in the month of June next enſuing *. He commented a little upon here and there an article, and made a few ſlight explanations and enlargements upon ſeveral paſſages, to which no anſwer was returned, ſo far as I can diſcover at this diſtance of time: but nothing ſyſtematical was advanced upon the whole, nor any one objection duly urged againſt thoſe various clauſes, which I have made my obſervations upon, as carrying with them the marks not only of great ability, but of ſuperior commanding authority in Guſtavus. Nevertheleſs, this omiſſion muſt be referred to the king and his miniſtry, as in truth it ought, and not to the marquis of Hamilton.

Donald, lord Rea (whoſe family name was Mackay) and David Ramſay, who both ſerved in the Swediſh army, were now employed by Guſtavus in Great-Britain to facilitate the turn of affairs in his behalf, and encourage the new general in raiſing recruits; and on this account (in reſpect to ſome words ſpoken of the marquis) aroſe that noted quarrel between them, which ended in an appeal to ſingle combat, authoriſed by a royal commiſſion †, concerning which all our hiſtorians expreſs themſelves with ſo much minuteneſs, that I ſhall purpoſely paſs it by without further notice. It is true biſhop Burnet gives them both

* He left England July 16, touched at Oreſund, and landed at Wolgaſt the ſecond and third of Auguſt.

† At the day of trial, Ramſay called Rea *liar, and barbarous villain*, and, throwing down his glove, proteſted, *to gar him dy for what he had ſaid, if he had him in a place for that purpoſe.* But Rea preſerved an intire dominion over his temper, and replied only, without ſigns of paſſion and diſcompoſure, *Mr. Ramſay, we will not contend here; anſwer my bill.* Sanderſon's Hiſtory of England, p. 167.

Upon the whole, it was improbable that Rea ſhould want to attach himſelf to the marquis any further than out of pure affection to a nobleman of his own country; for he knew the king of Sweden would never allow Hamilton a ſeparate command, and he had better employments under Guſtavus (being a colonel of two regiments) than he could hope to obtain in the Britiſh army. So that if there was any treaſon at bottom, (which I no ways ſuſpect) it certainly lies at Ramſay's door.

The dreſs of the appellant and defendant on the day of trial was very conformable to the taſte of chivalry at that time. Ramſay was cloathed in ſcarlet, laced with ſilver ſo thick, that the ground of the cloth could hardly be ſeen. The lining was a ſky-coloured pluſh. Lord Rea was apparelled in black velvet with ſilver trimmings and buttons, his ſword hung in a ſilver-embroidered belt; and he wore the order of a Scottiſh baronet about his neck. *Ibid.*

extremely

extremely bad characters, which repreſentation at this diſtance of time it is not in my power to contradict. All I know of them is, they were ſoldiers of approved ſervices, and Guſtavus valued them both, eſpecially the former; a circumſtance many people will think ſufficient to confront an hearſay report, delivered down to us by a very able, but prejudiced hiſtorian, who paints with great warmth, and ſnatching one point of view finiſhes his portrait, without conſulting what particular lights and attitudes the ſubject may admit of. 1631.

In the ſpring-months of the year 1631, Hamilton employed himſelf with great diligence to collect an army; and the cauſe in itſelf was ſo agreeable to the people of England and Scotland, that his drums ſoon drew together a conſiderable number of troops, and many experienced officers flocked to him both from Holland and the Low-Countries. He then diſpatched an agent, ſaith Burnet, to beſeech Guſtavus to order the eſcort of 4000 men to be ready to join him on his firſt landing in Germany; and, in caſe ſuch a body of forces could not be ſpared, to ſend him letters of exchange, whereby he might be enabled to levy the aforeſaid number of men.

On the other hand, as matters now drew near their criſis in the empire, (for the generals knew by the interpretation of each other's motions, that a deciſive battle muſt ſoon happen) the king wrote ſeveral preſſing letters to the marquis, conjuring him to complete his levies, and embark with all poſſible expedition. At the ſame time lord Rea was ſent into Denmark and Holland to raiſe recruits; and a like commiſſion was given to colonel Farenbach, concerning whoſe deſigns on the king's perſon we have ſpoken more diſtinctly in another place *. This bold and unaccountable adventurer (who had orders likewiſe to paſs into England, and collect troops there) received his majeſty's money to raiſe four regiments, and then very myſteriouſly diſappeared, and returned to the Imperial ſervice, where he had borne command under the emperor Mathias, and thence paſſed into the ſervice of Sigiſmond king of Poland.

* Vide ſupra, p. 43.

1631. It is more than probable, that theſe regiments were intended to join Hamilton; for the countries, in which they were to be raiſed, lay near the place, where the junction was propoſed to be formed. Their number likewiſe correſponded with the number of troops promiſed; for as a Swediſh regiment then contained 1008 men, of courſe this body of ſoldiers amounted preciſely to the due contingent, with an addition only of two and thirty perſons more than were mentioned in the ſtipulation. Nor could Guſtavus expect any uſe or aſſiſtance from theſe new-raiſed recruits, but upon ſuppoſition they were to unite themſelves with the marquis; and then both theſe little armies might render themſelves ſuperior to inſults, and march on to their place of deſtination conformably to the king's orders. For 4000 men, raiſed in Holland, Frizeland, and Bremen, unſupported by the Britiſh troops, could not, without uncommon good fortune, have joined the king or Banier; inaſmuch as Tilly lay between them and the former, and Pappenheim and Boninghauſen betwixt them and the latter. Theſe are little remarks, which tend much to the explanation of hiſtory, and cannot eaſily be made, except one underſtands the ſubject thoroughly, and knows preciſely what each general was about, and where every body of troops was ſtationed at a certain period.

By this time Guſtavus began to find great inconveniencies in the ſituation of his affairs, inaſmuch as Charles was ſo extremely cautious in the declaration of his good intentions. And upon this occaſion, the proteſtant princes in Germany put on a cold, reſerved, and ambiguous air, reflecting (not without wiſdom) how extremely dangerous any armament, or the publication of any one ſimple memorial, might prove to them, when the king of Great-Britain, environed by the ſea, and removed at ſo conſiderable a diſtance from every ill effect, that could proceed from the houſes of Auſtria and Spain, preſumed only to act behind the ſcene, and guarded himſelf under the poſſibility of having recourſe to ſubterfuges and excuſes. Beſides, they diſcovered plainly, that as he declared not boldly and avowedly for them, he was to be underſtood as acting to a certain degree againſt them. Upon this account Guſtavus preſſed hard, by the means of Camerarius his ambaſſador in Holland,

Holland, and Salvius his agent at Hamburg, to bring Charles into an explicit and open treaty, by which 10,000 men (to be paid by Great-Britain) were to be added to the marquis's army, and the eſcort above-mentioned: over all which troops the marquis, in caſe theſe propoſals were accepted, was then to be declared general in chief, with this ſubſequent proviſion, that no peace ſhould be concluded with the emperor, till the elector Palatin was re-inſtated in his patrimonial dominions. Charles liſtened to theſe propoſals with an air of approbation, allowing himſelf at the ſame time to be cajoled interchangeably between the Auſtrian and Spaniſh miniſtry: but inſtead of conſenting in a compendious manner, (which ſingle ſtroke of politics, not uncommonly bold, would have cruſhed all the ambitious projects formed at Vienna and Munich, and produced in ſhort time the final reſtoration of the Palatinate) he promiſed, in imitation of his father, to ſend an ambaſſador to finiſh the agreement. Whether any ſuch miniſter went merely at that time, and on that errand, is more than I can take upon me to aſſert. Henry Vane was charged with a public commiſſion to Guſtavus, about half a year afterwards: but the critical opportunity had then vaniſhed, and the elector of Saxony had declared for Sweden. 1631.

On July 16. the marquis, after having reviewed his troops, ſet ſail from Yarmouth with a fleet of forty ſhips. In his way he ſtopped at Elſinoür, and went aſhore to deliver letters from his maſter, in order to obtain a free paſſage, and pay his reſpects to that venerable warrior, Chriſtian, king of Denmark. Guſtavus had appointed him to land at Bremen, and had diſpatched thither Leſly (afterwards earl of Lieven) to negotiate with the archbiſhop concerning the means of ſupplying the Engliſh army with proviſions; and it was well known, that he amaſſed great quantities of bread and beer from Bremen and Hamburg. But when the marquis found, that the eſcort of 4000 men had not been ſent him, according to promiſe, and that the enemy's troops covered a large tract of country between him and the grand Swediſh camp, he thought proper, from his own impulſe, having juſt touched at Oreſund, to proceed onwards in his voyage, and landed in the mouth of the Oder, between Wolgaſt and the iſle of Uſedom; at which Guſtavus was greatly piqued,

1631. piqued, for the archbiſhop of Bremen privately favoured the Swediſh cauſe; and as the Imperial troops were but weak in, and near that dioceſe, he wanted above all things to carve work for Tilly on the banks of the Weſer, and divert him from marching into Saxony *. But Burnet either knew nothing of the king's reaſons for being angry, or kept them a ſecret.

Indeed I cannot ſay there was any conſiderable body of Swediſh troops then in Bremen; but Leſly, governor of Stralſund, appeared there in perſon by his maſter's orders. Todt likewiſe, and Banier, lay at ſome diſtance with no contemptible armies; and all the world knows, Guſtavus was too good a general to run the riſk of ſacrificing ſuch a brave body of allies, by leaving them in a forlorn and defenceleſs ſtate. Mean while, Leſly was not a little aſtoniſhed to ſee the king's plan broken in the very firſt ſtep the marquis took, (who determined immediately to hoiſt ſails, and paſs onwards into Pomerania:) therefore, without ceremony, he embarked in a ſmall veſſel for Stetin, and thence haſtened by land to the king, in order to know what freſh reſolutions he would be pleaſed to take upon the deſtruction of his original deſign. His majeſty, from that moment, diſliked the marquis for not placing a due confidence in him; but having the talent never to be ſurprized with the breaking forth of any new incident, he changed his plan in an inſtant, and deſtined the Britiſh troops to ſerve on the banks of the Oder inſtead of the Weſer.

The fame of this little army, whoſe numbers were trebly magnified, ſtruck great terror into the Imperial troops, and contributed more than can be well imagined, to the obtaining the battle of Leipſic: for Tilly thought himſelf obliged to detach ſix or ſeven thouſand men into Sileſia, to ſtrengthen his army there, and re-inforce ſeveral garriſons on the occaſion; the want of which ſoldiers greatly diſtreſſed him, when the deciſive hour of action arrived.

The marquis landed 6000 men, Engliſh and Scottiſh, all in high ſpirits and florid health, for only two had died during the voyage. This diminutive army conſiſted of four regiments, each of which contained

* Chemnitius de Bello Sueco-German. Tom. i. 160.

ten

ten companies, and every company amounted to 150 men *. Burnet, 1631.
who makes a ſacrifice of Guſtavus's character in order to aggrandize that of his hero the marquis, no where allows, that the ſtipulated eſcort of 4000 Swedes joined the Engliſh after their landing. But this miſtake aroſe either from ignorance or deſign; for 4000 Swedes joined him, according to ſtipulation †, which arrived ſome few days after the re-inforcement, that the queen brought; and then the combined troops marched firſt to Stetin, and afterwards into Sileſia, where Horn lay at that time, and whom Banier replaced.

It is true, numbers of the Engliſh periſhed by eating of the German bread, which is heavier, darker-coloured, and ſourer than that of their own country: they ſuffered too by an immoderate fondneſs for new honey, of which they found great abundance in thoſe parts; nor did the German beer agree with their conſtitutions. They came freſh likewiſe into a country, that had been ravaged by the peſtilence. Of courſe this body of troops proved but of little ſervice in the ſequel of the war. For they were new-raiſed recruits, the very off-ſcouring of the people; and, in order to juſtify this aſſertion, it muſt be obſerved, that Guſtavus had no intention to make uſe of them upon trying occaſions, and about his perſon, till they had been better ſeaſoned and diſciplined in the art of war.

The magnificence of Hamilton's table, his equipage, and liveries, appeared to have more the air of a prince, than of a ſubject. He had forty gentlemen's ſons, by way of pages and volunteers, and a body of guards, which amounted to 200 men. He was received in the camp at Werben (for thither he went without his army) in a manner the moſt affectionate and moſt polite, that can be conceived. Guſtavus made him a thouſand apologies, for the bareneſs and ſcantineſs of the quarters allotted to his troops; and having conferred with him many hours in private, ſhewed him the diſpoſitions he had made in order to give Tilly a ſoldier-like reception. By this time the Britiſh troops were advanced to the banks of the Oder, and thither the marquis haſtened to take the

* Chemnitius de Bello Sueco-German. Tom. i. 160.

† Swediſh Intelligencer, Part i. p. 109.

command

1631. command of them upon himſelf*; but never could obtain the power of being declared general in chief, when the junction was to be formed betwixt him and the Swediſh commander; that honour being ſtrenuouſly denied him, except his Britannic majeſty ſhould think fit to add 10,000 freſh men, conformably to the propoſal lately made by Guſtavus, which we mentioned tranſiently as we paſſed along.

Some little time after the deciſive engagement at Leipſic, the king ordered the marquis to ſupply the deficiency amongſt his Britiſh troops with German recruits, for the expences of which he promiſed to become reſponſible; and from thence we may infer, that his Britannic majeſty only ſent an army into Germany, but was not extremely punctual in remitting the payment that belonged to it. Soon after this, the marquis received inſtructions to quit the banks of the Oder, and make what acquiſitions he could in Sileſia: but his army, from cauſes above aſſigned, was reduced to little more than two complete regiments; and what was worſe, had ſubſiſted ever ſince its arrival, in countries half depopulated by peſtilence, and where the proviſions had been twice conſumed by enemies and friends: nor could he, in this new expedition, obtain more than 500 auxiliary troops to co-operate with him. Nevertheleſs, he and his Britons were delighted with the thoughts of making an invaſion into Sileſia, a duchy† extremely fertile in itſelf, and little, if at all, impoveriſhed by the preceding wars. He had there the good fortune to raiſe the ſiege of Croſſen, which was more eaſily effected, as moſt of the inhabitants were proteſtants. He then took Guben (the ſecond and beſt-peopled town in Lower Luſatia) by ſurprize; and had probably maſtered Glogau‡ next, if Guſtavus, for political reaſons, had not recalled him;

* Monro's Second Expedition, Part ii. 52, 53.

† Some modern writers have aſſured us, that this duchy, which is about 240 miles long by 60 broad, more or leſs, contains 100 well-peopled cities and towns, 353 ſmall market towns and larger villages, 4000 gentlemen's houſes, including 863 caſtles, and an infinite number of little villages and hamlets. The reader is deſired not to take this account upon my authority, for the computation appears to me to be exaggerated.

‡ This town gives name to a conſiderable duchy, which the emperor had conferred on Walſtein, as a remuneration in part for his great ſervices. Walſtein had fitted up the caſtle with his uſual magnificence. There is one particularity in this duchy; the daughters inherit preferably to the collateral males. The preſent princeſs of Furſtenberg, (as the prince her huſband informed me) is an heireſs of the houſe of Walſtein.

at

at the ſame time giving him to underſtand, that the elector of Saxony had undertaken to make the conqueſt of Sileſia, as that province lay moſt convenient for him. 1631.

The Scottiſh nobleman was tranſported with rage, to ſee himſelf obliged to quit ſo plentiful a country. He had once a mind to have continued there in oppoſition to his majeſty's orders; but that deſign would have amounted to nothing, for the Swediſh commanders in the ſeveral garriſons, had authority given them, in caſe of his obſtinacy, not to acknowledge him as an ally. If this conduct of Guſtavus ſhould chance to puzzle the reader, he will upon a moment's reflection diſcover, that the Swediſh policy was not amiſs in this reſpect: for as no explicit compact had been made about re-inſtating Frederic, either as elector Palatin or king of Bohemia; and as Sileſia belonged to the crown of Bohemia in the light of an incorporated and annexed province, Guſtavus wiſely foreſaw, that what the Engliſh conquered there, would be ſuppoſed by that nation to be conquered for the Palatin's uſe; and that it was much more plauſible and political too, to turn their force another way, than to diſpoſſeſs them. Beſides, his ſcheme was not to contract for the reſtoration of Frederic (though he had that event ſincerely and really at heart) till Charles thought fit to engage more avowedly and ſtrenuouſly in the war, and advanced larger and more regular ſupplies of men and money.

Hamilton therefore, with manifeſt ill will, marched to Magdeburg at the head of 1500 national troops, and 2000 or more German infantry, which he had levied conformably to the orders of the king of Sweden, and at his expence. His inſtructions were to join Banier, who conducted about the ſame number of troops, and co-operate with him in forming the blockade of the aforeſaid city, about ſix months after Tilly had taken it by ſtorm. There was little good to be expected from this project, for the ſoldiers within and under the walls (not to mention out-guards and advanced parties) were almoſt as numerous as thoſe, that inveſted the avenues of the town; ſo that the moſt Guſtavus could propoſe, (except ſome ſingular piece of good fortune ſhould chance to preſent itſelf) was to reduce the garriſon, and the troops encamped

1631. under the walls, to the ſtraits of hunger, and preclude them from making excurſions and levying contributions round the country.

And now the marquis's reſentment was thoroughly awakened; for he found, that Banier not only affected the ſuperior command, but was determined to poſſeſs it; for he carried the king's authority in his pocket, to be produced and uſed, in caſe diſputes ſhould proceed to extremity.

Upon this, coldneſs and reſervedneſs ſoon gave birth to expoſtulations and recriminations; at length their reciprocal ill-will to each other amounted to a mortal hatred, and each would have been glad to have ſacrificed his antagoniſt to private paſſion; for Banier, who was extremely well born, would not bate the marquis one jot in the articles of pride, and ſelf-opinion: not to mention, that he conſidered himſelf (and juſtly too) as one of the ableſt generals then in Europe. And though the marquis poſſeſſed all the gallantry, magnificence, and perſonal bravery, that ought to adorn the man of quality; yet he was then only entered into the twenty fourth or twenty fifth year of his age, and for that reaſon Guſtavus, in the original draught of the articles between them, choſe to annex an adviſer or counſellor, that is, in other words, an elder general, with him in the military command. In vain the Britiſh nobleman preferred remonſtrance after remonſtrance, in order to obtain the ſupreme direction of the armies: it was told him by Guſtavus, that the contrary practice was highly expedient to the public ſervice; and in conſequence of this declaration, letters were diſpatched to London, beſeeching Charles to recommend the doctrine of ſubordination to his general, and exhorting him likewiſe to tranſmit the pay of the troops, not to the marquis of Hamilton, but to the king of Sweden: which propoſals were agreed to, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert *.

In the courſe of theſe reſentments, the marquis behaved in a very ſpirited manner againſt Banier, who, contrary to the judgment of his Britiſh collegue, had declined giving Pappenheim battle, who then advanced in order to raiſe the blockade of Magdeburg. Banier produced his orders not to hazard the Swediſh and German troops, and immedi-

* High Dutch Hiſtorical and Authentic Relation, Part i. p. 113.

ately

ately commanded a retreat to be ſounded. The truth was, which ei- 1631.
ther Burnet knew not, or choſe to ſuppreſs, that Boninghauſen, after an obſtinate conflict, had thrown 1300 men into the town. Banier then paſſed the Sala, and beſought the marquis to do the ſame, who refuſed him poſitively, being aſſured by Sir Jacob Aſtley, as an eye-witneſs, that the paſs, through which he was to march his diviſion, was ſo ſecure and ſo defenſible, that he might purſue his journey at a quarter of an hour's notice, and give defiance to all Pappenheim's attacks. Be that as it will, Pappenheim in truth (whoſe army was much weaker than that of the combined nations, though it was always his policy to double the number of his men in common reports) had no other object in view, than to raiſe the blockade and carry off the garriſon, which amounted to 3000 well diſciplined troops: not to mention ſuch bodies of ſoldiers as were ſtationed in ſtrong poſts and important paſſes round the town.

Thus ended the campaign of 1631, with reſpect to the marquis, who paid a viſit to the king, and was received with great cordiality and politeneſs.

And now, about the middle of September, 1632, Henry Vane arrived at Wurtzburg in his ambaſſadorial capacity. His propoſals were, that Guſtavus ſhould give the marquis a ſeparate army, and a ſeparate command; and that the ſaid army, conjointly with ſuch troops as might hereafter be ſent from England, and in co-operation with ſuch as were levied and ſupported with Engliſh money, ſhould act uniformly and unceaſingly for the recovery of the Palatinat. But Guſtavus took the matter in a higher tone than he had made uſe of formerly; ſo that Vane and he parted upon very ill terms: in conſequence whereof, he declined giving the marquis a commiſſion to levy a new army, and excuſed himſelf from paying the money, that was expended in Sileſia to form a body of recruits there; and Oxenſtiern told the Britiſh general, with ſome warmth, that he had received great ſums from Charles his maſter, and muſt not pretend to amuſe them with an account of injuries committed on his own private fortunes.

Thus that nobleman, as early as the month of April, in the year we are now ſpeaking of, found himſelf to be neither a general nor even a colonel, for his whole corps was reduced to one Engliſh regiment and

1631. one Scottiſh. Bellandin, afterwards created a peer, commanded one, and Hamilton, brother to the earl of Hadinton, conducted the other: both which regiments being incorporated into duke Bernard's army, the marquis contented himſelf to follow Guſtavus as a volunteer.

His Britannic majeſty made an indiſtinct reply to all this embroilment which Oxenſtiern's rough ſpeech had occaſioned: he gave the money as king, and did not give the money as king; he ſerved the Swedes openly, and he ſerved them clandeſtinely. The marquis in one light was accountable to the nation, and in one light was not accountable to the nation. But the poſtſcript of one of the king's letters at this period contains ſomething pretty extraordinary. The words are theſe;

"I hope ſhortly you will be in a poſſibility to perform your promiſe "concerning pictures and ſtatues at Munechen (Munich): therefore "now, in earneſt, do not forget it."

Now as this letter bears date April 30, 1632*, it is plain the king of Sweden had entered Bavaria, and even paſſed the Lech almoſt a month before it was written. The caſt therefore of it, as Charles by this time began to be fully aſſured that the whole electorate would be more or leſs ſubjected to a kind of military decimation, may be underſtood by many, as obliquely ſuggeſting (for the king knew well the pedigree and excellence of every good picture and ſtatue in the grand collection at Munich) that ſome few of theſe curioſities might be treated conformably to the ſcience of true virtuoſo-ſhip.——Whatever appearance the thing may have, I ſhall preſume to ſay nothing on the occaſion; and if the bare mention thereof had not fallen immediately and eſſentially within the courſe of my narrative, I ſhould have paſſed by a circumſtance relating to a prince, whom, in the character of a reſtorer, and protector of the fine arts, every man of taſte ought for ever to reſpect. Nevertheleſs the ſcheme or idea, whatever it might be, was in all probability rendered abortive by a peremptory diſapprobation on the part of Guſtavus; which one cannot affect to be ſorry for, ſince the Trenks and Mentzels of our own age, when they made an irruption into Bavaria at the head of a rapacious band of

* Memoirs by Burnet, p. 22.

Croatians,

Croatians, Pandours, and Talpatches, made no heſitation to paſs by an action ſo tranſcendantly Gothical. 1632.

Non obtuſa adeo geſtabant pectora Pæni,
Nec tam averſus equos Tyriis ſol junxit ab oris.

Much more happened at this time with reference to Great-Britain (wherein the marquis was partly concerned) and his Swediſh majeſty; but that will preſent itſelf more naturally, when we ſhall undertake to give a full account of Sir Henry Vane's embaſſy. It may ſuffice, therefore, to conclude with obſerving, that ſome months before the above mentioned embroilments had taken their riſe from Oxenſtiern's warmth of temper, Charles had conceived a ſtrong inclination to recall the marquis, perceiving plainly, that he ſtood on no good footing with Guſtavus, and that there was little hope of procuring for him a ſeparate command; and as he had, in common with his father, a mighty itching for new negotiations, viſionary projects, and temporary expedients, he propoſed to his general, to ſend him with a new army into the Lower Palatinate, in order to aſſiſt the French, who had promiſed to conquer it, and conſign it into his hands by way of *depoſitum*; though at the ſame time he adds, that he cannot conſider French promiſes as matters of authenticity. Nor did he judge amiſs in this reſpect; for as the ſcheme was chimerical, ſo it ended in nothing.

And now the chancellor Oxenſtiern propoſed a freſh league, offenſive and defenſive, between Sweden and England, in a higher tone of language, and under exceptions and limitations much more ſevere, than had been expreſſed in the laſt offer he made: for there the power of concluding peace was to be veſted reciprocally in each contracting party, but here it was to reſide entirely in his Swediſh majeſty's breaſt. As this ſingle aſſumption of prerogative cauſed the whole ſtate of the queſtion to vary, Vane and he parted with much malignity. The marquis petitioned for a new army, and Guſtavus amuſed him with a new delay. He urged remonſtrance upon remonſtrance; but all was vain. Guſtavus ſpoke of Charles, his brother-king, in terms of anger and bitterneſs, but at the ſame time told the marquis, that he was thoroughly

1632. ſenſible of his ſervices; and at all diſtances, and in all places, ſhould conſider him as one, that peculiarly appertained to him. Upon this, the Engliſh general (all propoſals being thus rendered incompatible on either ſide) reſpectfully took his leave at Neuſtadt, about the middle of September, 1632, ſix weeks before the king's death, being eſcorted four miles by all the Engliſh and Scottiſh officers in the Swediſh ſervice; and taking with him the colonels Sir James Hamilton and Sir James Ramſey (which latter was ſurnamed the fair) as alſo the valiant colonel Hepburn, who, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, in ſpite of all repreſentations and applications, never could be induced to forgive the king the affront, real or imaginary, which lay upon his ſpirits. In a word, as matters ſtood upon this diſagreeable footing between the ſovereigns of Great-Britain and Sweden, one cannot blame the marquis for declining the poſt of volunteer for life. Nevertheleſs, his few remaining ſoldiers entertained no thought, that their general, or their country, had been ill uſed, for they all incorporated themſelves into the Swediſh ſervice; nor did the Scots in particular (the moſt jealous of any people in Europe, with reſpect to national affronts) ever withdraw themſelves from Guſtavus's enſigns upon this occaſion, though at that time three or four of them were *officers of the field* (as the language then ran) and upwards of twenty ſerved the king in the capacity of colonels; not that ſo many occur in the courſe of my hiſtory, for ſome acted in ſeparate armies under Oxenſtiern, Horn, Banier, and others, and ſome were quartered in Livonia and Sweden*.

Thus ended the fortunes of the ſeparate army, chiefly Engliſh, which the marquis commanded; whereas, if Charles had made a bold and explicit treaty at firſt, in his own name, and authorized it by regal ſanction and that of a parliament; if a proper fund had been ſettled for the ſupport of theſe auxiliary troops, and a Britiſh commiſſary been ſent to pay them weekly or monthly; if the diſpoſal of all vacant commiſſions had been veſted in the national general, and him only; then Charles, I ſay, might have made points of the recovery and reſtoration of the Palatinate. He might have employed his own ſoldiers in that par-

* Monro's Expedition.

ticular

ticular deſtination; he might have flattered the peculiar partiality of his ſubjects, by giving them a commander of their own iſland. And had he inſiſted upon this, and many other points of a like nature, at that time, when aſſiſtance would have come with its true grace, and at a proper ſeaſon, certain it is and undeniable, that Guſtavus and Oxenſtiern would have embraced his propoſals with uncommon joy. But the misfortune of our king was, that he often ſaw and did what was right; but was always unlucky both in the manner of propoſing, and the time of performing. 1631.

But to return to our German part of the hiſtory. Whilſt Guſtavus lay intrenched within the angle, which is formed by the confluence of the Elb and Havel, and as he was walking on the banks of one of theſe rivers, all alone, in a meditating mood, conformably to his uſual cuſtom; he was ſurprized with the voices of ten or twelve young cavaliers, who were talking with a great deal of vivacity, and ſeemed to ſhape their courſe towards the Swediſh quarters. The king diſpatched a centinel or two to ſummon them to him; but as theſe volunteers talked neither German nor Swediſh, they could only anſwer by ſigns. Guſtavus gueſsing their errand, ſpoke to them very politely in Latin, and offered to incorporate them that very day into the beſt body of troops then in the ſervice. For it was remarkable in this prince, that he ſtudied the phyſiognomy, and watched the conduct, of every young man of faſhion, that carried arms under him, and aſked the reſpective colonels every day, what ſort of turn of mind, and what kind of military genius they diſcovered in theſe new adventurers, during their apprenticeſhip in the art of war. Nor was this all; for he often converſed with the meaneſt of his ſoldiers, and knew numbers of them by their names. Having well analyzed the characters of theſe new volunteers in his own mind, he conceived a very favourable opinion of one of them, and preſented him ſoon afterwards with two fine war-horſes, ſaying at the ſame time, *Sir, I do not give them you; I only pay you for the merit I ſee you have.* This young man was Gaſſion, afterwards maréchal of France, one of the moſt intrepid and enterprizing warriors of that age*. The king gave him

* Gaſſion, John, had the good fortune, though a proteſtant, to arrive to the honour of being a maréchal.

1631. him a variety of employment, made him a ſort of brigadier in his own regiment of guards, deſtined him for the ſharpeſt ſervices, and honoured him with a great ſhare of his private confidence*.

In one of thoſe deſperate rencounters, which happened almoſt every day between the two contending armies, his majeſty recommended him very particularly to the care of the commander of the party. Gaſſion had the good fortune to take a German officer priſoner, a young man of conſiderable eſtate and quality: and as ranſoms at that time ran very high, with reſpect to people of faſhion, Guſtavus gave the whole profit to *the young Frenchman*, as he uſed to call him; and was greatly pleaſed, when Gaſſion told him, that he liked the air and manners of his priſoner ſo well, that, poor as he was, he was determined to forgive him all the debt, provided the ſaid officer would do him the favour to inſtruct him in the Swediſh and German languages, that thereby he might be the better enabled both to give and receive commands. Upon this event, in concurrence with ſome other promiſing indications, Guſtavus in a few days conceived ſo high an opinion of Gaſſion, that he ordered him to come privately on horſe-back to his tent at midnight, where, after ſome ſhort diſcourſe, he ſent him out on an expedition of conſequence, which was conducted by the baron Teüffel, one of his favourite colonels.

By this time the affair of Werben received its concluſion; where Tilly found himſelf greatly exceeded, not only in the military art, but in the methods of encampment and ſubſiſting an army. In vain he boaſted of having defeated and ruined two kings, and that he ſhould cruſh a third, who was but a young man, with inconſiderable difficulty; but the event did not juſtify the rodomontade. True it is, he attacked Guſtavus more times than one, but was never able to carry his point. He allured

maréchal of France. He ſerved firſt in the Genoeſe war, under the conſtable Leſdiguieres; acted afterwards with the duke de Rohan, in Languedoc, and bore a ſhare through all the campaigns in Savoy and Piémont, till the peace of Queraſque was concluded. He then conceived a deſire of aſking a command under the emperor, but the maréchal de Thoiras diſſuaded him; and in the 23d year of his age, he preſented himſelf to the king of Sweden. Richelieu mortally hated the abrupt impetuoſities of this officer; and being adviſed one day to confer the command of Rantzau's army upon him, replied haſtily in the negative, *I know Rantzau gets drunk ſometimes, but Gaſſion was born drunk.* See more in Folard, Tom. i. 229.

* Hiſt. du Marechal Gaſſion (par Michael le Pure) Tom. i. 45, &c.

him

him to a final deciſion upon plain ground: but the king kept his poſt 1631.
with inflexible firmneſs; for, though naturally brave and jealous of affronts to the higheſt degree, yet he had too great a game at ſtake to allow the congenial warmth of his temper to get the better of his ſedate reflection: and as it was now no time to indulge a romantic gallantry, he ſubmitted patiently to become an object of aſtoniſhment to his own troops, whoſe ardour, as we obſerved before, he could but barely ſuppreſs upon this trying occaſion. Nevertheleſs, that he might the better convince his officers, and compoſe their minds by force of argument, he convened a council of war (a practice not very conſtant with him) the night before Tilly attacked him, and there explained his whole plan to his generals, with ſuch ſuperiority of reaſoning, that every perſon retired to his tent not only with acquieſcence, but with entire ſatisfaction.

At length the Imperial general, unable to force an engagement, and unwilling to ſee his troops periſh by hunger, made a march by way of feint, as if he propoſed to return to Magdeburg. But the king was not to be allured from his well-choſen ſituation. He remained firm in his poſt, and allowed his enemy to make what motions he thought beſt on that ſide of his empire. This coolneſs of the king diſappointed Tilly, and mortified him likewiſe; and at length, not knowing well what ſteps to purſue, he pointed his courſe in earneſt, firſt to Tangermund *, and then to Einſleben, a town famous for its magnificent Gothic tombs erected to the honour of the counts of Mansfelt †, but more renowned for being known to be Martin Luther's place of nativity.

During theſe tranſactions the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, amongſt whoſe ſubjects at that time the general Tilly fomented a re-

* This well peopled town lies at the confluence of the Elb and Tanger. Charles IV. had a ſcheme to make it a commercial depoſitary between Bohemia and Lower Saxony, and from thence to extend its communication to the Northern ſea; and if death had not cut ſhort this emperor's project, perhaps Tangermund had been preciſely what Hamburg now is.

† The ſmall county of Mansfelt was ſequeſtered in 1570, and continues under ſequeſtration to this very day. Part belongs to Saxony, and part to Brandenburg. The preſent prince of Mansfelt poſſeſſes a few bailywics, which happened not to be recited in the ſequeſtration, and exerciſes ſome rights, principally conſiſtorial ones, over the county.

1631. volt *, implored the protection and aſſiſtance of Guſtavus, who received him with peculiar graciouſneſs; and, after the concluſion of a treaty between them, diſmiſſed him with a re-inforcement of three complete regiments, commanded by duke Bernard of Sax-Weymar, who, when he had joined the Heſſian troops at Caſſel, made a very profitable irruption into the chapter lands of the convent of Hirſchfeld †, and ſhaping his courſe from thence to Fulda ‡, conſtrained the abbot to ſubmit to a redemption from plunder, and then raiſed, by way of contribution, 2000 l. from a neighbouring prelate in the electorate of Mentz.

The treaty abovementioned (the full ſubſtance whereof, in reference to the contracting powers on either ſide, Chemnitius has thought it highly expedient to preſerve ||) may be conſidered as the ground-work, upon which Guſtavus, and the German princes, all erected their future alliances. The main draught of it had been contrived and reduced to articles many months before, but it never arrived to any actual concluſion, till now at Werben.

Upon this, Fugger, watch-maſter general of the army of the league, with a view to hinder the landgrave from infuſing ſpirits into the electorate of Saxony, by declaring ſo explicitly in behalf of Guſtavus, advanced with ten regiments, that had been raiſed by the ſaid league, as

* High Dutch Hiſtorical Authentic Relation, Part. i. 114, 115.

† Theſe lands were ſecularized at the peace of Munſter, and being erected into a principality, were conferred on the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel by way of indemnification for the expences, which the war had occaſioned to him, and his family.

‡ The abbacy of Fulda is about ninety miles over either way. The abbot is more powerful than many biſhops, and hath diſputed precedence formerly with the archbiſhop of Magdeburg and the biſhop of Hildeſheim. But ſince thoſe alterations, he hath been allowed (in order to prevent uneaſineſſes) to ſit in the diet at the foot of the Imperial throne. He is a prince of the empire, and by virtue of being high chancellor to the empreſs, hath a right to crown her in quality of firſt official. He is alſo primate of all the German abbies. After his election, he pays the pope, his only eccleſiaſtical ſuperior, the inconſiderable ſum of about 40 l. The pope in 1727 allowed him the power of cauſing himſelf to be choſen ſuffragan or vicar general. All the members of his abbey (which is of the Benedictin order) muſt be *noble*; and in them is veſted the power of election. The abbot in Guſtavus's time, [Bernard Schenk choſen March 12, 1623] made no ceremony of cloathing himſelf in armour, and following the fortunes of Tilly and Walſtein, was killed at the battle of Lutzen not very glorioufly, for having mounted the ſtair-caſe of the wind-mills, that ſtood at ſome diſtance from the main action, (and which are to be ſeen at this moment) he had his head ſtruck off by a cannon-ball.

|| Tom. i. pag. 162, &c. See the *Appendix*.

far

far as Vacha in Lower-Heſſe: but not confiding over-much in new-raiſed troops, he adventured firſt to try the talents of his party in the perſuaſive way, and ſent letters from Tilly to the ſtates of the province, exhorting them to make amends for the indiſcretion of their prince by a prompt and voluntary return to the emperor. Count Furſtenberg at the head of a good body of Imperialiſts, having compelled the circles of Suabia and Franconia to renounce the *concluſions* agreed upon at Leipſic, meditated another irruption into Heſſe on the ſide of Fulda; but the ſtorm ſoon blew over, for the latter general received counter-orders to march and join Tilly, and carried with him forty-one troops of horſe, and thirty-five companies of foot. Tieffenbach formed another corps for the ſame purpoſe out of the garriſons of Sileſia and Luſatia, and John, baron Aldringer *, with all poſſible expedition marched an army of 8000 1631.

* Born of obſcure parents in the county of Luxemberg, was originally valet de chambre, and then ſecretary to a French nobleman, but roſe at length, upon Cratz's being ſuperſeded, to the ſupreme command of the Bavarian army. He applied himſelf extremely to reading, and was employed in the chancery at Trent: but as he was a man of prompt and enterprizing parts, his collegues ſoon conceived a jealouſy againſt him, and counterworked and traverſed him ſo much, that in a rage, (conformably to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times) he quitted his employment, and determined to take up the profeſſion of the firſt man he met upon the road. In his way to Inſpruch, he lighted on a ſoldier croſſing a bridge, and marched with him into Italy. His pen rendered him very ſerviceable in the regiment wherein he enliſted, and ſoon raiſed him to a lieutenant's command; and as at the head of fifty men he defended a poſt to admiration, he was choſen by a nephew of the archbiſhop of Saltzburg to be his military director, and advanced by him to the place of ſerjeant-major. He then roſe to the office of colonel (an employment of great importance and honour in thoſe days, ſome colonels having commanded a body of twelve or fifteen thouſand men;) and in the year 1630 had, upon the death of Colalto, the chief direction of affairs before Mantua in conjunction with Gallas.

He was the beſt debater of that age in a council of war, and was thought neceſſary in Bavaria to compoſe the miſunderſtandings between that court and Vienna. He had the misfortune to be wounded in the head at the paſſage of the Lech, being then a general, and grand maſter of the artillery. The ſame campaign he joined Walſtein in Bohemia, notwithſtanding all the efforts, that were made againſt his junction, but returned to Bavaria to oppoſe Horn. His beſt exploit as a general (after my period of hiſtory concludes) was his contributing to raiſe the ſiege of Conſtance in 1633. He then ſerved under the duke of Feria, who conducted the Spaniſh troops, and by Walſtein's orders contrived to thwart and perplex him to ſuch a degree, as to break his heart: for the duke was a perſon of very delicate ſenſation in point of honour and all engagements between man and man. The public eſteemed him to be one of the fineſt gentlemen of that age, and it was his character to be humane and merciful beyond deſcription. He was known at home to be the beſt politician in the court of Madrid, but it was his unhappineſs to take late to the profeſſion of arms, merely by the compulſion of his maſter.

1631. 8000 men, propoſing and expecting to reach his generaliſſimo in about three weeks. Many of theſe troops were men of approved ſervice, and had performed great things in Italy under their commander.

And here it may be worth remarking, that ever ſince the publication of the Leipſic concluſions, the houſe of Auſtria had not been inattentive to the part, which the court of Saxony might think fit to aſſume, and of courſe Hagenmüller, one of the interior council at Vienna, had been diſpatched to the elector with inſtructions to beſeech him and his collegues to omit the levying of ſoldiers on the one hand, and allow free paſſage and ſubſiſtence on the other hand to the Imperial armies (ſince all ſuch military aſſiſtances ſhould be conſidered as things of a momentary, and not permanent duration) requeſting him likewiſe to perform the part of a mediator, and produce a peace between Guſtavus and the emperor; which latter propoſal was not diſagreeable to the elector's private caſt of politics, nor did it croſs the opinion of Arnheim, who was in effect his prime-miniſter, as well as his general. Yet the ground this prince was to fix his footing upon was of an unſtable and crumbling contexture: he therefore made freſh profeſſions of loyalty and obedience to the houſe of Auſtria, ſecretly enclined to do it ſervice, if a fair opportunity preſented itſelf; but this was only a

He died of grief at Munich, much in the manner as his predeceſſor and inſtructor, the great Spinola, died at Scrivia, and of the ſelf-ſame malady.

Aldringer was killed in the ſame year, 1634, on the bridge at Landſhut, whether by the Swedes or his own men, is uncertain. One may ſuſpect the latter, for with all his parts, and ſeveral good qualities, he was auſtere, paſſionate and revengeful. He attempted to kill Sirot for drawing on a lieutenant-colonel in his preſence (though the provocation was great and ſudden) and never could be induced to ſpare his life (ſo far as it lay in his power to affect it) either at the council of war in Italy, or in his repreſentations to the ſupreme council at Vienna. His parts were ſo ſolid, adroit, penetrating, and lively, that he was uſually called the *Spaniard Italianiſed*. Which puts me in mind of a very figurative obſervation, (which comes nearer to Aldringer's caſe) made, if I miſtake not, by the author of the Memoirs of the duke de Grammont, for not having the work before me, I take the liberty to quote by memory; *Un Allemand depaïſé & Italieniſé eſt un diable incarné.*

I muſt obſerve, laſtly, that he drew up moſt of the political papers and manifeſtos, that were publiſhed in behalf of the catholic league. He amaſſed vaſt wealth in the plunder of Mantua, not much to his honour. Nevertheleſs he ſpent it with magnificence and profuſion, and yet left conſiderable ſums in the banks of Genoa and Venice. After receiving the fatal wound, he paſſed the little time he lived in making ſtrict enquiries after the perſon who ſhot him. He was buried with great marks of honour. The emperor had created him firſt a baron, and then a count.

tran-

tranſient private wiſh, and not a ſettled political principle; for at the same time he knew Guſtavus, and did not chuſe to undertake a work where the leaſt duplicity might at once undo him: on this account he reſigned himſelf to that fluctuation of mind, which is uſually determined by the doctrine of apparent convenience. Something likewiſe was inſinuated, as if the houſe of Auſtria ſhould conſider certain meaſures (ſuppoſing them to be taken) as a ſort of high-treaſon againſt the empire; and, what was ſtill leſs political, the letters from Munich took the liberty to talk in the ſame tone *. 1631.

The better to enforce this doctrine, all the combined troops, of which I have formerly given an enumeration, were intended to overpower the elector of Saxony, and the Imperialiſts had the preſumption to call themſelves *the invincible army*. Mean while Tilly attempted to draw the elector into the catholic intereſts by gentle means, and upon this account requeſted him, as he was then at Merſburg, to give an audience to three perſons, deputed from him with full authority to treat and ratify; namely, John Reinart of Metternich, (who was the catholic adminiſtrator of the dioceſe of Magdeburg,) Otho Frederic, baron de Schomberg, grand maſter of the artillery (who was killed at Leipſic) and Bernardi his ſecretary. The elector, who loved hoſpitality, gave them a very plentiful repaſt, and diſſembled his reſentments extremely well; but after dinner told them coldly, that he conſidered himſelf and the emperor as Ulyſſes and Polypheme, and that the only favour he had to expect, was to be devoured the laſt. Saxony, continued he, is reſerved as the deſſert, which is to crown the Imperial banquet: but remember, gentlemen, that in the fruits, that help to compoſe a deſſert, ſome are auſtere and of dangerous digeſtion, and ſome have ſtones, that can only be cracked to the detriment of the teeth †.

He pronounced theſe words with ſo forbidding an air, that the commiſſioners hardly cared to proceed to buſineſs. However, at length they explained to him Tilly's propoſals, which when compared to what had happened, and what naturally might happen, with reference to the conduct of the houſe of Auſtria, were conſidered as meer ſounds, and not as realities.

* Memoires d'Electrice Palatine, 290. † Ibidem, 301.

Enraged

1631. Enraged at this diffidence in the court of Dreſden, the Imperial general was induced to make a falſe ſtep as a politician, and ruined himſelf and his maſter's cauſe, greatly to the diſapprobation of that wiſe and artful prince the duke of Bavaria *. It was his buſineſs mildly to have allured the elector into the catholic intereſts by all ſorts of promiſes, conceſſions, and gratifications; and, in caſe nothing of that nature could have ſucceeded, he then ſhould have removed his arms from Saxony (which ſingle circumſtance might have compoſed and pacified the elector, who wiſhed nothing more than an exemption from war) and tranſported the ſcene of action into Pomerania and Mechlenberg, ſince by ſuch a diverſion Guſtavus in the long run muſt have been obliged to follow him; for the king in thoſe days could not have ſubſiſted, if the intercourſe had been cut off between him and Sweden. But Tilly's genius and fortune both began to verge towards a decline. Either ill luck made this general fretful, or his fretfulneſs blinded his judgment, and rendered him unlucky: but be that as it will on one hand or the other, ſure it is, that he delivered himſelf up to the peeviſhneſs of old age, and the tranſports of reſentment. Of courſe, without waiting for the return of the deputies, he, on the ſide of Leipſic, having united Furſtenberg's army (which conſiſted of 10,000 men,) to his own forces; and Holk † and Gallas ‡ conjoined,

* Adelzreiter, Annal. Bavar. Part. iii. lib. 16.

† As Holk's cruelties ſurpaſſed all credibility, it is a misfortune, that Tilly, ſpeaking in the perſon of the tutelar deity of Saxony, had not made uſe of Taſſo's words, in his inſtructions to this general.

Guarda tu le mei leggi, e i ſacri tempi
Fa, ch'io del ſangue mio non bagni e lavi:
Aſſecura le vergini da gli empii
E i ſepoleri e le ceneri de gli avi,
A te piangendo i lor paſſati tempi.
Monſtran la brancha chioma i vecchi gravi,
A te la moglie le mammolle e'l petto,
Le cune e il figli e'l marital ſuo letto.

Chant. xx.

‡ Mathias, count Gallas, native of the biſhopric of Trent: his real name was Galaſſo. He ſucceeded Coalto, in conjunction with Aldringer, at the ſiege of Mantua, and roſe at length to one of the ſupreme commands in the Imperial army. He generouſly releaſed old count Thurn, whom he happened to take priſoner in Sileſia, either from greatneſs of mind, as he did not chuſe a brave enemy ſhould die ignominiouſly on a ſcaffold, or from the fear probably, (as hath been ſuggeſted elſewhere) of diſobliging Walſtein. This retarded his preferment for ſome months; but on the aſſaſſination of that general, in whoſe death he would take no public part (though it is thought by ſome, that he gave him an oblique ſlide in his fall) the court thought it worth while to make uſe of his aſſiſtances. He died in 1646, and left behind him one of the fineſt palaces in Prague, where the family is ſtill ſettled.

The

joined, on the ſide of Miſnia, poured into the electorate like two raging torrents, and ſpread nothing round them but devaſtation; for they had upon the whole at leaſt 40,000 ſoldiers under their command. No military execution hath reſembled this irruption, but that unhappy one, which Turenne was obliged to make into the Palatinate in 1674, and which continues an everlaſting reproach to the humanity of his nature and the politeneſs of the nation, which he ſerved. And though courts in the final examination of things are principally to be blamed for theſe barbarities, yet the generals, who carry them into execution, can neither be juſtified by their friends, nor can they diſculpate themſelves to their own conſciences. And, as if Providence ordained, that ſuch actions ſhould counterwork the very intentions of their firſt contrivers, the inhabitants of Saxony, far from being terrified thereby, were rather hardened againſt the emperor. Nevertheleſs, when their deputies remonſtrated with Tilly, on account of the depopulations and ravages committed by his ſoldiers, he replied with a conſtrained countenance, That his Walloons and Burgundians were not birds; nor could they ſubſiſt on inſubſtantial air: and then diſmiſſed the remonſtrators with an adage of Cato, deſiring it might make ſome impreſſion on their memories, *Fronte capillatâ, poſt eſt occaſio calva.* Thus a neceſſity of the houſe of Auſtria's own creation, (for Tilly owns in a letter dated ſeventeen days after the battle of Leipſic, that he entered Saxony conformably to a mandate directed to him from Vienna *) forced the elector into the arms of the king of Sweden, to whom, as he ſtill continued in his camp at Werben, being determined not to move till he was firſt invited, Arnheim was immediately diſpatched on poſt-horſes, to implore his aſſiſtance, and beſeech him to raiſe the ſiege of Leipſic, which town, the moſt important in Saxony by way of wealth and commerce, was then actually inveſted by the Imperial general; whom a large cannon-ball malignantly ſpared, killing a cavalier, that fate on horſe-back cloſe

1631.

The king of Hungary gave him the ſupreme direction at the famous battle of Nordlingen, as did alſo the cardinal-infant at the ſame king's requeſt. His diſpoſition was ſo fine, that Leganez, a renowned general, could not help crying out, "That the beſt officer in the world might learn "ſomething from Gallas."

* Lettre du Comte de Tilly à un ſien ami. De Halberſtadt, le 24 Sept. 1631.

by

1631. by him, and reſerved him to the mortification of ſurviving his military glory in the fatal tranſaction, which happened afterwards on the plains of Leipſic.

Guſtavus received Arnheim with an air of dignity, and told him coldly, *that nothing had happened but what he foreſaw, and had predicted to his maſter on various occaſions: he ſcrupled not to own, that he had taken his motions with a view to force this event into exiſtence; and that if the elector had lent a favourable ear to his repreſentations, neither Magdeburg had been taken, nor Saxony in danger.* He then interſperſed a few condoleances artfully enough, and concluded with ſaying, *That he had formed a plan of employing his troops to great advantage elſewhere, being obliged out of gratitude to ſupport the elector of Brandenburg, and the princes of Lower Saxony: yet he was always ready, as a man of honour and generoſity, to forgive the unfortunate, and protect them:* expecting nevertheleſs upon ſuch conceſſions and advances made on his part; That the electoral prince ſhould ſerve in his army as an hoſtage;—That the town of Wittemberg ſhould be conſigned to him for a place of retreat *; —That the elector ſhould furniſh his troops with three month's pay;---That he ſhould produce the traitors of the Auſtrian faction, that had given him evil counſel;—And that he, Guſtavus, ſhould be their judge †;---And laſtly, that a treaty ſhould be ſigned offenſive and defenſive between the king of Sweden and the elector of Saxony.

Arnheim flew to his maſter on wings of joy, (if his own account might be credited) and returned directly with the following anſwers; That the elector as well as the prince his ſon would make their reſidence in the Swediſh army;——That not Wittemberg only, but the whole electorate ſhould be open to the Swedes in caſe of a retreat;——That a month's pay ſhould be advanced immediately, and ſecurity given for the reſidue;——That a ſpecification ſhould be delivered in of the ſeveral traitors, who ſhould all be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary man-

* As Deſſau-bridge had been broken down, p. 242, here was the only convenient bridge in thoſe parts over the Elb.

† This was meant at Arnheim and others in terrorem, for the king never intended to inſiſt ſincerely on this head; ſince, if he had, he muſt have ſtripped the elector at once of his generaliſſimo, his prime-miniſtry, and Dr. Hoe his firſt chaplain.

ner;

ner * ;——And, finally, the elector empowered Arnheim to declare, 1631.
that he would embark his life and fortunes in the cauſe of Sweden; concluding with equal candor and politeneſs, that his obligations to Guſtavus were proportionable to his diſtreſſes.

Theſe preliminaries being thus adjuſted, it was added farther on the part of the elector, from his own free gratuitous motion, that he would undertake to ſubſiſt the Swediſh army ſo long as they continued in Saxony, and undertook the defence thereof; that he would reſign to the king all the rights of ſupreme command, rendering himſelf conformable to his will as far as all human compliance could carry him; and in the laſt place gave his honour to conclude no peace without his majeſty's concurrence.

To all which replies and propoſals, Guſtavus anſwered compendiouſly, without making a moment's pauſe: *That the elector muſt pardon him for taking the liberty to inſiſt upon ſecurities, as he had ſo long kept his attention on the perpetual alarm. Nevertheleſs, if he advanced but a month's pay to his ſoldiers, he would take upon him to promiſe, that they ſhould earn it well; provided always, the ſupreme direction reſided in himſelf alone*; for there the king would have no competitor.

It may appear matter of aſtoniſhment to many, why the elector of Saxony did not conjoin himſelf with Guſtavus ſooner! But remarkers of this ſtamp allow themſelves to be impoſed upon by the firſt ſuperficial appearances of things; *Qui ad pauca reſpiciunt, de facili pronuntiant*, ſaith the hiſtorian. For upon a cloſer examination, it appears to me, that the Saxon miniſters (if you can excuſe them being penſioners to the court of Vienna) were neither weak men nor cowards: a neutrality, had that been poſſible, was the wiſeſt meaſure, that they could purſue; they had no deſire to cruſh Guſtavus or the houſe of Auſtria: but matters at length proceeded to ſuch extremities, that there remained no middle courſe to ſteer: for the Imperial reſentments blazed forth in earneſt on the one hand (inſomuch that when Hagenmüller, the Auſtrian ambaſſador, made an offer to kiſs the elector's hand on his return to Vienna, he plainly told him it was the kiſs of Judas:) and Guſtavus,

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, 184.

1631. on the other hand, was a monarch, that was neither to be trifled with nor cajoled. Nor had the former conduct of John George, the perſon in queſtion (whether caſually or prudentially I will not take upon me to aſſert) occaſioned any notable diſadvantage to the king of Sweden, if we except the mortification and diſappointment his majeſty underwent with reference to Magdeburg: and the entire diſbelief, that this prince, and the other proteſtant powers, would ever preſume to join Guſtavus, till after the completion of ſome very unfavourable event to the houſe of Auſtria, was the ſecret reaſon, which gave that monarch time and leiſure to take root and flouriſh, like a tree, unobſerved; for at firſt, Tilly, Walſtein, and their maſters, all overlooked him and deſpiſed him. Nay, it is probable our hero would have been greatly retarded in the execution of his enterprize, if the Leipſic confederation (well interſperſed with proteſtations of allegiance to the emperor) had tended openly to the eſpouſal of the Swediſh cauſe; for three Imperial generals lay then hovering round the electorate we are now ſpeaking of; and Tilly, in caſe he had omitted the ſiege of Magdeburg, might have poſted himſelf between Pomerania and Saxony.—From all which it appears, that the Dreſden miniſters were not ſuch weak or unſucceſsful politicians, at this trying conjuncture, as moſt people have been apt to imagine.

The aſpect of the German hemiſphere began now to preſage a ſtorm; upon the pre-ſentiment of which, the Imperialiſts and princes of the league were reſolved to make a conſiderable effort. The emperor ſent his prime miniſter, the prince of Eggenberg *, into Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to beat the drum, in order to collect a freſh ſupply of men: the ſame was done in Bohemia, Hungary, Moravia, and Sileſia. Cardinal Ditrichſtein † raiſed ſome regiments himſelf: and the new le-

* John Ulric, duke of Crommau, prince of Eggenberg, knight of the Golden Fleece, director of the council, &c.

† Francis, biſhop of Olmutz, privy-counſellor, protector of the hereditary dominions, plenipotentiary-governor and commiſſary general of Moravia, firſt baron in that country, &c. and, in the emperor's abſence, lieutenant of the Lower Auſtria. This prelate was ſeverely queſtioned by the Moravians, whether he acted in concert with Walſtein or not, in 1619: had a guard placed round him, and was obliged to give his parole of honour (which he did with tears) not to quit the country without the privity of the ſtates. He roſe upon the diſgrace of cardinal Kleſel.

vied

vied Bavarian recruits, both of infantry and cavalry, were pronounced to be the fineſt to appearance, that Europe had then ſeen. 1631.

Upon this, Tilly, at the head of 44,000 veteran troops, having miſcarried in the attempt of croſſing the Elb at Torgau, which the vigilance of Arnheim prevented, rendered himſelf maſter of Zeitz and Merſburg; and then inveſting Leipſic, ſent word to the commander, that, except he ſurrendered immediately, he muſt expect the fate of Magdeburg. The governor requeſted leave to aſk the elector's advice, who lay encamped at Torgau, about thirty miles from him; but that indulgence was denied him. Some ſlight reſiſtance he afterwards made; and a cannon-ball, unfortunately for Tilly's reputation, miſſed killing him, as we obſerved before, by an hair's breadth eſcape. The town was given up the ſecond day; three meſſengers were hanged, who brought exhortations from the elector to the governor, to acquit himſelf like a man of honour; and the caſtle of Pleiſſenberg, which might have made a week's reſiſtance, ſurrendered by way of imitation, with no ſmall infamy. Yet ſo relaxed was the diſcipline of the Saxon army in thoſe days, that the ſame man, whoſe name I think was Vopel, was replaced in his government after the battle of Leipſic, and delivered up the citadel a ſecond time in the ſame manner to general Holk, the year enſuing. The unhappy town redeemed itſelf from plunder, by the mediation of as much money as amounted to 32,000l. or thereabouts.

And here it may be worth obſerving incidentally, that Oxenſtiern had no hand in the important and critical negotiation above mentioned betwixt his maſter and the elector of Saxony; for at that time he commanded a ſeparate army in Regal Pruſſia, being directed to obſerve the countenance of the Polanders. And indeed, ſo great and verſatile were Guſtavus's parts in all reſpects, that he had rarely occaſion for him as a politician, even in the moſt preſſing emergencies, any farther than to free himſelf from a multiplicity of trouble and buſineſs. Whilſt Oxenſtiern ſecured the eaſtern part of Germany, which confines on the Baltic, Horn and Banier were commanded to clear the weſtern part: for his Swediſh majeſty, in the midſt of his conqueſts, always ſecured the poſſibility of a good retreat. Theſe two generals eſtabliſhed a regency

1631. in the provinces of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt. Banier blockaded the former, (as hath been already mentioned) but Pappenheim obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. Nevertheleſs, when the duke of Lunenberg joined him with a ſmall but well conducted army, the Imperial general was compelled to evacuate Magdeburg, abandon the open country, and retire thence to Weſtphalia and Franconia, into which circles the Swedes purſued him ſtep by ſtep. Magdeburg being thus re-conquered, the few of its ſurviving inhabitants returned, for all the world admired the lenity of the Swediſh government; many old emigrants flocked in from other countries; and under ſuch auſpicious protection, every perſon ſet himſelf to revive trade and rebuild the town.

Tilly's firſt view was to make his irruption into Saxony by way of Torgau, where there was a bridge over the Elb; hoping thereby, with great reaſon, to impede the junction of the Swediſh and Saxon armies, by poſting his troops in the mid-way betwixt them both: but Arnheim prevented him in that attempt, by pre-occupying a paſs of ſuch great importance. Mean while, Guſtavus lay by, as a reſerved and cautious ſpectator, at Wittemberg; and the elector of Brandenburg was with him. The elector of Saxony joined them there; and they all entered into as ſtrong and ſolemnly-good intelligence as could be deviſed. Upon this, the Swediſh army paſſed the Elb, and joined the Saxon forces near Dieben, a ſmall town lying on the great road to Berlin, and about twelve miles from Leipſic. Here Guſtavus convened the two electors into his own apartment; and held, at the ſame time, a grand political debate, and a council of war; where, with all the coolneſs of an experienced ſtateſman, he propoſed to act upon the defenſive principle, ſupporting his ideas of the matter to this effect; "That, as Tilly had taken care "to poſt himſelf very advantageouſly (having by this time entered Saxo-"ny by way of Merſburg and Halle, and inveſted Leipſic) the judici-"ous part would be, either to wait for ſome favourable opportunity to "attack him by ſurprize, or allure him by artificial marches into plain "ground, and decide the affair upon equal terms. For ſuch an an-"cient and prudent general, continued Guſtavus, will never ſacrifice "the flower of the Imperial troops, and the fair reputation of an un-

"interrupted

" interrupted ſeries of victories for thirteen years paſt, except the ne- 1631.
" ceſſity be great and urgent: —and if he ſhould happen to overcome
" us, you two princes are each of you loſt beyond redemption." But the elector of Saxony, impatient and enraged to the laſt degree, to ſee his country depopulated, and his ſubjects ruined by a ſort of military inquiſition, declared ſtrenuouſly for a prompt and deciſive battle: which opinion (being privately that of Guſtavus) was, after ſome objections and repreſentations, frankly complied with; and the rather, as Aldringer, who then lay at Erfurt, was not arrived with his part of the Imperial army. Upon this, Guſtavus and John George, (the elector of Brandenburg for ſome private reaſons being returned home) marched their combined troops within ſight of the enemy, who, having conquered Leipſic-town and caſtle forty eight hours before, had advanced that day as far as Breitenfeld, a ſmall town about four miles diſtant from Leipſic; which was thought by many a great overſight, whereof we ſhall give a diſtinct account hereafter. And it is ſtill more remarkable, that Tilly knew nothing of the junction of the Swedes and Saxons till towards noon *, when he received intelligence from ſome of his partizans, that the united troops had been diſcovered in full march againſt him; and this he acknowledges in a letter, which we have cited ſome pages before. So that of courſe, he removed from Leipſic with a view to encounter only the elector of Saxony, who indeed had declared he would attack the Imperialiſts, in caſe Guſtavus refuſed to join him. The old Walloon expected nothing more ardently than this event; for the electoral army amounted to ſomething leſs than half the number of his; nor were the commanders, Arnheim excepted, (and his military character had ſome blemiſh) a ſet of men much renowned in war; and as to the common ſoldiers, they were new raiſed levies, and without experience.

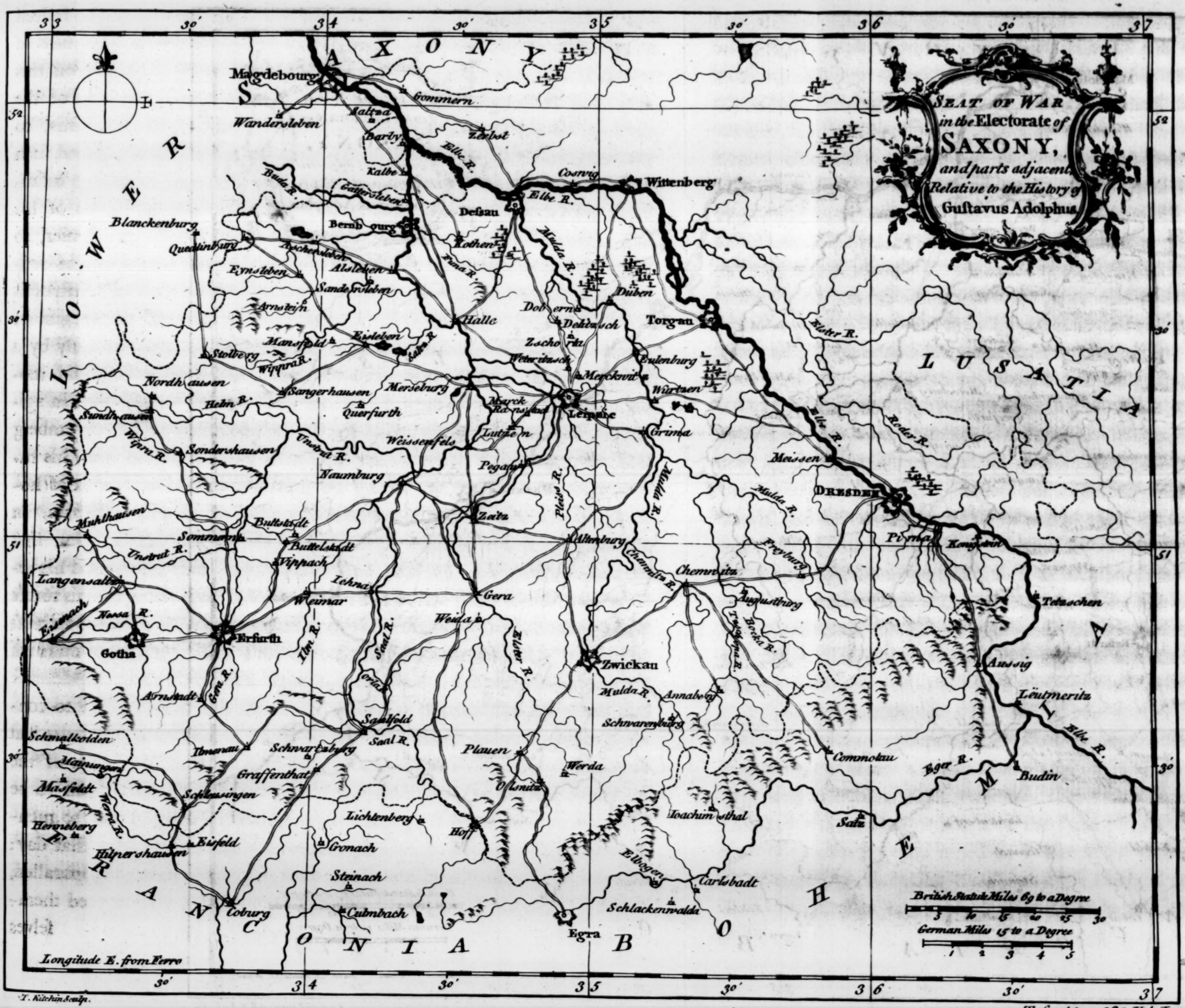
No general ever acted with more coolneſs and prudence than Guſtavus, in all the ſteps he took, that were previous to this great event. He determined, from the moment Tilly pointed his invaſion into Saxony in good earneſt, to advance near enough the elector, to be enabled to join

* Alma Suecica, 180.

him;

1631. him; and yet at the ſame time reſolved, never to effect that junction, except after the moſt preſſing and repeated ſolicitations; which indeed he wiſely foreſaw muſt ſoon be made him in the common nature of things. Having therefore reduced his thoughts to a ſyſtem on this occaſion, he made a ſpeedy march, at the head of the beſt part of the cavalry, that belonged to the camp at Werben, and 2000 dragoons, to the important paſs of Wittemberg, (leaving Bauditzen to command ſuch regiments of horſe as remained in their lines, and Hepburn the infantry) and ſecured his point before Tilly had received intelligence of his motions; iſſuing out orders at the ſame time, to Horn and Banier, to meet him immediately with their reſpective armies, at a place of rendezvous, ſixteen miles from Wittemberg; and conveying like inſtructions to colonel Cag, who then lay at Havelburg with his own regiment and that of Monro. Here the king joined them, attended only by a few followers, and employed a week not only in reviewing and modelling them, but in giving the finiſhing hand to the treaty then in agitation betwixt him and John George. This march to Wittemberg may be conſidered as the key, which gave Guſtavus entrance into his future walk of renown and glory. Yet ſo delicate was he in point of honour, and ſo extremely averſe to make uſe of compulſive meaſures, in ſpite of all *that* ſuperiority, which Providence had given him, that (having once ſecured the bridge of Wittemberg) he commanded his army to encamp on the weſtern ſide of the Elb, (the elector and his forces being lodged on the eaſtern ſide) nor did he permit his troops to croſs the river, till he received authority to march from the duke of Saxony.

When this junction was formed, it was matter of ſurprize to contemplate the appearance of the two combined armies. The Swedes had ſlept all night upon a duſty new-ploughed field, (for the ſeaſon of the year was extremely dry,) inſomuch that every regiment ſeemed to be cloathed in one dirty uniform of the ſame brown colour; not to mention the duſt they had raiſed in a march of eighteen miles that day: the Saxons, on the other hand, were well lodged and new apparalled, even to a fantaſtic degree of oſtentation. The officers had adorned themſelves



To front pag. 382. Vol. I.

ſelves with more plumage than heroes on a theatre; but neither they nor their ſoldiers fulfilled the obſervation of the hiſtorian, *etiam uncti pugnabunt*. Nevertheleſs, that exception ſeems reſerved for the honour of the Pruſſian infantry in our days. 1631.

It was here the king received undoubted intelligence, that Tilly had taken Leipſic, and advanced to Breitenfeld: and not diſpleaſed to find, that an aged and experienced general had quitted a ſituation ſo extremely advantageous as that was near Leipſic, he, in ſpite of all fatigues, laid hold of the ardour of his troops, whilſt they were in good humour and high ſpirits (that being a maxim with him) and marched them twelve miles the next morning, till he came in ſight of the Imperial camp; having ſpent the early part of the day in cloſe devotion, and commanded public prayers throughout the army.

Being now ſure of coming to a general deciſion, inaſmuch as Tilly had diſlodged from a more commodious encampment, he left all his baggage and tents behind him, under a proper guard, partly that his retreat, in caſe of accidents, might not be encumbered; and partly, becauſe it was his fixt reſolution to ſleep uncovered in the open fields, and keep the ardour of his followers on the full ſtretch, till the affair was terminated, which he had the power to bring on the next day. Thus, by a ſort of conduct ſo very determined, it appeared plainly to the meaneſt ſoldiers, that their maſter had reſolved to decide the fate of Germany in a leſs ſpace of time than eight and forty hours.

Some days before this nearer approach of the proteſtant army, it is reported by ſeveral, that Tilly ſent a trumpeter to the king, and (conformably to a cuſtom not uncommon in thoſe times) invited him, as a *brave cavalier*, to march forwards, and give him battle. *Friend*, ſaid Guſtavus to the meſſenger, with an air of diſdain, *tell your maſter I am a KING, as well as a cavalier, and ſhall make it my buſineſs to find him ſoon.* And after this military herald was diſmiſſed, he turned round, in a ſort of pique, to his generals, and ſaid, *That he ſhould advance with pleaſure, to make a colliſion betwixt a crown and two electoral bonnets on the one ſide, and the carcaſs of an old corporal on the other* *.

Thoſe

* It was a common ſaying with Guſtavus, that Tilly was an *old corporal*, Walſtein a *madman*, but

1631. Thoſe of Tilly's army, who allowed themſelves to be operated upon by ſuperſtitious preſages, were much dejected, when it appeared that the general, by meer chance, had held his council of war, two evenings before the battle, in the houſe of a poor man, whoſe buſineſs it was to be gentleman-uſher to the funerals in the ſuburbs of Leipſic. The very houſe, if I miſtake not, is ſtill ſhewn, and the outſide walls appear to have been decorated with ſkulls, coffins, hour-glaſſes, and ſhank-bones, painted in freſco. It hath been obſerved by ſome, that the undaunted Pappenheim was never known to give ſigns of uneaſineſs but upon this occaſion, who, till that moment, had conſidered all preſages and omens, as the effects of melancholy and weakneſs. Some remarked too, that the battle of Leipſic might happen preciſely the ſame day twelve months with the maſſacre at Paſwalk.

On the other hand, the king's troops were much elated ſome few minutes before the engagement, to ſee a bird, of ſo wild and timorous a nature as the ring-dove, perch itſelf on one of the royal ſtandards: which trifling circumſtence appeared to the Swediſh ſoldiers as an inconteſtable omen of victory.

A deciſive battle ſeemed now to be agreed upon, for great generals require but a ſingle glance to comprehend each other's motions and intentions. This ſort of military intuition is acquired by knowing preciſely the abilities and intereſts of their adverſary, and by a ſubſtitution of themſelves in his place, with juſt ſo many wants, and ſuch a degree of capacity, as he hath. Hence it is, that feints and falſe marches rarely alarm them, or draw them into a diſagreeable ſituation. Be that as it will, Tilly was ſo circumſtanced, as to excite one's compaſſion. He was now verging into his ſeventieth year, and in vain ſought for himſelf in his own breaſt. The affair of Magdeburg hung heavy on his mind, and age had leſſened his authority over the army. Pappenheim's appetite for danger forced him into perpetual hazards, and the petulant

but Pappenheim was a *ſoldier*; and that he feared no general belonging to the enemy, excepting this *Balafré*, or *cicatricibus deformem*, as Waſſenberg tranſlates it: (Florus German. p. 316.) for Pappenheim carried on his body the marks of an hundred wounds, though at that time (being then of the ſame age with Guſtavus) he entered only into his thirty ſeventh year.

deſire

desire of fighting, right or wrong, in the younger officers, seemed ta- 1631.
citly to reproach him, either with the want of resolution, or with not being the hero he had once been. What emotions this general felt, under such circumstances, is beyond my ability to describe! He had never yet incurred a military disgrace, but, on the contrary, had been victorious in thirty six signal engagements and pitched battles. In a word, one of the greatest misfortunes, that can befal a general, is to outlive his prosperity, or carry on the military command when he is too old. Thus Alexander, prince of Parma, had died the most illustrious warrior of his age, if, after the fine performance of besieging Antwerp, he had bade farewel to war, as his friends advised him; since he made no considerable figure afterwards in the Low Countries, but, on the contrary, lost Zuthen, Deventer, Hulst, Nimeguen, Breda, &c. And such likewise was Tilly's unhappiness, having missed what Tacitus somewhere elegantly calls the *opportunitatem mortis* *. For now it was his destiny to have to do with a warrior, in whom the supreme command was invested without any reserve or defalcation of power; a hero vigilant, skilful, intrepid, in the very flower both of activity and judgment. And though the Imperial troops were the fiercest and best seasoned of any that Europe had seen till that time, many having served in the Low-country wars twenty years before, and more in Germany from the year 1618, and all in every battle, bating the fewest exceptions, invincible; yet there were reasons to dread a body of men, who (though to a relative degree novices in military practice) were sober, patient, and virtuous; better disciplined, cloathed, and fed; bearing an entire submis-

* What hath been said in like circumstances of Spinola's bodily torments, and mental perturbation, on a death-bed, may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to Tilly and the prince of Parma. Nor is the picture of the former inelegantly delineated by a poet of that age:

Sive illum sua sors, seu spes decepta Casalis
Abstulerit, virtus sive indignata domari;
Incertum est, doluit longa obsidione teneri
Casalias arces: desperatoque triumpho
Sollicitum invasit morbus; convellitur imis
Viscеribus, penitusque virum vis ignea vexat;
Arma amens petit, armatis trepida undique cingi
Castra putat; Francosque suo cum Rege ruentes
Ægra mente videt; patriamque elatus in urbem
Post tot devictos populos, tot bella, tot hostes,
Oppida tot, tot castra, urbesque arcesque subactas,
Vincitur a fato invictus, vitæque supremam
Heic ubi primam hausit, clausit Dux *Spinola* lucem.

Casalium Bis Liberatum, p. 142. octavo.

1631. ſion to their leaders, and placing an abſolute confidence in him, who was moreover Tilly's ſuperior in the management of artillery, and in the diſpoſition and arrangement of his troops. All Europe ſtood gazing at this moſt intereſting event; and when each of all theſe circumſtances are combined together, can the reader be aſtoniſhed, if poor old Tilly turned pale once or twice, when he ſaw the Swediſh army advance to attack him, drawn up in the moſt beautiful array, and ranged upon principles to him then unknown, approaching ſlowly and ſilently, with that conſiderate determined countenance, which preſages no good to the defendant?——And though ſome writers * invidiouſly mention the circumſtance of Tilly's changing colour upon ſuch a proſpect, yet it is certain this diſcompoſure aroſe not from fear, (as appears by his future conduct in the battle) but from conviction of the error, which the younger officers had drawn him into, and from the probability of ſetting the greateſt ſhare of military ſucceſs, that perhaps any one man had ever poſſeſſed, upon the chance of a ſingle die (that very chance not judiciouſly choſen) himſelf being ſo far advanced in years, that he could never hope to reſtore his character by any future ſervices!

For theſe reaſons, he wiſely determined within himſelf, either to fortify his camp, or evade a battle; and the rather, as he expected Aldringer and Tieffenbach to join him with 12,000 experienced troops. But Pappenheim's impetuoſity was irreſiſtible, nor was it in his power, without totally loſing the hearts of his army, to put in practiſe his favourite maxim, never to dip his foot in water, till he had made ſome experiment of the degree of cold; or, as other hiſtorians relate the ſaying, never to wade in a ſtream, except his eye-ſight could command the bottom.

His firſt purpoſe in the council of war, held at the grave-digger's houſe, which appears to have been the beſt, (his private opinion being co-incident with his real intereſts and duty as a general) was to have maintained his original intrenchments, with the rich town of Leipſic at his elbow; from whence he might have drawn proviſions in the ſame manner (having his own garriſon in the town) as the king ſupported

* Hiſtoire des Guerres & des Traittez qui precedérent la Paix de Munſter par Pere Bougeant, iii. Tom. 4°.

himſelf

himſelf in the lines of Werben. During which interval, it is poſſible 1631.
likewiſe, that the troops of Cologn might have arrived. Nor could he, in this camp, have extended his front in that imprudent manner, which he exhibited afterwards in the field of battle. He ſaw plainly too, that it was not his buſineſs to fight, except urged thereto by ſome extraordinary and almoſt irreſiſtible neceſſity; for he well remembered the cruelty and outrages, which the Imperial army had committed, and concluded every peaſant in an enemy's territory as an enliſted ſoldier againſt him, in caſe of a defeat. All the world knows, that ill ſucceſs is doubly dangerous in an hoſtile country; and, what is yet more, he wanted nothing in the camp near Leipſic. It is thought too, winter being then on the point of approaching, that if he had evaded a battle, and entrenched himſelf wiſely, the elector of Saxony would have been tired of his new gueſts long before the ſpring *. But Pappenheim, ſeemingly impeaching the courage of the generaliſſimo, touched his ſenſibility to the very quick, and induced him to relinquiſh his firſt camp; yet the old man ſtill determined within himſelf, not to bring on a general engagement.

The ſelf-ſame debate was renewed on the approach of Guſtavus, and the new camp near Breitenfeld was protected with ſome extemporary intrenchments the day before the battle. Schomberg, and ſome of the elder officers, concurred with Tilly in the opinion of declining a general combat, if that were poſſible: but Pappenheim drew the count de Furſtenberg, who aimed at ſucceeding Tilly, and the younger colonels into a contrary ſentiment, and though the majority inclined to countenance the commander in chief, contrived by his great zeal the next day, to bring about that event in the field, which he had fruitleſſly laboured to effect in a council of war †.

A fair campania ſpreads itſelf all round the ſide of Leipſic, where the Imperial general fixt his camp; but part thereof, as it was now the month of September, had been freſh-ploughed, being the very ſpot, according to ſome hiſtorians, (ſurnamed, if I miſtake not, God's acre,) where Charles V. overthrew Frederic, elector of Saxony, and took him

* Chemnitz, Tom. i. 171.

† Letter from an Imperial Officer to a Friend. Halberſtadt, September xxii, 1631.

1631. and Philip, landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, priſoners, diveſting the former both of the duchy and the electorate.

The two armies being now within three miles of each other, his majeſty the evening before the battle aſſembled all the generals, that ſerved under him, and having ranged them round him in a circle on the midſt of the plain, (for the Swedes ſlept that night in the open air) told them plainly, ſince he diſcovered a ſpirit of reſolution in their countenances, *That they were to fight with troops to-morrow of a different ſtamp from Polanders and Coſſacks. Fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, I ſhall not diſſemble the danger; you will have a day's work, that is worthy of you. It is not my temper to diminiſh the merit of veteran troops like the Imperialiſts; but I know my officers at bottom, and ſcorn the thoughts of deceiving them. I foreſee too, that our numbers will prove inferior to thoſe of the enemy; but my friends, God is juſt,*——AND REMEMBER MAGDEBURG*!

Some few minutes before, he made the tour of his army, and told every body of troops, with a peculiar chearfulneſs on his countenance, what particular duties they were to perform the next day. He ſeemed moſt in pain for one large diviſion of cavalry, the horſemen being unarmed, and the horſes of a flight make; well knowing, that the Imperial cuiraſſiers, cloathed in iron from head to foot, and mounted upon beaſts of a conſiderable bulk, would ſoon diſunite them by the meer effort of ſqueezing. His advice therefore was to advance briſkly up to the enemy without firing, and apply their ſabres with an oblique ſliding motion to their horſes noſes, heads, and necks. Thus, ſays he, the Imperial ranks will ſoon be broken, and the diſmounted cavalier will find his armour too cumberſome to be enabled to moleſt you, during the remaining part of the engagement†: and what highly deſerveth our obſervation, is, that the beſt commentator on the military life of Guſtavus makes uſe of this very practice in the diſcipline of the Pruſſian cavalry. But be that as it will, the king flanked the aforeſaid troops with good bodies of infantry, and interlined others amongſt them at various intervals.

* I have only given the more material ſubſtance of this ſpeech, which Chemnitz ſets forth at large, Tom. i. 170.

† Ibid. 173.

The

The elector of Brandenburg, for ſome private reaſons, returned home the very day before the engagement. The king's army ſlept in battle array, on the bare ground; and the king himſelf paſſed the whole night in his coach, diſcourſing at intervals with Horn, Banier, and Teüffel, who ſate with him. Immediately after the dawn of day the troops were formed, and each of the combined armies received orders to march, the Swedes making one column on the right, and the Saxons one on the left, each army amounting to about 15,000 men; the king having 7000 horſe and 8000 foot, and the elector 11,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry*; the vanguard conſiſting of three regiments, two Scottiſh and one German, all conducted by Scots officers, namely, Sir James Ramſey, ſurnamed the Black, Sir John Hamilton, and Robert Monro, baron of Fowles. The troops, in order to diſtinguiſh one another, wore a ſmall green branch on their heads. All hiſtorians agree, that the king dreamed in his coach, that he and Tilly engaged without arms, in the manner peaſants are accuſtomed to fight; and in the morning he told his companions, that having thrown his adverſary to the ground, he received a bite from him in his left breaſt; which was interpreted afterwards to ſignify the Saxon army, which advanced on the left hand of the Swedes. 1631.

There was a little rivulet, and a dirty ſwampy paſs, where only a few men could march in front, at a ſmall village called Schortza, which lay between the king and Tilly: but as the latter, not caring to draw on a general engagement, did not chuſe to diſpute it with all the vigour he was capable of exerting, (which hath been reckoned by ſome amongſt one of the overſights of the day) the Swediſh and Saxon armies ſoon cleared this paſs, and when word was brought thereof to Tilly, he turned round to his ſoldiers, and ſaid, *Now, my old friends, we muſt look for blows.*

About ten in the morning, his majeſty cleared the difficulty at Schortza, and having examined Arnheim's plan of the diſpoſition of the Saxon army, and made here and there a few interlineary remarks with his pen-

* Some writers enlarge the number of the Saxons: but this miſtake ſeems to ariſe from the abſence of Solmes's and Hofkirck's regiments, (the one infantry and the other cavalry) which had been detached towards Bohemia.

cil,

1631. cil, drew up his own army in complete battle-array, giving orders for placing his artillery in the moſt convenient ſituations, during the courſe of the engagement; paying little or no regard to the field-maréchals and ſerjeant-majors *della battaglia*, but leading up every brigade and column of troops himſelf, diſpoſing them in their reſpective ſtations, and leaving general directions to their commanders. The king then rode up and down his own lines, and aſked his men, with a chearful and animated countenance, *if they felt a diſpoſition within them to perform a hard day's ſervice?* — one univerſal *vivat* ſpread itſelf inſtantaneouſly through the army: upon which Guſtavus, in order to keep his men in ſpirits, and humour the practice of the age, beckoned to a trumpeter, in ſight of all the front of his troops, and taking ſomething out of his pocket, bid him carry that little note to Tilly, for he wanted to ſpeak with him. Tilly returned word back, promptly enough, that he was always ready to receive his majeſty's commands, when notified by him: which looks as if he was determined not to fight, except upon compulſion; and thus ended the military ceremonial.

It was at this battle Guſtavus put in practiſe the principal part of all thoſe fine inventions in the military art, which he had meditated and reaſoned upon a thouſand times before. It is the *inventive* and *creating* power, which makes a man great in any ſcience or profeſſion; and in this light, our hero ſhone diſtinguiſhed: for he exhibited to the public, in the courſe of one day's action, more knowledge in the tactical and fighting parts, and in that branch of war, which relates to artillery, than mankind had diſcovered from the times of the Romans, till the invention of gun-powder, and from that period, till the day's ſervice at Leipſic.

And here I may obſerve once for all, that the king's inventive genius in war had made its appearance, in many inſtances, before this conjuncture. His grand ruling principle was, to make an enemy's country the ſeat of hoſtilities; the invaders being always ſuppoſed to undertake their buſineſs with greater ſpirit, and more determined reſolution. He was the firſt, it is commonly thought, who intermixed the infantry amongſt the horſe: which, if I remember right, he practiſed in the very beginning of the Poliſh war; but as my authority for this aſſertion (which I diſ-

covered

covered in ſome good author) hath eſcaped me, after various ſearchings and enquiries, I can only venture to preſent it to the reader upon the like footing it comes to me. For Mansfelt, at or near the ſame time, as hath been hinted elſewhere, had ſome idea of a ſimilar practice; ſince in a famous picture of the battle of Prague, now in the poſſeſſion of lord Cheſterfield, (and which appears to me to be better painted than thoſe, with which the houſe of Auſtria has decorated the pavilion in the ſtar-park, where the main ſtreſs of the action lay) ſomething of this kind may be diſcovered in the arrangement of the troops. Guſtavus likewiſe was the firſt, who reduced the muſquets of the cavalry to carabines. He was diſſatisfied alſo with the Imperial cuiraſſiers, who were completely cloathed in armour from head to foot; and commanded his own men to carry only a breaſt-plate and a head-piece. He diſfurniſhed the cavalry of their uſeleſs incumbrance of pikes; and ordered his ſoldiers (for the expreſſion came firſt from him) *never to give fire, till they could ſee their own image in the pupil of their enemy's eye* *. He changed alſo into a pouch, which contained a certain number of cartridges, thoſe ſenſeleſs utenſils called bandileers, which made a clattering in the time of action, and entangled themſelves one with another; giving a military man the appearance of a High German rhymer, or an Italian zani. He ridiculed greatly the forked reſts, uſed to ſupport the muſquets in giving fire; and when his officers, who had a ſecret itching to the continuance of old cuſtoms, made an attempt to content him by reducing the ſize and weight of thoſe reſts, ſo as to render them of a more managable nature, he aboliſhed them once for all by a ſupreme act of authority. 1631.

Yet an higher inſtance, not of the improving but inventive nature, remains behind: and though all the world talks much of the Leipſic-brigade, or column of Guſtavus, (which latter word is not preciſely agreeable to the original nature of the ſubject in queſtion, which commenced only to become a term in vogue, towards the concluſion of the laſt century) yet I flatter myſelf, that there is no true and faithful delineation of this column extant, but what I here preſent to the reader, concerning whoſe authenticity no ſolid objection can ever be made. For

* Loccen. Hiſt. p. 587. 4°. Schefferi Memorab. Sueciæ Gentis, p. 42, &c.

lord

1631. lord Rea, who drew it, was one of the king's favourite colonels, and the draught is ſo preciſely exact and minute, that a letter of the alphabet is placed for every ſingle man; and the poſt of each officer may be aſſigned and aſcertained to the diſtance of a foot ſquare. Indeed the intervals between corps and corps in the original are unduly wide and ſpacious; but his lordſhip found himſelf obliged to reſerve theſe vacuities, in order to inſert the letters, which denote the poſition of each particular commander. Yet, as I obſerved before, the word column is not the proper expreſſion, whereby to denominate the Leipſic brigade, except we comprehend it in the ſenſe and configuration, into which Folard ſuppoſes Guſtavus to have improved it, before he fought the battle of Lutzen, for which I can produce neither authority, nor corroborating proof. But conformably to lord Rea's drawing, the portion of the croſs A B makes properly the impreſſive column of attack in the Leipſic brigade; but as the allineated parts (I am here referring to the plate preceding) C D E G F, and the ſupporting ſtrengths behind marked with H I K and L, all acted and defended themſelves upon one principle, in caſe either of aſſailing, or being flanked, or entirely ſurrounded; and as, I ſay, they all acted by the ſame impulſive force, and received the ſame impreſſion and undulation, it ſeems to me but reaſonable to conſider the whole together in the light of one body, which henceforwards, with the reader's permiſſion, we will ſurname a column, ſince the word brigade correſponds now with another idea.

As his majeſty of Sweden was an original genius in the art of war, and the firſt officer in the world with regard to infantry, it may be neceſſary here to ſay ſomething ſtill more at large concerning his inventive and perfective talents in this day's diſpoſition. Having thoroughly contemplated the tactical inſtitutions of the ancients, and obſerved from experience the imminent danger, that threatens thin unconnected extenſions of troops, when once they fall into a ſtate of undulation, (than which no worſe ſymptom can make its appearance in the day of battle) he figured to himſelf, that a new caſt might be given to the old *cuneus* and *caput porcinum*; or, in other words, that a ſort of croſs, of which the portions A B ſtrictly ſpeaking made the column, ſupported behind

and

and on each ſide by deep lines of troops, who could throw themſelves into a ſquare in caſe of being ſurrounded; was on the one hand leſs ſubject to danger from the adverſary's fire, and on the other hand more proper to penetrate by reaſon of its figure and preſſure, being capable to divide into two ſections, or dilate itſelf in any proportion whenever victory began to declare. It may be objected indeed, that the front-fire of ſuch a column (for I ſtill venture to uſe the term, though unknown to Guſtavus) is very narrow: but then the chance of receiving wounds from the enemy is contracted likewiſe: and when troops are near, and the ground even, the fire of ſmall arms conſtitutes not the point deciſive. Nevertheleſs, without wandering from the ſubject before me, the combinations or groups of muſqueteers E and G made a diſcharge nearly equal to that, which oppoſed them. In a word, if there were any, the ſmalleſt difference to the diſadvantage of the Swedes at firſt ſight, yet the invention of the column more than doubly counterbalanced it, when matters once approached towards the moments of deciſion. And when we ſpeak of pikemen and pikes in this diſpoſition of Guſtavus, we mean not that ſort of inſtrument, with which ancient arſenals are uſually garniſhed, a military implement, which importeth contradictions, being both weak and unweildly at the ſame time, with a ſmall infirm head, and of length immeaſurable. But what we intend is the pike, which the king actually invented *, more managable by many degrees than the bayonet, (if we conſider the thickneſs, weight, diſtorted figure and clumſineſs of the muſquet, to which it is affixed) and more effectual at leaſt by one third, as performing its duty with greater agility, before the other can diſpute therewith. 1631.

Many good judges have preferred the pikes of Guſtavus to the bayonet of the moderns, and particularly the marechal de Saxe †, and the chevalier de Folard ‡. We ſhall therefore conclude this paragraph with apo-

* By all I remember to have ſeen, it was about eleven feet long, comprehending two feet for the head of the ſocket that fixed it. The head was made of the fineſt tempered ſteel, that could be procured; it pierced or cut with equal ſharpneſs, the breadth of the blade being about four inches and a half in its lowermoſt dimenſions.

† Reveries du M. de Saxe.

‡ Traité de la Colonne, p. lxxiv.

1631. logizing thus far at leaſt, that as the method, which decideth victory ſooneſt, is, generally ſpeaking, the leaſt ſanguinary and cruel, we hope to obtain the reader's pardon for bringing to light a ſyſtem of practice like the Leipſic column, ſo long diſuſed, if not totally forgotten. Nor ought one to compoſe the life of Guſtavus, and overlook that great man in the character of a field-officer.

But to return to the ſubject before me; the evolutions of the brigade or column were ſo few and ſimple, that ſuppoſing the noiſe and confuſion of battle to be ever ſo great, yet it is next to impoſſible, that the meaneſt ſoldier could be puzzled in his duty for the ſpace of an inſtant. We will imagine this corps, for the ſake of theory, to be attacked at once in front and in the rear: with a motion equally rapid as thought itſelf, the rear ſtands prepared on ſimilar principles with the front, protected alike (though not in the ſelf-ſame diſpoſition) with muſqueteers and pikemen; preſenting an impenetrable depth of thirty files. And to make the ſuppoſition bear ſtill harder, we will form an idea of beholding the flanks attacked, and the whole corps environed by enemies at once. Yet even in this caſe, by no difficult evolution, the bodies G and F, D and E confront the aſſailants, and the files are thirty deep, as we obſerved before. So that in the former inſtance, you attack an amphiſbena, which preſents an head at either end, and in the latter inſtance, undertake to ſeize a bunch of thorns, which will give you a wound in whatever part you propoſe to graſp it.

Upon this principle of arrangement is it reduced to that ridiculous compoſition called the *hollow-ſquare*, which when once penetrated (and nothing can be eaſier than ſuch an undertaking) becomes diſparted forever beyond the poſſibility of a future re-union; reſembling no more the brigade of Guſtavus, than a ſquare box of oaken boards preſerves the properties of a cube of marble of like dimenſions, either in ſolidity or reſiſtance. What therefore is to be done with this intractable piece of military machinery, which performs with uniformity its intended progreſs? The narrowneſs of its front, ſupported by the weight of its baſis, muſt pervade and diſunite the body that ſtands before it; and that being once broken, it can dilate itſelf *ad libitum* in a few moments.

On

* On the other hand, if the brigade in queſtion ſhould chance to be ſurrounded, (a circumſtance of ill ſucceſs more likely to happen to any other configuration of troops in equal numbers,) it hath the power of contracting itſelf ſuddenly into a maſs ſtill more ſolid; on which the attempts of cavalry (ſuppoſing the brigade to perform its duty, ſince otherwiſe all reaſonings fall to the ground) will appear to be little leſs than a bold and raſh experiment of danger: for the depth of the ranks, the reſiſtance of the king's *reformed* pikes, (a ſort of inſtrument far more manageable than the bayonet, and more efficacious,) and the fierce diſcharge of muſquetry at a few paces diſtance are difficulties which neither man nor horſe will attempt frequently to ſurmount: ſince the ſolidity of the body we are deſcribing, and the fortunate configuration and contexture of its parts are of ſuch a nature that they cannot eaſily be thrown into a total diſorder; and as the mortal preſage of *military diſſolution* is the waving and floating of a body of troops backwards and forwards at conſiderable interſtices;---Thus on the other hand this corps of Guſtavus is ſo ſolidly compacted, and ſo judiciouſly incorporated and connected, that though it may admit now and then a ſlight undulation, yet as it happeneth to a well-timbered manſion in the common concuſſions of an earthquake, it receives the impreſſion, and returns back to its original concatenation of parts in a few moments. 1631.

In a word, nothing can greatly diſturb the column of Guſtavus but marching point-blank againſt a battery of cannon. This the general muſt avoid as much as he can in the field-diſpoſition of his day's ſervice: and if the men are neceſſitated to advance upon ſuch an hazardous undertaking, they muſt proceed as rapidly as may be conſiſtent with regularity and good order. And here the column hath ſome advantage from its natural configuration. Its narrowneſs of front (provided we mean the laſt-invented ſort, which conſiſted of 504 men, and was furnamed a *battaglia*,) is no diſparaging circumſtance on the one hand; and on the other hand, its power of approaching by an oblique line, inſtead of a direct one, is a peculiar felicity which merits our attention: each ſort of motion being equally congenial to the nature of this body †; which, in one word, nothing can eaſily overcome but another of the ſame configuration and conducted better. Not but that various *objections* may be made to *this*

* In the preceding page, line 24, laſt paragraph, read *Nor* upon this principle &c. † Traité de la Colonne.

diſpoſition

1631. *diſpoſition* of the king of Sweden, and many improvements may be thereto added; for we are not declaiming on the ſubject with the enthuſiaſm of Folard; ſince many beautiful theories deceive us greatly when realized by practice. Therefore all we contend for is, that the *idea* in its firſt conception was *great* and *new*.

The plain, on which the battle was fought, extends itſelf in a line almoſt all through Miſnia, and even in a clear day it is hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh a mountain in the whole neighbourhood around it; ſince at moſt it is only diverſified here and there with ſmall elevations and declivities. As the combined armies propoſed to act the part of aggreſſors, the Imperial general had the choice of the ground. Of courſe he occupied the ſlope of a gently riſing hill to the ſouth-weſt of Podelwitz, which extended itſelf near two miles; foreſeeing, as the conflict could hardly become ſerious till after mid-day, that he ſhould have the advantage of the ſun, a matter then ſuppoſed to be of great conſequence in the art of war. He had the good fortune alſo, according to the eſtimation of thoſe times, to gain the wind right in his favour; for, as it blew that day extremely briſk, it conveyed the ſmoke and duſt, which was abundant, directly from him: and in thoſe times generals were ſo fond of theſe advantages, that very often they ſhifted their troops in the heat of action (which ſort of movements, by the way, are extremely dangerous) in order to gain a point of wind and ſun. Guſtavus was in no degree diſmayed to ſee theſe little fortuitous advantages ſnatched from him: nevertheleſs, it muſt not be diſſembled, that he knew the convenience of this elevated ſlope, and the wood behind it, as well as his adverſary, who lay near it, and had ordered an advanced party to occupy it by all poſſible means; but in that attempt the Imperial general prevented him: for he poſſeſſed the poſt one day before the battle. Nor could Guſtavus make greater expedition than he did after ſigning the treaty with the elector of Saxony, for he marched thirty miles in a day and an half, and fought his enemy the afternoon of the ſecond day. It is true the Swediſh dragoons made a deſperate attack upon the ſpot of ground in queſtion, but were obliged to deſiſt, when they ſaw the whole army of the Imperialiſts prepared to pour upon them, and cut them to pieces *. Here Tilly entrenched his Walloon infantry, having planted

* Burgi Mars Sueco-German, L. ii. 128.

two

two large batteries, conſiſting of forty pieces of heavy artillery, on the ſummit of the riſing ſlope behind him at very conſiderable diſtances: for one fronted the right wing of the Swedes in a direct line, (where he concluded the king would command, that being with him, for reaſons to me unknown, the poſt of honour, and the place where he affected to plant himſelf, as he did afterwards at the battle of Lutzen) and the other, being advanced forwarder, according to the natural turn of the hill, cut through the Saxon and Swediſh army obliquely. Behind him lay a large wood, which he propoſed for a rallying place in caſe of a defeat. His army conſiſted of 44,000 fighting men, and the enemy produced only three fourths of that number to oppoſe him. His watch word was Jeſu Maria, the ſame he had uſed at Magdeburg; and his men, in imitation of their former practice in ſtorming that town, wore white ribbands on their hats and helmets, and white ſtrings round their right arms: that of the Swedes was *Emanuel*, or *God with us*, which was always carried inſcribed on the colours. They wore green branches on their hats and helmets. The Imperial general followed the old diſcipline, which he had learnt in the Low-country wars, of drawing up his men in great ſquare bodies, which in part contributed to his ruin. Not that the diſcipline was then bad, but the diſpoſitions of Guſtavus were ſtill better. Two high ways paſſed through the field of battle, but as they went upon the ſame lines, by which the combined army advanced, the convenience and inconveniency of them were juſt reciprocal to either party. 1631.

Tilly, who formed his main battle and the two wings into three ſeparate armies, making only one mighty front, which reached from Sohauſen to Lindenthal, (a vaſtneſs of extent hardly to be believed *) rejecting the aſſiſtances of a ſecond line and corps de reſerve, poſted himſelf on the eminence above-mentioned, with the wood behind him.

As to the Saxon army, it performed ſo little, that I ſhall only tranſiently obſerve, that the elector led the right wing, Bindauf the left,

* It was, ſaith Monro, two Engliſh miles in length, Part ii.

and

1631. and Arnheim conducted the main body. Yet to ſhew that prince's parts, and Arnheim's invidious temper, the troops were drawn up nearly upon the ſame principle with the Imperialiſts. The king made ſome objections to this diſpoſition; but the Saxon general, who had paſſed his apprenticeſhip under Walſtein, choſe rather to abide by the more received and eſtabliſhed forms.

Such, as had a talent for war, ſoon perceived a manifeſt ſuperiority between the arrangement of the king's troops and thoſe under Tilly's command: for the latter were as much beaten by dint of genius as by valour. It was the cuſtom of the beſt generals before this engagement to draw up their forces in huge ſquare bodies, which they called *tertia's*; the very unweildineſs of which maſſy combination helped to deſtroy them: for upon any remarkable confuſion each man overturned his neighbour, and when the whole corps was ſqueezed into one jumble or chaos, no officers could move from place to place, nor reduce the men into their priſtine order. Whereas the king's army was interſected and divided into numberleſs ſtraight lines and avenues, ſome greater and ſome ſmaller, like the uniform ground-plot of a regular city or parterre: and the troops could advance, retreat, or make motions from ſide to ſide, juſt as if they were moving in a defile between two hedges or walls. Thus the whole army was one complicated, but unperplexed machine, conſiſting of innumerable handfuls or peletons of men, all little ſyſtems by themſelves, all acting under a chieftain of their own, yet all contributing to the grand eſtabliſhment of the whole together. By theſe means, and by the promptneſs and facility of locomotion, he brought more hands to act than the enemy poſſibly could; and though his men might be *killed*, yet, ſcientifically ſpeaking, they could not well be *routed*, for help was ever at hand, and the deſtruction of one part did not neceſſarily involve the deſtruction of another. Add to all this, that the directions of the general had always free paſſage, as the blood is poured firſt from the heart, and then regularly diſperſed, not only through arteries and veins, but even through the ſmalleſt capillaries. And by way of proof how much this grand invention avoided confuſion

in

in the very firſt experiment, only one regiment amongſt all the royal forces was ſqueezed out of its place, and that was Collenbach's regiment of horſe. 1631.

This reducing an army to one piece of machinery in the day of battle was the *vis vivida*, the diſtinguiſhing individuating principle of Guſtavus's creative genius. Nevertheleſs, he diſplayed his talents in exhibiting many collateral military inventions in the tranſaction of Leipſic, which deſerve highly to be mentioned by an exact hiſtorian. He found wonderfully good effects, from mixing his muſqueteers amongſt the horſe, as alſo from flanking the horſe with muſqueteers: ſince upon the principles of his plan, there were always openings for them to retreat, in caſe they were in danger of being overpowered. And at that time of day, the fire of the muſquets (whoſe *calibre* was larger than at preſent) produced a dreadful diſorder amongſt the cavalry, who could hardly approach in theſe circumſtances ſo as to bring their piſtols to take effect; and as the horſemen then wore armour piſtol-proof, they advanced up to their enemies with abſolute unconcern: but the muſquet-balls oftentimes pierced their armour through and through, and always made contuſions, which were very painful and inconvenient. Tilly received one in this very battle, which tormented him more than all his wounds, and in his flight was obliged to ſend for the town-ſurgeon at Halle, who cut out all the bruiſed fleſh; and Guſtavus loſt his life from the effects of another; for on the day of the battle of Lutzen he determined to fight in his common wearing apparel (an elk-ſkin waſtecoat excepted) having lately received a contuſion in his ſhoulder, which rendered the leaſt wrench of his cuiraſs inſupportable.

This was alſo the firſt time, that any general had ventured to thin the depth of his files, which the king reduced to ſix deep, (the brigades or columns excepted;) whereas the Imperialiſts, though drawn up in one front only, oppoſed him with trebly the ſame number at leaſt. It was objected to his majeſty, that ſo inſubſtantial a body of men could not reſiſt a very ponderous impreſſion; but his anſwer was, (for it muſt be remembered he fought upon two lines, not to mention the bodies of reſerve)

1631. ſerve) that upon his principle, paſſages were always open for new troops to approach and ſuſtain their companions; that he could ſtop a leak in his army with as much eaſe as a ſea-captain could prevent the ill effects of one in his ſhip, and that the power of bringing more hands to act abundantly, counterbalanced the plauſibility of the objection. His field-artillery, made of hardened leather, rendered him alſo excellent ſervice, being ſo very portable, that he could remove a little battery, or make a new one in ten minutes time, or advance it occaſionally before his troops, here and there, juſt when a freſh attack was forming againſt him. Here too for the firſt time, excepting in reviews, was practiſed in good earneſt the method of firing in platoons. In a word, nothing of conſequence eſcaped Guſtavus in the whole ſyſtem of the fighting part from the battle of Leipſic till the preſent hour, except the invention of the bayonet, which probably was overlooked by a ſearching and ſpeculative genius, merely becauſe it was ſimple and obvious. Though many are of opinion *, that ſomething between the pike and the partizan might be invented, which would prove more uſeful in repulſing the cavalry. Now it is highly natural to imagine, that Guſtavus knew this: for he ſhortened the handle, and varied the figure of the head of the pike, conformably to the idea I have juſt mentioned †.

But to return to the battle itſelf. Tilly upon this occaſion made ſome miſtakes as a general, which may properly be called his own, and ſome he was enſnared into by the petulance and impetuoſity of younger men. As to the latter, I have, and ſhall explain myſelf more fully concerning them in their reſpective places, remarking here (in addition to ſome overſights of the Imperial commander already ſpecified) that he was worſe ſerved with intelligence than he ought to have been, even in an enemy's country; for his Swediſh majeſty approached him unexpectedly ‡; from whence it happened, that no contemptible body of troops was employed in foraging at a diſtance not to be recalled in time convenient, and that Holk with a conſiderable party had been detached to make conqueſts about

* Chevalier de Folard, &c.

† Schefferi Memorab. Suecicæ Gentis.

‡ Lettre de Tilli. Halberſtadt, Sept. 24, 1631.

Naumburg.

Naumburg *. Tilly did ill likewiſe not to order an army, that lay idle in Sileſia, to have attacked the electorate on that ſide, which would have incapacitated half the Saxon forces from joining Guſtavus. It may be obſerved further, that when Pappenheim violated his orders, and forced him to deſcend from his eminence, his preſence of mind (which was diſcompoſed doubtleſs by ſo vexatious an incident) ſeems to have deſerted him a few minutes; for being compelled firſt by teazing and artifice, and then by dint of neceſſity, to make a ſacrifice of his prudence and judgment, he commanded his troops to advance with ſo much ardour and confuſion, that the beſt and moſt proper regiments were not placed in their reſpective ſituations, excepting only the regiments of Piccolomini, Schomberg, and Cronenberg, which were eſteemed the flower of the Imperial cavalry. In a word, Tilly was too old for his employment. 1631.

In conſequence of this precipitate meaſure, the main body, which even at this time was not diſtinctly formed, made an irregular advance; for the cavalry deſtined to ſupport it received no orders to keep pace with the infantry. Now to underſtand this paſſage the better, the reader muſt be informed, that the center was ſuſtained by ſix regiments of horſe, which had no connexion with the wings of the army. From hence it likewiſe followed, that there was no time to appoint a proper body of reſerve; nor were any infantry interſperſed among the cavalry. The beſt troops oppoſed the new raiſed Saxons, which may be conſidered as an extraordinary overſight †. "I aſked ſeveral commanders," ſaith one who was an eye-witneſs of the battle, "if they knew their inſtructi-"ons; but by their anſwers it appeared they had none. Seemingly "to me the hope was, that God would work miracles in proportion to "the errors we had committed." Yet Pappenheim, as maréchal of the field, made the diſpoſition of the battle: and when it was told him, that his own wing was too weak in itſelf, and unſupported likewiſe by any reſerve, his anſwer was, that he had taken care to provide a re-

* Lettre d'un capitaine Imperial à un ſien ami. Sept. 22, 1631. [This account muſt be read with care, as it wants to be ſupported by other authorities.]

† Rictio de Bellis German. 271.

1631. inforcement; whether truly or not cannot be aſcertained; yet ſure it is, that no re-inforcement ever appeared.

The laſt error, which in truth may be conſidered as a misfortune, was, that Furſtenberg, who kept an intelligence with Pappenheim, but wanted the impetuoſity of that commander, diſliked the orders of the generaliſſimo, yet wanted reſolution to diſobey them. Nevertheleſs, chance brought about what he privately wiſhed to ſee effected; for an old colonel at length told him, that he would commence hoſtilities without his concurrence. This raſh departure from inſtructions in either wing compelled Tilly to deſcend from his eminence; for if Furſtenberg had not engaged, it is more than probable Tilly would have conſigned Pappenheim to the mercy of Guſtavus: but perceiving the battle to thicken round him, and dreading the reproaches of ſacrificing the better part of the Imperial army (for the public always favours the precipitate combatants right or wrong) he at length determined to order his main-body of infantry to advance, which conſiſted of 8000 troops till then ſuppoſed to be invincible, and which in truth might have effected wonders, if the cavalry, which belonged to them, had received commands to march forwards and ſupport them: but that circumſtance, in the hurry of the determination, happened totally to be forgotten.

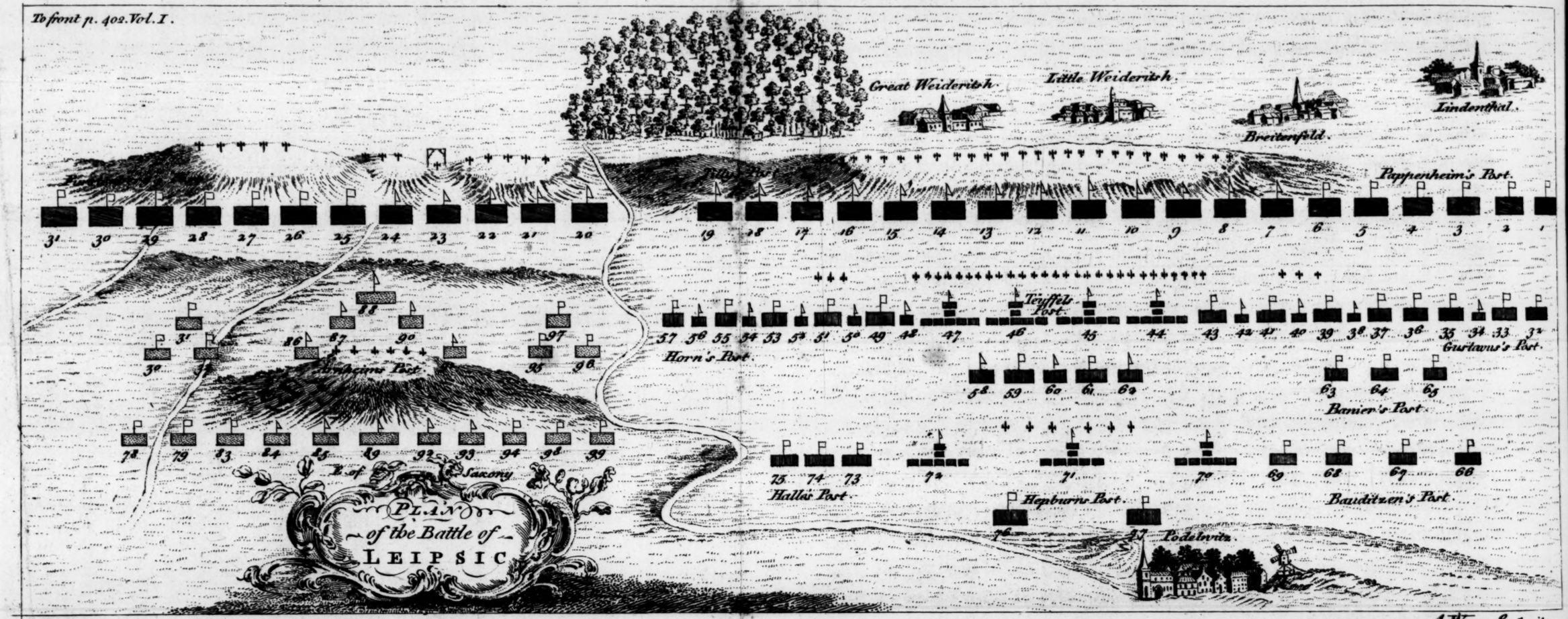
Having thus ſketched out the previous ideas neceſſary for the comprehenſion of one of the moſt important battles, which the world had then ſeen, I may by this time (and perhaps with little difficulty) obtain my reader's permiſſion to enter into a diſtinct deſcription of the action itſelf; inaſmuch as the plan here annext will give a more diſtinct idea of the field-diſpoſitions than can be deſcribed in words.

This battle was fought on Wedneſday the ſeventh of September, which day the Germans call *dies reginæ*. The front of each army extended itſelf near two Engliſh miles in breadth. Many old officers declared, that the mighty conteſt, at the white mountain near Prague in 1620, was but a ſort of pantomime in compariſon to this *. As the intermingled muſqueteers carried no colours, the Imperialiſts did not

* Arnilabæi Arma Suecica, 138, 4°.

diſcover

To front p. 402. Vol. I.



H.W. delin.

A.W. Sculpsit.

TABLE of REFERENCE to the Field-Diſpoſition at LEIPSIC.

IMPERIAL ARMY.

1. REGIMENT of Renconi, } Horſe.
2. Merodé, } Horſe.
3. New Saxon, } Horſe.
4. Baumgarten, } Horſe.
5. Piccolomini, } Horſe.
6. Strozzi, } Horſe.
7. Holſtein, } Infantry.
8. Chieſa, } Infantry.
9. Galas, } Infantry.
10. Furſtenberg, } Infantry.
11. Montecuculi, } Infantry.
12. Balderon and Ditrichſtein united, } Infantry.
13. Tilly, } Infantry.
14. Coronini, } Infantry.
15. Goëtz, } Infantry.
16. Coloredo, } Infantry.
17. Eruitz, } Infantry.
18. Savelli, } Infantry.
19. Blancard, } Infantry.
20. Pappenheim, } Infantry.
21. Haracour, } Infantry.
22. Reynach and Comargo, } Infantry.
23. Wallis, } Infantry.
24. Wrangler, } Infantry.
25. Late Bernſtein, } Horſe.
26. Schomberg, } Horſe.
27. Cronenberg, } Horſe.
28. Old Saxon, } Horſe.
29. Wingarti, } Horſe.
30. Two Regiments of Croats, } Horſe.
31. Reformed Dragoons, } Horſe.

SWEDISH ARMY.

32. 400 Finland Horſe.
33. 400 Finland Horſe.
34. 180 commanded Muſqueteers of Banier.
35. 400 of Tod's Horſe.
36. The ſame.
37. The ſame.
38. 180 commanded Muſqueteers. of Banier's.
39. 800 Weſt-Gothland Horſe.
40. 180 Muſqueteers, Banier's.
41. 800 Smaland Horſe, Steinboch's.
42. 180 commanded Muſqueteers, Halle's.
43. 400 Eaſt-Gothland Cavalry.
44. Lily's Brigade.
45. Teuffel's Brigade, Pretorian Guards.
46. Halle's Brigade.
47. Wincle's Brigade.
48. 200 Horſe, Horn's.
49. 500 Horſe, Callenbach's.
50. 360 commanded Muſqueteers.
51. 500 Horſe, Callenbach's.
52. 280 Muſqueteers, Oxenſtiern.
53. 300 Horſe, Bauditzen.
54. 300 Foot, Erichuiſen's.
55. 300 Horſe, Bauditzen.
56. 300 Muſqueteers, Erichuiſen's.
57. 300 Horſe, Bauditzen.
58. 360 Muſqueteers, Hamilton's.
59. 500 Horſe of the King's own Regiment.
60. 400 Muſqueteers, Monro's.
61. 500 Horſe of the King's own Regiment.
62. 350 Muſqueteers, Ramſay's.
63. 400 Horſe, Rhingrave's.
64. 400 the ſame.
65. 400 the ſame.
66. 400 Livonian Horſe.
67. 400 Courland Horſe.
68. 300 Horſe, Damitz.
69. 400 Horſe, Sperrenter's.
70. Brigade, Halle, Walſtein, Thurn, &c.
71. Brigade, Damitz, Hepburn, &c.
72. Brigade, Mitzval, Vitzdum, Ruthven.
73. 600 Horſe, Halle's.
74. 600 Horſe, ditto.
75. 400 Horſe, Courville's.
76. 500 Horſe, Schafman, Reſerve.
77. 500 Horſe, Cochtitzki, Reſerve.

SAXON ARMY.

78. — Horſe, Steinau.
79. — Horſe, ditto.
80. 400 Horſe, Bindauf.
81. 400 Horſe, ditto.
82. 400 Horſe, Provincial Gentry.
83. — Horſe, Arnheim.
84. Infantry, ditto.
85. Infantry, ditto.
86. 350 Foot, Schwalbach.
87. 350 Foot, ditto.
88. 700 Foot, Löſers.
89. 600 Foot, Electoral Regiment.
90. 350 Foot, Glitzingen.
91. 350 Foot, ditto.
92. 350 Foot, Starchedel.
93. 350 Foot, ditto.
94. 400 Horſe, Provincial Gentry.
95. 400 Horſe, Sax-Altenberg.
96. 400 Horſe, ditto.
97. 400 Horſe, Electoral Regiment.
98. 400 Horſe, ditto.
99. 400 Horſe, ditto.

An exact Plan of the Battle of *Leipſic* is a Thing greatly to be wiſhed for, inaſmuch as his *Swediſh* Majeſty that Day exhibited to the public an Art of War entirely new and thoroughly ſcientifical.

Folard's Ichnography illuſtrates in no Degree the important Truths I am mentioning; ſince the Size of his Squares bears not any Proportion to the Number of Troops contained in them, and the Ground itſelf is partly imaginary. Horſe from Foot we do not know: (an Inaccuracy to be remarked in moſt plans) beſides, without a juſt Idea of the preciſe Quantity of Men in each Peloton, and in what Places the Infantry were intermingled with the Cavalry, it is impoſſible to comprehend the fine Diſpoſition then made by *Guſtavus*, who added more to the Art of War in this Day's Service, than had been diſcovered ſince the Time of *Julius Cæſar*.

To front the Plan, p. 402. VOL. I.

diſcover them till it was too late. Tilly had the advantage of ground, wind, and ſun *; but Guſtavus performed great things with his artillery, and exceeded the Auſtrian general, who piqued himſelf particularly in that reſpect. But the victory was principally owing to the eaſy ſhifting and quick diſcharge of the new-invented leathern cannon, and the intermingled muſqueteers, whoſe fire was too heavy and violent to be oppoſed by the piſtol-ſhots of cavalry. It was likewiſe enjoined the Swedes firſt to receive the enemy's diſcharge, and afterwards return it †. 1631.

Tilly exceeded the two combined armies by *ten or twelve* thouſand men at leaſt ‡; ſo ſaith Monro, who was then preſent; but our computation (which we profeſs to have rated very low) makes the ſuperiority about *five* thouſand: yet the whole Saxon army fled, excepting only their maſter's guards, and one other regiment. Nevertheleſs, his majeſty obtained the victory at the head of two and twenty thouſand men, and, what is very remarkable, not a Swediſh ſoldier behaved ill, and only one regiment was ſqueezed out of its place, and that was Callenbach's; whereas, on the other hand, the four Walloon bodies, that retired at laſt to the wood, had been poſted at conſiderable diſtances one from the other ‖.

After a furious cannonading of no inconſiderable duration, the king, cloathed in a new ſuit of grey cloth, wearing a green plumage on his beavor, and mounted on a horſe *de poil d'étourneau* §, began the attack on Pappenheim ſword in hand, and after a deſperate reſiſtance from that

* Monro's Expedition, ii. 64.

† Schefferi Mem. Suec. Gentis.

‡ Monro's Expedition, ii. 64.

‖ Namely at N° 8. 12. 15. 19.

§ We cannot expreſs this phraſe in Engliſh but by a term unbecoming the dignity of hiſtory, for an horſe *de poil d'étourneau* ſignifies what the grooms in their vulgar idiom call a *flea-bitten* colour. Now it was certainly a falſe affectation in his majeſty, (and in that reſpect Pappenheim copied him) either from a contempt of danger, or in order to be better diſcerned by his troops, ever to ride a ſteed, which carried ſome diſtinguiſhing marks; as may be obſerved not only here, but at the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, and the fatal battle of Lutzen. And it was probably on this account, that the artful Richelieu and father Joſeph ſent an horſe to be ſold in the Swediſh camp very uncommonly marked. Conformably to what they divined, his majeſty purchaſed it in a moment; but as Gaſſion ſtood then high in his favour, he beſtowed it on him, and the ſaid horſe was killed under the Frenchman in the next day's cannonading. Mem. de Gaſſion par M. le Pure, 12. Tom. i. 110, 111.

1631. intrepid and moſt experienced commander, compelled him to retreat to ſuch a diſtance, as procured a point of the wind in his majeſty's favour. What induced the king to puſh forwards this onſet with a degree of fury, that can hardly be paralleled, was partly to avoid the wind and duſt, which were both perplexing that day beyond imagination; and partly to ſecure the left flank of his wing (N° 41, &c.) from Tilly's enormous battery, which pierced it obliquely *.

This advance of the Swedes cauſed a larger opening than appeared at firſt, between the king's line, and the corps poſted behind him under the direction of Banier; and of courſe the brave duke of Holſtein (whoſe regiment of foot ſtands deſcribed in the plan N° 7.) at the extremity of Tilly's main body, and flanking Pappenheim's wing of cavalry, made a motion, it is thought, from his own determination, and quitting his line of battle, fell furiouſly on the king's rear: but as a part of his majeſty's corps faced about immediately, and as Banier, who ſupported his maſter at a proper interval of diſtance, advanced with three diviſions of the Rhingrave's horſe, the Imperial regiment was ſoon cut to pieces, and the duke of Holſtein mortally wounded.

Pappenheim being thus forced out of his line, edged round to the king's right flank; but Guſtavus ſoon made proper evolutions to confront him, and Banier having by this time ſlaughtered the duke of Holſtein's regiment, co-operated vigorouſly with his royal maſter; ſo that thenceforwards the Imperial left wing acquitted itſelf manfully, yet never turned the ſcale againſt the army of Sweden. Nevertheleſs, Pappenheim returned to the charge ſeven times ſucceſſively; but in the third attack, which was conducted with amazing readineſs and impetuoſity, miſſed but little of overpowering his opponents; for he was quicker in rallying, than the Swedes could be in purſuing their advantage; ſo that Banier was obliged to fly once more to his monarch's ſuccour, and the re-inforcement was as roughly handled as the party, to whoſe aſſiſtance it marched. And it was in the fury of this rencounter that Pappenheim and Gaſſion engaged in ſingle combat †.

* Soldat Suedois, 128.

† Hiſt. du maréchal Gaſſion, p. 52. Tom. i.

About

About fifteen minutes after Pappenheim's firſt attack began, the count 1631.
de Furſtenberg became the aggreſſor on the Saxon army, and after a ſhort conflict diſperſed entirely the right wing, which part of his troops purſued in an unſoldier-like manner with undue earneſtneſs. Now the occaſion of this ſudden defeat may be attributed purely to the inexperience and puſillanimity of the provincial horſe, which had been raiſed by vaſſals *. Nevertheleſs, indeciſive as this ſlight advantage may appear, it tempted Tilly to diſpatch a part of his main body to overwhelm the reſidue of the Saxon forces, and induced him likewiſe, (which may be conſidered as an indiſcretion †) to deſcend from his convenient and well choſen eminence, and let looſe on Horn (who commanded the left wing of the Swediſh army) a part of thoſe veteran bands of infantry, which had made all Germany tremble for the ſpace of thirteen years. The Imperial generaliſſimo ſoon diſperſt the Saxon forces, and when his troops appeared over-eager in purſuing the fugitives, *Turn back*, ſaid he, *my comrades; let us beat the Swedes, and the empire is our own.* Yet he could never recover ſo many purſuers, as it is queſtionleſs he wiſhed to recall. Mean while the Saxons, like excellent ſoldiers, took the liberty to plunder their own waggons, and then by flight conſulted their ſafety. Their electoral maſter was the firſt man, who carried the news of the defeat to Eülenburg ‡, a little town on the banks of the Molda, about ten miles from the field of action. Arnheim having ſaved two (or as ſome ſay four) regiments, and placed them under Horn's protection, flew immediately to the king to implore his advice and aſſiſtance ‖. Yet all the Imperialiſts concerned purſued not the Saxons; for Furſtenberg, with his Italian cavalry, and Cronenberg, whoſe regiment of German horſe was eſteemed the very flower of the Auſtrian army, ſtopped their troops in full career, and attacked Horn, who ſoon made proper evolutions, and received them ſo bravely, that Guſtavus ever afterwards acknowledged the victory to be due to him. Tilly likewiſe bent a part of his efforts on this left wing of the Swedes, which by the flight of

* Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4° 34.
† Waſſembergii Florus German. 255.
‡ Introd. de Puffendorf, Tom. iv. 140.
‖ Idem. ibid.

the

1631. the Saxons was rendered naked for a ſeaſon in one flank, yet it was protected a little with an high road and hedges; which Guſtavus probably foreſaw in the firſt diſpoſitions he made, and conſequently deſtined them as a ſmall line of partition between his own and the electoral forces.

And here it may naturally be aſked, what cogent reaſon could induce Tilly to decline attacking the main-body of the royal army conducted by Teüffel? To which may be aſſigned a very juſt and ſatisfactory anſwer; namely, that the centre was protected, as will appear by the plan, with one entire line of large artillery *.

Mean while Guſtavus, who had greatly checked the impetuoſity of Pappenheim, and who, foreſeeing his preſence might be neceſſary in more places than one, had made Banier proviſionally ſubſtitute-commander over the right wing, receiving advice upon advice of the miſbehaviour and defeat of the Saxons, ſent a meſſage to Teüffel to lead the centre † on the charge; but that brave officer was ſtruck dead by a muſquet-ball as he was liſtening attentively to the royal meſſage ‡. His majeſty, unapprized of this event, purſued his courſe down the interval behind the front-line, crying out with an air of ſprightlineſs in his countenance as he rode along, *alegramente, my ſoldiers, alegramente*: to which the troops replied with alacrity, *vivat! vivat!* At the ſame time, with a view to ſtrengthen Horn's flank, he ordered the foot regiment of Hepburn, and half that of Vitzdum ‖, to march from the rear of the centre §: as likewiſe the regiment of Weſtergothian horſe from his own wing (N° 39.) having cut to pieces the regiment that confronted it; namely, Holſtein's (N° 7.) and pretty well rebated the edge of Pappenheim's violence.

* Arnilabæi Arm. Suecica, 4° 187.

† It is remarkable, that two battalions of pioneers were poſted in the centre intermixt with No's 47, 45, 50, 53. *Hiſt. Authentic Relation*, Tom. ii. 122. This peculiarity has paſſed hitherto unnoticed.

‡ Vernulæus de Bell. Sueco-Germ. 150. Others ſay the king ſent for him to Horn's left wing, and having ordered him to reconnoitre a large body of troops ſuppoſed to be the Imperial, that he obeyed his maſter's commands with alacrity, but was killed in returning. Monro's ſecond Expedition, 66.

‖ N° 82 and 85. See the plan.

§ Chemnitz, Tom. i. 176.

Being

Being arrived in that part of Horn's wing * where Callenbach commanded, he cried out with a tone of eagerneſs, *Callenbach, charge man in God's name! Charge man in God's name!* That officer ſoon obeyed the royal orders, but fell unfortunately in the firſt fire. 1631.

Mean while the king, notwithſtanding the clouds of duſt, that moleſted him, diſcovered ſome large maſſes of troops, that ſeemed to advance. He aſked the perſons round him what they might conjecture concerning them? their anſwer was, they concluded them to be Swedes. But Guſtavus knew, that this could bear no reference to his own plan, and galloping his horſe at ſome diſtance beyond the lines (for his eyeſight was by no means the moſt perfect) returned and arranged his troops in order to receive them: *They are Imperialiſts*, added he, *I have diſcovered the Burgundian* † *croſs amongſt their enſigns.* This ſaid, he returned to ſuch places where he though this preſence moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary. And here it was; namely, in the ſharp conflict betwixt Horn and Tilly, that the Scottiſh regiments firſt exhibited the practice of firing in *platoons* ‡, which amazed the Imperialiſts to ſuch a degree, that they hardly knew how to conduct themſelves.

Yet ſtill the main body of the Swedes, as we obſerved before, and the major part of Tilly's Walloon infantry, which confronted them, remained ſpectators on each other, if we except only their cannonading, and the detachment of certain bodies from themſelves occaſionally, as urgent neceſſities here and there ſeemed to demand ſuch ſorts of aſſiſtance.

And now, that is to ſay, ſome few minutes after four, the king perceived matters to approach towards a favourable concluſion: for, having ſqueezed Pappenheim quite out of his place, and advanced half way towards the village of Little Weideritch, he judged it expedient to attack from all quarters that great maſs of Imperial Infantry, which com-

* It is plain Bougeant knew nothing of this battle, for he makes Horn command the centre, Tom. i. 267.

† The Auſtrian eagle, when Ferdinand II. entered Ratiſbon, June 19, 1630, at the great diet convened there, carried on its breaſt a ſcutcheon half Auſtrian and half Burgundian.

‡ Swediſh Intelligencer, Part i. 124.

poſed

1631. poſed the centre, and which conſiſted originally of eighteen regiments, deemed by all men to be next to invincible; though, perhaps, at this period one third of them at leaſt had been detached upon other ſervices. Here a ſeries of obſtinacy made its appearance between the victorious and the vanquiſhed, that can hardly be deſcribed *; for the approach of evening rendered all relators (even ſuch as were preſent) indiſtinct in their beſt accounts. However, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the king brought his whole centre to act in conjunction with ſuch other forces as he could then produce †.

The darkneſs of night began now to obſcure the ſky ‡, and after the Imperialiſts had been pierced through and through various times, ſo ſtubborn and perſevering was the reſiſtance they made, that the victory hardly yet appeared to be finally deciſive; for four regiments of infantry, though poſted at conſiderable diſtances from each other ||, formed themſelves merely by the habitude and inſtinct of war, and without the aſſiſtance of any one principal commander, retired gloomily and ſullenly to the ſkirts of the wood behind them. There they repulſed the united efforts of the Swedes without ever mentioning the word *quarter*, and continued to reſiſt even when half-diſabled, and proſtrated on the earth. It is certain, that Tilly behaved with great intrepidity to the laſt moment §, and burſt out into tears, when he ſaw the maſſacre his ſoldiers ſubmitted to with patience **. At length, under the protection of darkneſs, the valiant Cronenberg carried him off at the head of theſe unconquerable Walloons, who were reduced now to 600 men. The battle laſted (not to mention the cannonading) from twelve at noon till after ſix; and for the firſt two hours of cloſe engagement the victory was doubtful ††.

We ſhall conclude with obſerving, that his majeſty, on this occaſion, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck; which far from carrying the leaſt tinc-

* Relat. de la bataille de Leipſic, &c. eſcrite par un capitaine de l'armée Imperiale à un ſien ami, 1631.

† Monro, Part. ii. 66.

‡ Riccio de Bell. Germ. 269, 4°.

|| Pietro Pomo; Guerre di Germania, 4° p. 33.

§ Hiſt. de Galeazzo Gualdo, Tom. ii. 53. 4°.

** Idem ibid.

†† Burgi Mars Sueco-Germ. 134.

ture

ture of vain-glory with it, appears to me rather as an example of religious humility to ſucceeding conquerors. On one ſide was the following inſcription; DEO. TER. OPT. MAX. GLORIA. ET. LAUS. QUI. GUSTAVO. ADOLPHO. SUECORUM. VANDALORUMQUE. REGI. CONTRA. CAESAREANUM. AC. LIGUSTICUM. EXERCITUM. VICTORIAM. TRIBUIT. AD. LIPSIAM. DIE. VII. SEPTEMBRIS. ANNO. MDCXXXI. On the other ſide was engraven the word JEHOVAH, half concealed beneath clouds that intermix themſelves with ſun-ſhine, and this lemma underneath; A. DOMINO. FACTUM. EST. ISTUD *. 1631.

There was a circumſtance preceding this battle, that explains Tilly's conduct, and which few hiſtorians ſeem to know. As the Imperial general, far from being the aggreſſor, had determined not to fight, except compelled by inevitable neceſſity; how happened it, that he engaged in the manner all writers mention, when Pappenheim had no power to preſcribe laws unto him? I always knew there was ſome omiſſion of hiſtory in this important point; and though the true reaſon occurred to me from the natural reſult of probabilities, yet I did not care to hazard my conjectures till I could ground them upon ſome ſubſtantial authority †. Now the reader may remember, that if Tilly had choſen to fight, he ought above all things to have diſputed the ſwampy paſs at Scholka ‡. This employment Pappenheim ardently ſought for, but Tilly gave him an abſolute denial; nevertheleſs, being of a nature very abhorrent from all arbitrary acts, he conſented, after repeated ſolicitations, to allow Pappenheim, at his own preſſing requeſt, and under ſtrict promiſe of not engaging in earneſt, to obſerve the numbers and countenance of the enemies as they paſſed the rivulet, allotting him only 2000 cavalry for that ſervice, and proteſting, that even ſuch a conceſſion was highly blameable in any ſupreme commander.

But Pappenheim's appetite for glory, joined to the natural impetuoſity of his temper, ſoon brought on a very dangerous ſkirmiſh; inſomuch, that he was obliged at length to inform the generaliſſimo, that if

* Memoirs communicated.

† Relation de la Battaille donnée pres de Leipſic & de la retraite, eſcrite par un capitain de l'armée Imperiale à un ſien ami. D'Halberſtadt le 22 de Septembre, 1631.

‡ Introduction de Puffendorf, Tom. iv. 138. Some call the village Zſchortza.

1631. he did not ſend him 2000 freſh horſemen, he, and a couple of the beſt regiments in the Imperial ſervice, muſt be cut to pieces or taken priſoners. In this perplexity, which from its ſudden appearance hardly admitted of any alternative, Tilly had no time for liberty of choice; and as the clamour and inſinuations of the younger officers almoſt diſtracted him, he judged wrong meerly for preſent eaſe; nevertheleſs wanted not ſpirit to charge the colonel, who commanded the reinforcement, to tell Pappenheim, that in caſe he failed to diſengage himſelf at all events, he muſt expect to lay down his life as a ſacrifice for his temerity and diſobedience, in a ſolemn trial before a court-martial. Yet the old man ſoon forgave this impetuous ardour, which was congenial to the temper of his lieutenant-general, and in a letter he wrote, under all ſuppoſable anguiſh of mind, not more than ſixteen days after the defeat, allows not the remoteſt hint to fall from his pen to the diſadvantage of Pappenheim. It is a letter worth reading, as a pattern of Chriſtian reſignation in a great commander, who had never met with a repulſe during the courſe of thirty very ſignal engagements. He addreſſeth to a friend, and it runs thus.

" SIR,

" I was in great hopes, after ſuch a ſeries of fatiguing and intricate " affairs, which I have been compelled to ſtruggle with through the " whole preceding campaign, and which in truth hindered me from " keeping up an epiſtolary intercourſe, to have conveyed to you at laſt " ſome important news of an advantageous nature. But the Supreme " Being has thought fit to give things another aſpect, and viſit us at " length with a ſignal chaſtiſement; inaſmuch as when on the ſeventh " of this month I had made myſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of " Leipſic, (with a view, conformably to the orders I had received on " the emergency of affairs, to compel the elector of Saxony to obey the " mandate of his Imperial majeſty, and renounce the treaty of Leipſic) " the king of Sweden, ſupported by the forces of the ſaid elector and " the elector of Brandenburg, advanced upon me all at once, and com- " pelled me to enter into a general engagement, wherein, after a long

" and

" and obſtinate diſpute, it was the misfortune of our troops, much in- 1631.
" ferior in point of numbers, and greatly incommoded by clouds of
" duſt *, and the unremitting fire of the enemy's artillery, to fall into
" diſorder by imperceptible degrees, and at length quit the field of
" battle. This may be termed the reverſe of all our paſt proſperities:
" over which we allowed ourſelves to ſlumber, without purſuing our
" point vigorouſly. May God, who propoſeth, perhaps, to awaken us,
" and ſharpen us by this diſaſter, inſpire us for the future with a dou-
" ble quantity of attention and zeal.——The loſſes and confuſion on the
" enemy's ſide were very conſiderable: nor did they purſue their blow
" with ſuch expedition, as to prevent a party of our troops from re-
" tiring in ſafety, whom I am now modelling and reducing to order
" in the beſt manner I can. As to my perſon, God hath preſerved me
" ſo far, that out of two ſhots, that happened to ſtrike me, one only
" pierced my cloaths, and the other gave me a contuſion on the reins,
" which ſeems to be attended with no ſymptoms of danger † ‡.

" Your faithful friend and ſervant,

" JOHN, COUNT DE TILLI."

Nor was the letter Guſtavus wrote to Charles I, on the ſame event, leſs modeſt, or leſs moderate. The Imperial general was not dejected, and the Swediſh monarch appeareth not to be elated. The reader, if he pleaſes, may caſt his eyes over it by way of contraſt.

" Moſt ſerene prince, brother, kinſman, and deareſt friend,

" As we know well the affection your ſerenity bears not only to us,
" but to the common cauſe, and as we are aſſured likewiſe, that you feel
" for us in all our ſucceſſes and hazards relative to the public ſafety; it

* Though this circumſtance may appear at firſt ſight as a minute and trifling incident, yet it muſt be remembered, that the battle was fought in a dry ſeaſon, on a vaſt plain, reduced to powder by ſeveral ploughings; and the wind being briſk during the time of action, it is incredible to ſay how great an obſcurity was raiſed among the Imperialiſts after the king gained two points of the wind. See Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, libr. ii. 4°. 53.

† Lettre du comte de Tilli à un ſien ami, eſcrite de Halberſtadt le 24 de Septembre, 1631.

‡ Here Tilly is a little inſincere; for he mentions nothing of the blows Langfritz gave him with the ſtock end of his carabine, from which bruiſes he received unſpeakable torment. But the veteran commander well knew the delicate feelings of honour; *Lex non ſupponit odioſa.*

1631. " would be unpardonable in the preſent conjuncture not to inform you " of that ſignal and memorable victory, which the divine bounty in " theſe days hath beſtowed upon us. In a word, after the elector of " Saxony had conjoined his troops with ours, and the combined armies " had marched forwards in order to give the enemy battle, the Imperial " general * thought proper to advance five miles at the head of all his " troops from his camp at Leipſic, and oppoſe his whole force againſt " ours. The battle began with great fury, and was maintained four " hours on each ſide with uncommon obſtinacy †, till at length the Im- " perial army (as the favour of divine Providence co-operated with the " unwearied reſolution of my ſoldiers) began by degrees to break its " ranks and diſappear. Our troops purſued their adverſaries to the very " walls of Leipſic, and rendered themſelves maſters of their artillery, bag- " gage-waggons, and a great number of colours.

" The general, having received a wound, thought proper to point " his courſe towards the biſhopric of Halberſtadt, leaving the troops, " that were afterwards to follow him, to our clemency, and the mercy " of war. Great numbers of the enemy fell on the field of battle, " amongſt whom was the watch-maſter general ‡, and ſome other " commanders of note. The number of priſoners amounts to ſeveral " thouſands, and under that article may be mentioned the duke of " Holſtein, and various officers of no ſmall diſtinction.——For all " which ſeries of ſucceſſes, let us give thanks to God, as the real author " and promoter of them, and aſcribe entirely (as we juſtly ought) to " his benignity, that not only the long-expected hope (ſo ardently con- " ceived by thouſands) of the reſtoration of civil and religious liberty " at length preſents itſelf afreſh to our imagination, but that there ap- " pears likewiſe no difficult proſpect of undertaking a ſecond time the " re-eſtabliſhment of the depreſſed Palatin family.

" We doubt not, but your ſerenity will receive the news of this victory

* As Guſtavus neither loved nor eſteemed Tilly on account of the barbarities committed by him in the ſtorming of Magdeburg, it hath been obſerved elſewhere, that he uſually ſtyled him, the *Old Walloon*, and *Old Corporal*. Even in this letter it is very evident, he affects twice to avoid calling him by his proper name.

† His majeſty includes neither the cannonading nor the defeat.

‡ Erwitz.

" with

" with affection and joy; that you will conſider the preſent opportu- 1631.
" nity as a circumſtance not to be neglected, directing your whole
" attention to this ſingle object, and making it your royal care to ad-
" vance the good of the Chriſtian world, and promote the welfare
" of your own relations, by aſſiſtances in *men* and *money*, and by
" *magnanimous reſolutions*. For our own part, from henceforwards,
" we will never allow ourſelves to be thought remiſs in regard to you
" and yours, recommending your ſerenity to divine protection, in full
" expectance, that things may continue to take a turn ſtill more pro-
" ſperous in our behalf *.

" Your affectionate brother and kinſman,

" GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

At Halle in Saxony,
Sept. 13, 1631.

Tilly left 7000 men dead in the field; but the number of ſlain does not always conſtitute the *real* loſs, that attends a defeat. Men may be procured and purchaſed again: but the loſs of ſuch a number of veteran troops, infantry eſpecially, is never to be recovered during an old general's life. Few people extend this remark through military hiſtory, though the conſequences are, humanly ſpeaking, infallible. The emperor half over-turned his fortunes juſt before Guſtavus arrived, by diſbanding a body of 17,000 well ſeaſoned and experienced troops, with a view to pleaſe the diet at Ratiſbon; and Spain afterwards received a mortal wound by loſing that reſpectable body of Walloons at the battle of Rocroy †; nor had ſhe recovered her loſs even at the time when the peace of Munſter was concluded.

It hath been ‡ remarked by ſome hiſtorians, that in the courſe and

* From a MS. Latin letter in the Aſhmole collection at Oxford.

† The marquis de Fontaines commanded the centre, compoſed of Walloon infantry, which body of troops, when both wings were defeated, maintained their poſt to the laſt man. Next morning the general, (who had been afflicted with the gout) was found dead in his arm-chair at the head of his ſoldiers, who lay all ſtretched round him in regular lines, covering the ſame ground, which they had occupied whilſt alive.

‡ The court of Vienna ſuſtained another loſs of this kind ſoon after the peace of Utrecht, being induced from arguments of œconomy to diſmiſs about 18,000 troops, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves through the war of the ſucceſſion. Prince Eugene made remonſtrance after remonſtrance, and condeſcended even to intercede and ſupplicate for their continuance; but receiving in a private audience a poſitive denial from the emperor, he left the cabinet with great emotion, and ſhed tears on the occaſion.

conſequences

1631. conſequences of this defeat, the Imperialiſts loſt more men under the article of priſoners than in the action itſelf; for out of forty thouſand effective ſoldiers, according to their computation, the general of the league, by Pappenheim's confeſſion, preſerved no more than one half. Great numbers of the enemy took the opportunity to deſert a ſinking cauſe; 3000 perſons were taken priſoners in the day of battle, to whom the king granted quarter without the effuſion of a drop of blood; ſome were likewiſe killed in their flight; for Guſtavus purſued the Imperialiſts eight and thirty miles, and at Merſburg particularly deſtroyed a 1000 more, and compelled 1500 to ſurrender.

The camp of the enemy was taken ſtanding, ſo that the officers and ſoldiers loſt great part of their ill-acquired plunder. In a word, there was hardly a ſoldier amongſt the killed or priſoners, who had leſs than ten ducats in his pockets, and more was ſtill found concealed in their girdles and in their ſaddles. Almoſt all the baggage-waggons fell likewiſe into the hands of the Swedes, as alſo 100 enſigns and cornets, and more than two thirds of the train of artillery. It pleaſed the victors to find many of the latter, inſcribed with the names, or decorated with the arms of their friends and enemies; as of the king of Bohemia, elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Brunſwick on the one hand, and of the dukes of Bavaria and Fridland, as alſo of his Imperial majeſty, on the other hand. The king divided the ſpoils of Tilly's camp amongſt his men in a manner remarkably equitable and uncommon: for, being apprized of the lodgment and diſpoſition of the enemy's troops, he appointed each Swediſh regiment to occupy the ſame ground, which an Imperial regiment had poſſeſſed before; and no man was allowed to plunder out of his own appointed diſtrict, under the ſevereſt military pains and penalties *.

The Swedes, who behaved well, loſt only 1000 men in this engagement; and the Saxons, who faced the enemy only a few minutes, verified the old obſervation,

Mors & fugacem perſequitur virum,

for their loſs amounted to at leaſt 2000. Amongſt the dead on the

* Monro's Expedition, Part ii. p. 71.

Imperial

Imperial ſide, may be reckoned Adolphus duke of Holſtein, who ex- 1631.
pired ſome few hours after he was taken *: he was a proteſtant; ſerjeant-major general Schoenberg, watch-maſter general Erwitz, Baumgarten general of the artillery, the colonels Blancard and Coloredo, Lerma aid de camp, and the marquis of Gonzaga, the lieutenant-colonels, the baron de Grotta, Caratelli, and don Joſeph de Ainſa (who commanded the regiment of Savelli in the duke's abſence): adjutant-general Zinzendorf, and the commiſſary-generals Walmerode and Graff, were taken priſoners; as were alſo then, and a few days afterwards, at Leipſic and Halle, Coronini, Cratz, and ſix other colonels, together with Bernardi, ſecretary and treaſurer to Tilly, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics; who were immediately diſmiſſed without ranſom. Amongſt the Swedes were killed Maximilian Teüffel †, who commanded the royal regiment of foot-guards, Hall, Collenbach, Aldergaſt, and Damitz, all colonels. Courville was taken priſoner, for having received a glancing ſhot acroſs the forehead, and being blinded with the blood, that ſtreamed down upon his eyes, he mixt among the enemy's troops without knowing them. Colonel Lumſdel, and lieutenant-colonel Moſtyn, were both wounded. Meanwhile the elector of Saxony loſt ſerjeant-major general Bindhauf, Loëfel, Dieſkau, the two Starchedels, and ſome other colonels.

Tilly received (ſome ſay) three wounds from muſquet-balls and piſtol-ſhots, and a very diſagreeable contuſion on his neck from the but-end of a horſeman's carabine. He was once taken priſoner by one Frederic, a captain of cavalry in the Rhingrave's regiment, whom the

* This claſhes not with the king's account to Charles I, who conſidered him only in the light of a priſoner. It is ſaid Guſtavus Horn queſtioned him ſeverely in his laſt hours for ſerving under the Roman catholics: his anſwer was, (for in all probability he had reconciled himſelf to the Romiſh opinions) that a man of the ſword, and a profeſſor of theology, were two different beings.

† Baron of Ginderſdorf and Weyerſberg. This brave man was a German born, but left the Imperial ſervice upon ſome diſguſt. Lanſperg, who loved the turgid ſtyle, ſpeaks very pompouſly of this hero, upon ſuppoſition, that his real name (Teüffel, i. e. Devil) was a *nom de guerre*. Suedorum nonnullus ex primariis occubuit: cæteriſque inſignior Maximilianus cognomento DIABOLUS, medii agminis (quod monui) ductor, regi ob fortitudinem chariſſimus. It was a common ſaying with the German wits, that Guſtavus muſt counterwork and defeat his enemies, ſince one of his generals was *Death*, (*Todt*), and the other the *Devil*, (*Teüffel*). Guſt. Magn. Bellum Germ. 1650, p. 329.

army,

1631. army, on account of his ſtature, ſurnamed Langfritz *; who knowing him, made him an offer of quarter, and upon Tilly's refuſal gave him the blow juſt above mentioned; but Rodolphus duke of Sax-Lauenberg flew to his aſſiſtance with two or three horſemen, and bravely reſcued him, killing Langfritz with a piſtol-ſhot, adjuſting in ſo great a confuſion his aim ſo true, that the bullet entered one ear, and paſſed through the other. Pappenheim received ſix or ſeven wounds, according to cuſtom; and the count de Furſtenberg was wounded, but not mortally. Cronenberg carried off the general at the head of the unconquerable Walloons, who were reduced now to 600 men, and lodged him by break of day at twenty-one miles diſtance in the town of Halle. Furſtenberg attended Tilly in another coach, and the duke of Sax-Lauenberg aſſiſted Cronenberg in conducting the party. The regiment of Schoenberg ſoon followed them, but the major part of the broken troops pointed their courſe towards Halberſtadt.

In this confuſion ſixteen troops of horſe formed themſelves between the field of battle and the town of Leipſic, but they had no officers to command them; and neither the generaliſſimo, nor maréchal de camp, nor ſerjeant-major della battaglia were to be found. At length Pappenheim appeared amongſt them, and having mounted a freſh horſe, led them on to make one final effort, but that attempt not ſucceeding, he carried them off under favour of the night, purſuing that road, which we have juſt mentioned. All ſuppoſed the general to be dead, nor did Pappenheim appear much afflicted at that report; for Tilly and he had never agreed ſince he diſſuaded the former to deſiſt from his enterprize on the king's camp at Werben †.

The king, according to ſome ‡, ſlept all the night ſucceeding the battle, near a little fire made of fragments of wood, which his ſoldiers had collected together; having firſt diſpatched a body of troops to purſue the fugitives. Others tell us, that he invited the elector of Saxony to take part of a cold repaſt with him in his tent; and all people, who knew his majeſty's warmth of temper, expected he would throw

* Long-ſides.

† Mercure François, 1631, p. 690.

‡ Continuation of the Laurea Auſtriaca, fol. p. 26, &c.

out

out an oblique ſarcaſm or two on the miſbehaviour of the Saxon troops; but, on the contrary, he told the elector, *That his men, conſidering they were chiefly new raiſed recruits, behaved extremely well:* and then aſked him, *how he liked his conduct in the tranſaction of that day; proteſting at the ſame time, he would follow his point vigorouſly, and purſue the old corporal to the utmoſt limits of the world.* Next morning, after public prayers, and a ſolemn act of thankſgiving at the head of his army, he mounted on horſeback, and returned thanks to his men regiment by regiment: and notwithſtanding the Imperial army ſuffered at that time a ſort of general wreck, and every moment was precious to a conqueror, in order to complete his victory more and more upon eaſier terms, yet this wiſe and religious prince could not allow himſelf to purſue the ſtroke at the very inſtant his arm was lifted up, till he had firſt returned his acknowledgment to the Supreme Being, and diſcharged the debt of gratitude, which he owed to his faithful ſoldiers; beſtowing particular encomiums on the Swediſh and Finland horſe conducted by Horn, as alſo on that brave body of Scottiſh infantry, which Hepburn commanded. 1631.

Thus ended one of the greateſt battles, that Europe had then ſeen. It laſted indeed only four hours and an half, without comprehending the two hours, that were employed in cannonading. It was in this reſpect that Tilly prided himſelf particularly: and, what was ſtill more, ſome of his artillery appeared to be of the heavieſt ſort then in uſe, and all his batteries were ready fixed; but after the firſt carriage was once paſſed over, the king's portable cannons performed wonders *, as Tilly himſelf acknowledges in his letter. It is true, he ſays nothing of his majeſty's peculiar method of fighting that day in *columns* (of which the king had made an experiment before in an engagement with the duke de Savelli) nor of ſome *evolutions*, which were then eſteemed extraordinary †. But this ſilence is not to be wondered at, ſince it was

* We have never had the fortune to meet with a ſufficient reaſon for the diſcontinuance of the leather-cannon, which this prince invented. It certainly had its uſe in point of portability, and was highly neceſſary for the ſake of ſhifting, varying the attack, and rallying; as alſo in deep and miry countries with ſmall armies, and upon ſudden expeditions.

† Lanſbergii Guſt. Magn. Bellum Germ. p. 324, 325.

1631. impoſſible for Tilly to have commended Guſtavus in theſe preſent circumſtances, without depreciating his own merit. The ground, (if we except the rivulet and the moraſs of Scholka, the elevation of the Imperial batteries, and the advantage of the wood where the troops rallied) may be conſidered as tolerably equal; nor were any entrenchments made uſe of on either ſide, there being indeed no time to prepare them. Many regiments charged ten or fifteen times apiece, and ſome were employed (with only momentary intermiſſions) from the beginning of the battle to the end: and, what is worth remarking, no officer or ſoldier in the Swediſh or Imperial armies was ever afterwards called to an account for miſbehaviour. It may likewiſe be obſerved incidentally, that the Swediſh cavalry never diſcharged a piſtol till they had received their adverſaries fire, and almoſt touched the heads of their horſes: which effect was the more fatal, as the peletons of intermixt muſqueteers diſunited and broke the enemy's line by meer weight of ball, before they could come to touch their opponents. And what alike deſerves our notice, is, that neither the king nor his troops diſcovered the leaſt diſmay upon the flight of the Saxons (and it was perhaps upon this preſentiment, that he drew up his forces in two ſeparate armies) though Horn's left wing was thereby laid open and naked, and though the number of the electoral forces was half equal (to ſay the leaſt of them) to that of the Swedes.

The loſs of this battle ſtruck dumb the whole catholic league, after an uninterrupted ſeries of victories for thirteen ſucceſſive years; and cauſed ſo great an aſtoniſhment even in the court of Vienna, that the emperor not thinking himſelf ſecure in his capital, removed his houſehold to Gratz, the metropolis of Stiria.

The king having employed himſelf the morning after the battle according to the manner we have related, diſtributed the 3000 Imperial priſoners amongſt his troops; in all which corps were only three ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, though conſiderable numbers, Iriſh eſpecially, then ſerved in the emperor's armies. This being finiſhed, he permitted his ſoldiers, who had ſlept all night on the bare ground, and had eaten nothing worth mentioning for two days, to take poſſeſ-

ſion

sion of the catholic camp near Leipsic, where they found abundant provisions of every kind. He then at the head of a part of his cavalry invested Leipsic, but leaving the siege to the elector of Saxony, (who by this time was returned from Eülenberg, to which place he and his army had fled on the afternoon of the battle) he pushed on the next morning as far as Merseburg *, whose governor, the baron de Palant, received orders from Tilly to withdraw his garrison; but Pappenheim, who at that period was in effect general over the generalissimo, passing through Merseburg after Tilly, left counter-orders with the baron, which that commander thinking fit to comply with, made a resistance more becoming a man of honour than a man of prudence; for not only he and his garrison, but several broken companies, which had straggled thither after the battle of Leipsic, were all made prisoners of war. 1631.

The king, out of pure politeness, left the reconquering of Leipsic to its lawful possessor, inasmuch as it was very certain, that town must submit of course; and in effect Wrangle the Imperial commander surrendered after a deliberation of two days, and saved 3000 good troops, upon condition, that thenceforwards they were never to bear arms against the crown of Sweden: nevertheless, such commanders and soldiers were excepted, as belonged not bona fide to the garrison. So that about one hundred persons, chiefly officers, were detained as prisoners; and many brave Swedes were released, who had been confined there ever since the storming of Magdeburg; and by this time the king, as Monro, who was there present, assures us, had encreased his army, since the battle of Leipsic, with an addition of 7000 Imperial forces, including prisoners.

Mean while his majesty, at the head of 15,000 men, attended by an army of 10,000 more, advanced as far as Halle, and rendered himself master of the town and castle with no great difficulty. Here he refreshed his men for some days, and returned public thanks to God in the great cathedral, employing every leisure moment in planning

* Three days afterwards the castle of Merseburg was taken, by which means colonel Uslar regained his liberty, who had continued a captive there ever since the storming of Magdeburg. Gustavus sent the governor of the castle, who was a subject of Saxony, to plead his cause and make his excuses to the elector his master.

1631. and adjuſting his future operations. Before he left this town, many proteſtant princes, with the elector of Saxony at their head, made him a viſit; and here it was, that meaſures were taken for the completion of the great work, which was to enſue. What is yet more, this mighty plan was all reduced to form in one evening, though that evening was dedicated to feſtivity; for the elector of Saxony loved the pleaſures of the table above meaſure. Some minutes before ſupper, colonel Monro entered the room out of curioſity, and the king, who diſliked drinking, took him by the ſhoulder, and ſaid with a whiſper, *I wiſh, Monro, you could be maſter of the bottles and glaſſes to night, in the abſence of old major-general Sir Patrick Ruthven: but you want a ſtrength of head to relieve me on ſuch an occaſion, and make your way through an undertaking of ſo extraordinary a nature.* Then turning round to the elector, (upon ſuppoſition of reſuming his topic) he digreſſed into a long encomium of the Scottiſh nation; and beckoning to colonel Hepburn, who ſtood in another part of the room, recapitulated the purport of his diſcourſe, and recommended him, Lumſdel, and Monro, to the elector's more immediate notice.

At length it was agreed on all hands, that as to purſue Tilly was meer loſs of time, it was therefore more expedient, ſince the emperor and the catholic league could not produce a freſh army very ſoon, to fall upon the reſpective dominions of certain popiſh princes, while their minds were ſtrongly impreſſed with diſmay and terror. But before this great work could be undertaken, it was concluded neceſſary to employ part of the troops in ſecuring the princes of the houſe of Anhalt, as likewiſe the two dioceſes of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt; and then Guſtavus determined to march in perſon at the head of the reſidue of his army, even into Bavaria, if that were poſſible, with an intent to give laws collaterally to the eccleſiaſtical electors, and the biſhops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg: and in the mean while it was allotted the elector of Saxony to carry on the war in Luſatia, Sileſia, and Bohemia. What induced Guſtavus, who was then aſcending to the zenith of his power, and abſolute in his deciſions in the aſſembly at Halle, to aſſign this department (and in effect the high road, which led

to

to Vienna) to the elector of Saxony, hath been a point beyond the power of moſt hiſtorians to explain fully; and many perſons have been the more perplexed in their conſiderations of it, inaſmuch as the great Oxenſtiern pronounced it to be a falſe meaſure *. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall ſpeak more amply concerning this difficulty hereafter, not in the leaſt to his Swediſh majeſty's diſhonour, but, on the contrary, very abundantly to his glory. 1631.

We will now for a moment caſt our eyes upon the unfortunate Tilly, who reaching Halle in the beſt manner he could before break of day, ſent for the town-ſurgeon to dreſs his wounds, and make an inciſion into his contuſion, which gave him at that time inexpreſſible torments. Upon examining the bruiſed fleſh, the ſagacious operator pronounced the general's body to be *gefrorn*, that is in other words to have been rendered impenetrable by magical incantations, and taliſmanical ſignatures †‡.

From Halle the Imperial commander fled to Halberſtadt in a litter, and there having juſt ſufficient ſtrength to bear being placed on an horſe for a ſingle hour, made a review of his ſhattered troops, which amounted to 5000 cavalry, (if we conclude ten cornecies of horſe juſt arrived from Cologn) and ſome broken bodies of infantry; for the greater part of the army, concluding it more ſalutary to adhere to Pappenheim, perſued another route under that officer's protection.

The little handful of men re-aſſembled at Halle expreſſed great joy to behold their aged general once more; who, when he arrived at Aſcherleben, diſpatched the Cologn-regiment to join Pappenheim at Mansfelt, and ſupport his retreat. When Pappenheim received this reinforcement, it is aſſerted by ſome ‖; that he diſcovered very viſible ſigns of diſtaſte upon being ſo certainly aſſured, that the generaliſſimo was living. Be that as it may, Tilly in two days expedited four expreſſes to Aldringer, and beſought him to join him at his general rendevous in the duchy of Brunſwic, which diſtreſſed unfortunate country he conſidered improperly enough as an aſylum; for the emperor had beſtowed upon

* Suecum vincere, victoriâ uti neſciviſſe. Loccen. 587.

† Swediſh Intelligencer.

‡ Quod militiæ dehoneſtamentum quantum a Tillio abfuerit, ſciunt qui hominem novêre. Brachel. Hiſt. noſtr. temp. p. 266.

‖ Lettre d'un Capitaine, &c. à un ſien ami.

him,

1631. him, by way of gratification, a conſiderable part of the territories of the brave duke Chriſtian, who was alſo biſhop of Halberſtadt. From Aſcherleben he ſhaped his courſe through the dioceſe of Hildeſheim, and arrived in ten days after the battle at Alvede, a little town on the river Leyne, which afterwards paſſes through Hanover. This journey may be conſidered more as a flight than a march, for in that time he had led his troops 140 miles.

The king of Poland had long lain wait for the event of a deciſive battle, hoping, if Tilly had proved once ſucceſsful, to have recovered all that the Swedes poſſeſſed in Pruſſia: but matters taking a contrary turn, he thought proper to offer up his incenſe to the conquering party. His Daniſh majeſty made public rejoicing at Copenhagen; yet ſo deeply rooted was his jealouſy of Guſtavus, that he privately wiſhed well to the houſe of Auſtria. Guſtavus knew both theſe kings to the very bottom, and choſe to build upon their fears much rather than upon their adulation. On the other hand, the dukes of Brunſwic and Lunenberg were more diſtinct; and the prince of Anhalt, with all his family, made no ceremony of eſpouſing the cauſe of Sweden by public treaty; wherein it was declared by him, That repoſing himſelf upon the protection of Guſtavus, his intention was to contribute his contingency towards the expences of the war, allowing the Swedes to erect fortifications wherever the king pleaſed, and conſtruct a bridge over the Elb; towards the completion of which latter work he agreed to furniſh both men and money *. Guſtavus, moderate in proſperity, as well as undiſmayed in adverſity, received all theſe princes with thankfulneſs, and careſſed them all: and though the elector of Saxony, after the battle, expected, as we obſerved before, but cold reception from a prince of ſo much valour, ſeverity, and frankneſs, yet our hero commended him for the infinite pains he took to rally his men, and for the ſenſible regret he manifeſted upon account of their miſbehaviour. The elector charmed with a treatment ſo unexpected vowed to follow the fortunes of Guſtavus to his laſt moments, and offered the whole of his aſſiſtance to procure him to be elected king of the Romans. But the Saxon generals and

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. 179.

miniſters,

miniſters, who were moſt of them penſioners to the court of Vienna, 1631.
ſoon induced their maſter to change his ideas: nevertheleſs, as to all outward appearance the two princes lived together in good intelligence; *manente in ſpeciem concordia.*

By this time, as a ſort of natural conſequence from the victory of Leipſic, Guſtavus began to diſcover, that civil affairs encreaſed upon his hands, as well as the military; and for theſe reaſons ordered Oxenſtiern, who had been abſent from him ever ſince his arrival in Germany, to relinquiſh his warlike command in Pruſſia, and take upon him the office of director general in the new-conquered countries; or, as others ſay, *legatus ab exercitu.* The chancellor ſet out immediately upon this charge, which ſeemed more congenial to the bent of his inclinations, and the natural caſt of his abilities; yet reached not Halle till the king had croſſed Thuringia, and conquered great part of Franconia.

Mean while it was diſcuſſed, in the evening of the entertainment we have lately mentioned, by what methods, and through what inroads the Swediſh and Saxon troops ſhould invade the empire, and the allies of the Imperial family; proper departments being already aſſigned to the elector of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the dukes of Mechlenberg. On both hands it was compendiouſly agreed, that to purſue Tilly into Lower-Saxony would remove the ſeat of war too far from Vienna and Munich, and revive a new ſcene of diſtreſs and miſery among the proteſtant princes of that circle. This ſcheme therefore being conſidered as injudicious and chimerical, only two roads preſented themſelves, whereby it was poſſible to invade or annoy the houſe of Auſtria and the catholic league; namely, the left hand paſſage by way of Bohemia, ſtrait to Vienna, which appeared at firſt ſight moſt practicable, as the road (excepting ſuch defiles and mountains as you find on the northern and ſouthern frontiers) was plain and wide, the country itſelf abounding in good proviſions of all ſorts; and as the Imperialiſts had prepared no troops in thoſe parts by way of oppoſition;—and the right hand entrance into Thuringia, which might lead at length as far as Munich, but where many digreſſive conqueſts were to be made, and princes of various complexions to be cajoled or threatned, where the inhoſpitable

1631. inhoſpitable foreſt, called the Duringer-Walt, was to be croſſed, and laſtly, where the roads were narrow, ſerpentine, and miry, and interſected, eſpecially near Bavaria, by rivers and moraſſes, too numerous to be here recounted.

The elector of Saxony not daring, or not chuſing to annoy the houſe of Auſtria more than was needful, frankly made the king an offer of reſigning to him the Bohemian paſſage into Auſtria, which Guſtavus rejected in a firm and plenary manner, without aſſigning any reaſons. It is thought by many, that he entertained no high opinion of Arnheim's honeſty, and placed as little confidence in the elector's abilities or ſincerity. Nor was he ſatisfied, in caſe theſe difficulties could have been removed, that the field-marſhal or his maſter were capable of reducing to obedience even the ſingle circle of Franconia, inaſmuch as Tilly, when he had once conjoined his troops with thoſe of Aldringer, Fugger, and the Lorainers, might return upon them (as neareſt to him) with great fury, and give them, in all probability, a total overthrow. For he ſaw too plainly in the day's ſervice at Leipſic, that the Saxon generals and Saxon ſoldiers, however well intentioned, could perform but little in oppoſition to the rough and well-ſeaſoned veterans of the Imperial army. For theſe reaſons he thought it prudent to engage their honeſty no farther than his own eye could ſuperintend it, nor embark them ſo deeply, as to run the riſque of ſacrificing the whole upon any miſcarriage on their part; concluding it more adviſable juſt to keep them in breath by maintaining a diverſion, and enure them to an apprenticeſhip in war, before they ſate up for principals and maſters in ſuch a difficult profeſſion.——Having therefore well arranged and adjuſted all theſe ideas in his own mind, he pronounced only the reſult of his private reaſonings to the aſſembly, declaring in a few words, That as the princes and orders of Sileſia had conſidered the elector of Saxony as the firſt protector of the proteſtant cauſe ever ſince the breaking out of the Bohemian troubles, it was highly incumbent on the ſaid elector to fix his footing in Sileſia, and then extend his conqueſt into Bohemia.——That for his own part, with the concurrence of his electoral highneſs, he had reſolved once for all to penetrate through Thuringia into Franconia,

having

having already prepared all things neceſſary for ſuch an expedition; 1631.
being determined not only to allow a breathing-ſpace to the princes and ſtates of Upper-Germany, but to make the enemy a viſit in his own lodgings, and give Tilly a ſecond chance, if he thought proper to confront him in the field of battle *. Thus ſpoke the king, and as no man replied, both the debate and the converſation ended, though the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the dukes of Mechlenberg, and the princes of the houſe of Anhalt and Weymar were all preſent at this auguſt aſſembly.

About this time Chriſtian Margrave of Culmbach entered into a confederation with his majeſty upon the ſelf ſame footing as that, which had been concluded with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, to which the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg afterwards acceded; which gave the Swedes great credit in the circle of Suabia. The biſhop of Bamberg || made pretence too of copying the examples above mentioned, and ſaved himſelf for the preſent by a mean act of equivocal interpretation: but the Swedes remembered him at a more convenient ſeaſon, ſo that upon the whole he loſt the reputation of a man of honour, and gained nothing but the character of a diſſembler, who attempted fruitleſsly to over-reach a prince of ſuperior talents.

The king then diſpatched Chemnitz †, and another deputy, named Relinghen, to the Margrave of Brandenburg's ‡ place of reſidence: and from Bareüth inſtructed them to paſs forwards, and ſound the intentions of the Nurenbergers, and other proteſtants, with orders to uſe both kind words and menacing innuendoes. Chemnitz acquitted himſelf very plauſibly in the embaſſies, but the Nurenbergers at firſt had not courage to make any declarations againſt the houſe of Auſtria: for indeed they had but juſt tranſmitted a paper of allegiance to Aldringer, ſealed and ſigned in due form by the whole body of their patricians. Poppy too, an Imperial deputy, who then reſided at Amberg, conſtantly reminded them of this ſolemn engagement: ſo that the moſt they offered was a ſort of neutrality, upon which the king wrote them a letter with his own hand, therein obſerving, *That he ſaw through the*

* Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 180.

|| John George de Dornheim, elected 1622, died 1633.

† This was not the hiſtorian, but one Martin Von Chemnitz, a privy-counſellor.

‡ Chriſtian Margrave of Brandenburg.

1631. *ſurfaces of their hearts the Imperial intereſts in full proportion and diſtinctneſs at bottom; and that the middle courſe, which they propoſed to ſteer, was calculated upon no other principle, than to amuſe and deceive him. For my own part,* continued he, *I look upon all neutralities with an eye of contempt, and ſhall treat neutral proteſtants upon the footing of enemies, wherever I find them.* This letter being read in the public ſenate-houſe, where upwards of 200 Patricians were then aſſembled, either terrified them into reaſon, or ſerved as a pretext to juſtify them for relinquiſhing the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria. Upon this the whole magiſtracy enclined unanimouſly to the cauſe of Sweden, and ſigned afterwards a treaty of alliance in conjunction with the other orders and ſtates of the circle of Franconia. Chemnitz then received freſh inſtructions to continue at Nurenberg, and the other deputy paſſed on to Ulm, and from thence to Guntzburg, in which journey, being by profeſſion a captain of horſe, he fell with his little eſcort on an Imperial commiſſary, guarded by a body of twenty muſqueteers, and having killed that officer with a piſtol-ball, carried along with him on to Straſburg the ſtrong box, which contained upwards of a thouſand pounds, and conſecrated the whole ſum to his maſter's ſervice.

Mean while the king, conformably to his late plan (it being now only ten days after the battle of Leipſic) advanced at the head of his army to render himſelf maſter of Erfurt, a large city in the famous foreſt of Thuringia, dependant by dubious and diſputable tenure on the elector of Mentz *, which prelate was the firſt prince of the catholic league, againſt whom Guſtavus thought proper to commence hoſtilities. Nevertheleſs, before it was poſſible for him to demand admiſſion, a body of delegated magiſtrates reſpectfully told him, that he was extremely welcome to make his reſidence among them in perſon, but begged to be excuſed from admitting a garriſon. His anſwer was, *That he came as a friend, and not as an enemy: and for their advantage preferably to his own; that it was never his cuſtom to make ſtrangers his guards, and place himſelf in ſuch a ſituation as to be obliged to receive laws from other men; Alterius non ſit,*

* Frederic Greiffenclau, biſhop of Worms; elected by the chapter 1626 in the room of John Suïcard, whoſe family name was Cronenberg. For the various claims and pretenſions to Erfurt the reader may conſult *La Geographie de Hubner*, Tom. vi. p. 258.

qui

qui ſuus eſſe poteſt. Theſe were the very words he made uſe of on the occaſion; and upon the departure of theſe venerable ſenators, ordered duke William of Sax-Weymar, under pretence of eſcorting them with an honorary body of horſe, to ſqueeze into the city at the ſame time, that they entered. He then told the inhabitants in a long ſpeech, that may be conſidered not only as a public juſtification of himſelf for entering Germany, but as a pattern of chriſtian magnanimity, and religious moderation, "That the public might be curious to be informed of what nature and "cogency thoſe motives were, which induced him firſt to interpoſe in the "Germanic ſyſtem." *I embark*, ſaid he, *in a war far from my native dominions, and ſeem to court thoſe dangers and difficulties, which another man might labour to decline: but the ſearcher of the human heart well ſees and knows, that it was neither ambition, that tempted me, nor the avarice of extending my dominions, nor the appetite of fighting, nor the miſchievous petulance of interfering. Other object I had none, than to ſupport the afflicted and oppreſſed, to maintain the religious and civil rights of ſociety, and bear my teſtimony againſt a tyranny over the whole human nature. The Supreme Being hitherto hath conferred upon me the marks of a providential concurrence, and has rendered me the willing, but unworthy inſtrument of reſtoring liberty both corporal and mental to the late unhappy inhabitants in the various provinces of Lower-Germany. But, my friends, let us always remember, that in this general ſtorm and wreck of mankind, no one intereſted perſon muſt propoſe to glean any ruins to himſelf, nor ſit abjectly lamenting with his arms folded, when the helm requires one man, when the anchor aſks a ſecond, and the ſails demand a third. It is well known, I ſolicited for peace before my army entered Germany: I aſked for it a ſecond time very near the period of the inhuman maſſacre at Magdeburg; and am open to receive it now, even fourteen days after the deciſive victory of Leipſic.——But the inſtinct of God prompts me ſtill to continue amongſt you, and the neceſſity of things (in the firſt chain of which I had no concern) compels me to protect and make conditions for my allies, my kinſmen, and brethren in religion: nor will I ever deſert them, till God reſumes that exiſtence, which at preſent he has thought fit to make my portion.——I acknowledge, with gratitude to the Supreme Being, that my mind is yet firm, and my body robuſt; I thank him likewiſe for* 1631.

1631. *having bleſſed me with no vulgar ſucceſs, and for enduing me with abilities capable of applying that ſucceſs to ſuitable purpoſes: nevertheleſs I am neither vain-glorious in my paſt proſperities, nor inapprehenſive of the future frowns of providence. It is certain too, that I contend with an army of veteran troops, rendered maſters of their profeſſion by experience, and ſharpened afreſh by diſappointment and deſpair: and beſides all this, it is a point inconteſtable, that war, in the very beſt hands, is a game of uncertainty.——If I oppreſs any man, merely through the urgency of circumſtances, it is I that feel, as well as he:—if I requeſt you to receive a garriſon, and expend ſome money in new-fortifying your city, it is becauſe I would verify that protection, which I ſincerely promiſe you. It had never been my cuſtom firſt to conquer, and then enſlave; and of this the town of Riga is an inſtance undeniable. You too may repoſe on the ſincerity of my protection, when I aſſure you, that I intend to leave among you, as a pledge or depoſitum, the invaluable object of all my affections in this world, and that is the queen of Sweden* †.*

His majeſty, when the town-deputies met him between Halle and Erfurt, had graciouſly given them his word of honour to protect the liberties of the people, and not interrupt the eſtabliſhed religion, with which the magiſtrates appeared highly contented. Nevertheleſs, being extremely delicate with regard to all imputations of ſubterfuge and retractation, he reduced his engagements under nine diſtinct articles into writing ‡, which being duly ſigned and ſealed, gave ſuch redoubled ſatisfaction to the principal inhabitants of the town and diſtrict, that they preſented on their ſide a counterpart-proteſtation, wherein (after having firſt obliged themſelves by oath to continue faithful and obedient to him, his heirs, his crown and allies during the whole period of this religious war) they engaged to defend their town *bona fide* againſt all hoſtile attacks; to attempt nothing to the detriment of his majeſty's arms, but, on the contrary, make diſcovery of all things, that tended to his prejudice; concluding with this general proteſtation, that they enrolled themſelves under the king's protection with ſubmiſſion and gratitude,

* Chemnit. Tom. i. pag. 184—187.

† When her majeſty arrived, the ſeat of war was removed ſo far from Erfurt, that the completion of the promiſe ſeemed entirely to be unneceſſary.

‡ The author of the Swediſh Intelligencer gives us twelve, Part ii. p. 4.

ſincerely,

ſincerely, candidly and irreproachably, in a manner befitting liberal per- 1631.
ſons, and men of honour *.

The king, who always made the tour of every city the firſt leiſure moment after he had conquered it, (for he loved to ſee the populace, and found it his intereſt likewiſe to be ſeen by them) directed his ſteps, as ſome think by deſign, into the church of St. Peter, and meeting the abbot at his firſt entrance, requeſted him to adviſe his ſovereign *to withdraw his troops from the army of the league, and not ſtrengthen the enemies of the proteſtants: that for his own part he bore no ill will to the electoral body, and ſhould be greatly mortified, if obliged to uſe them contrary to his intentions: that the emperor only, was his man and his object: and as the Imperial ſoldiers had robbed him of a beaver-hat † in Pomerania, he was come thus far to re-demand it* ‡.

When the jeſuits threw themſelves at his feet, he raiſed them from the ground, and ſaid, *They had much to anſwer for before God's tribunal, on account of the commotions they had raiſed, and the blood they had occaſioned to be ſpilt throughout the world. That for his own part he was ſo far a jeſuit, as to be able to comprehend, that their projects were ill intentioned, their proceedings oblique, and their maxims dangerous. That it would become them more to peruſe their breviaries, and handle their roſaries (in imitation of the decorum and moderation of other good catholic eccleſiaſtics,) than to embroil themſelves in the intrigues of ſtate, and make the world a ſea of blood: exhorting them to continue in repoſe, and advertiſe their brethren of this diſcourſe, ſince if they remained inactive, and in profound ſubmiſſion, ſtrict care ſhould be taken, that no perſon ſhould moleſt them* ‖.

Things being thus adjuſted and explained, he gave the papiſts aſſurances, that they had the free liberty to continue undiſturbed in the exerciſes of their religion, or ſell their eſtates and effects, and retire into what country they pleaſed: but as to ſuch, as had deſerted their places of abode without waiting for an explanation, he ſhould make no ſcruple to confiſcate their goods in order to fit up the manſion deſtined for the reception of his royal conſort. With regard to the proteſtant

* Chemnit. Tom. i. 188.
† See the rencounter between him and Sirot.
‡ Le Soldat Suedois, p. 147.
‖ Ibid. p. 148.

clergy,

1631. clergy, as likewiſe ſchool-maſters and profeſſors in the univerſity, he placed them with ſingular honour under his own immediate protection, and exempted them from the diſagreeableneſs of quartering ſoldiers, or contributing in any ſhape towards the expences of the war. With reſpect to the catholic eccleſiaſtics, he contented himſelf with their declaring ſolemnly, that they would no ways prejudice the Swediſh crown, nor the allies of Sweden. He then in the laſt place, having made a treaty with the dukes of Sax-Weymar, appointed William, the elder brother, a prince extremely popular, and who had many connexions in thoſe parts, to be governor of the city and diſtrict of Erfurt (which contains about ſeventy-three pariſhes) and the whole province of Thuringia: nominating the count of Lowenſtein to be commander of the garriſon *, and referring all civil matters to Sternberg, who acted in the double capacity of judge and public miniſter. In like manner, ſome days before, he created Lewis, prince of Anhalt, ſtadtholder of Halle, and director of the duchy of Magdeburg, joining with him Stalman as chancellor, and colonel Sneydwin † as military commander in the city, and preciſely for the ſame reaſons; cautiouſly avoiding to put native Swedes into ſuch employment for fear of giving umbrage to the Germans.

His majeſty now ‡ turned all his thoughts towards the reduction of Franconia, a circle of more importance to the Imperialiſts than any other, as it afforded them means of reſiſting and retarding their aggreſſors, partly from the abundance of narrow defilés and difficult paſſes, and partly from the rocky and unequal nature of the ground in various places: yet though one half of the country be wild, woody, and ſcantily peopled, which renders the march of an enemy highly diſagreeable, yet the other half, at the ſame time, vies with any tract or territory in the empire, both for populouſneſs of inhabitants, and for a plentiful ſupply of corn and forage, which might have enabled the defendants to have pro-

* The garriſon conſiſted of Fowle's Scottiſh regiment, conſiſting of 1500 men. For the preſervation of the province of Thuringia were left behind, Conroille's regiment of cavalry: and Lowenſtein's; Mitzval's, Monro's, and Forbes's regiments of infantry, with four companies of foot, commanded by lieutenant colonel Chemnitz; all veteran troops of eſtabliſhed reputation.

† He had been an old officer under the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg.

‡ *i. e.* Fourteen days after the battle of Leipſic.

tracted

tracted their reſiſtance, or made a vigorous oppoſition in ſuch very manner as pleaſed them beſt. But Tilly had over-ſhot theſe objects, in marching ſo precipitately to the north-weſt, which may be conſidered as a ſignal overſight; for on his returning to relieve Wurtzburg, he found Guſtavus had adjuſted his game in ſuch a manner, that he had reſerved to himſelf the grand privileges of ſtarving the Imperialiſts, and declining an engagement. 1631.

The king, partly to extend his conqueſts, and partly to ſubſiſt his army (which conſiſted of 20,000 effective men) through the fatigues of a long and painful march, where proviſions were to be obtained with difficulty, and the circumſtance of tranſporting his artillery was very perplexing, judged extremely well to divide his forces into two bodies, in order to croſs, with greater conveniency, the vaſt foreſt of Thuringia, ſo unfurniſhed of villages and market-towns. The column, which took the right-hand road, was committed to the care of Bauditzen, as commander in chief, and colonel Hepburn. Bauditzen made himſelf maſter of Smalcalden, Meinungen, Newſtadt, Hamelburg, Gemund, and Carlſtadt, as he paſſed along. This general was as cool in reflection, and as brave in execution, as any officer, that ſerved under the king; but to theſe uncommon ſhining qualities was ſuperadded the tarniſhing character of a low and dirty rapaciouſneſs *. Hence it was, that in order to ſqueeze contributions from the inhabitants of the principal cities, through which his rout lay, he conſented to quarter his ſoldiers in little corps and open fields; and thus in a march of only eight days duration †, contrived to put five thouſand pounds into his pocket without the privity of his royal maſter; nor did he impart a ſingle dollar

* He married Madamoiſelle Rantzau, a lady born in Holſtein, who (though a co-heireſs with three other ſiſters) brought him an extraordinary fortune for that age and country; namely, 16000 l. ſterling.

† There is ſomething ſurprizingly rapid in Guſtavus's motions, even in bad roads, and at a time when he was encumbered with very heavy artillery; for from a diary of this march it appears, that Bauditzen croſſed the foreſt (twenty-ſeven miles) in two days: lay the third night at Meinungen (thirteen miles and an half:) the fourth at Millerſtadt (thirteen miles and a half: the fifth at Newſtadt (thirteen miles and an half:) the ſixth at Gemund, (thirteen miles:) the ſeventh at Carlſtadt (nine miles;) and the eighth at Wurtzburg (nine miles.) So that in this expedition he marched *one hundred and eleven miles and an half* in eight days, and received the capitulations of ſix conſiderable towns as he paſſed along. But the king reached Wurtzburg, and took it before his lieutenant-general arrived.

to

1631. to the brave Hepburn, and ſuch other officers as acted under him. When the king heard the ſtory, he thought proper to remove him to a more remote command in Pomerania, partly from a deteſtation of ſuch practices, and partly becauſe the troops proteſted they did not care to ſerve under ſuch a general; though probably one half of that objection reſulted from his having made no participants in his extortion. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that the land-officers in that age dealt a little too largely in prize-money; which hung like a dead weight on his majeſty's ſpirits, who foreſaw wiſely (upon ſuppoſition troops were warmly cloathed, well fed, and punctually paid) that ſuch kind of practices muſt in time ſubvert all diſcipline, all principle, and all military enthuſiaſm: for nothing renders ſoldiers ſo cruel, and ſo puſillanimous, as the love of money;

——*Ibit, qui zonam perdidit, aiunt.*

And therefore, as we ſhall obſerve more particularly on another occaſion, it was a ſort of maxim with Guſtavus, which he always threw out to his officers, as they ſtood round him; *That the ſcience of war was an humane and liberal profeſſion; and that he ever drew a line of partition between the man of ſervice and the ruffian; the hero and the Croatian.* Nor did the king in this exception lay any reſtraint on the freedom of his own conduct; for he, Pappenheim, Horn, Gaſſion, &c. were all men of very exact and regular lives, and ſo was Tilly; if we except his bigotry and cruelty at the ſiege of Magdeburg, They performed far greater exploits in the field, than "thoſe extraordinary heroes, whoſe immorali-" ties (ſays an ingenious author *,) "make almoſt as much noiſe as " their victories."

But to return to the route, which his majeſty purſued: the morning he left Erfurt, he ſent a meſſage to the count of Schwartzenberg †, that

* M. Bayle, under the article of Henry IV.

† He or one of the name had been the Imperial ambaſſador to England. He offended the French ambaſſador much at London in 1622, by paying his compliments to the Spaniſh ambaſſador firſt. Some of this nobleman's predeceſſors (their family names were Gunter) ſettled in England with the Saxons. And this branch enjoyed conſiderable poſſeſſions in Berkſhire and elſewhere in the beginning of the laſt century. The chief of the family was created a prince in 1671; and the country hath been ſince ſtyled a principality. The old Engliſh hiſtorians call the Gunters, *Guthrumni*.

he

MAP OF
FRANCONIA &c.
Relative to the History
of
Gustavus Adolphus

UPPER RHINE

LOWER RHINE

SWABIA

UPPER SAXONY

BOHEMIA

Fulda
Vacha
Arnstadt
Ruddelstat
Gunter Castle
Schwartzenburg
Sala R.
Smalcalden
Ilmenau
Meiningen
Wasfeldt
Schleusing
Hennebeg
Hilpershausen
Millerstadt
Konigshoven
Bischoffsheim
Neustat
Coburg
Rodach R.
Lichtenberg
Cronach
Cronach R.
Hoffe
Steinach
Kissingen
Lauringen
Saul R.
Gelttersheim
Schweinfurt
Hasfurt
Main R.
Culmbach
Weys Mein R.
Rot Mein R.
Egra R.
Eger R.
Halstadt
Bamberg
Bareuth
Eltman
Rauch Ebrach R.
Reich Ebrach R.
Wesent R.
Forcheim
Pudlach R.
Kraunen R.
Erlang
Pruck
Furt
Neustadt
Aurach R.
Herzog Aurach
Wurtzburg
Inhoffen
Kitzingen
Aich R.
Selgenstat
Ochsenfurt
Marienberg
Bischoffsheim
Gerolzheim
Mergentheim or Marient dal
Roting
Golach R.
Wintheim
Zenn R.
Altchberg
Lauff
Hersbruck
Sultzbach
Amberg
Castel
Gnadenberg
Wolfstein
Burgstal
Schwabach
Rotenberg
Bibach R.
Tauber R.
Laxt R.
Ansbach
Lichtenau
Rott
Altmul R.
Rednitz R.
Nab R.
Tauber R.
Pleinfeld
Feuchtwang
Guntzenhausen
Weissenburg
Wiltzberg
Pappenheim
Ottingen
Bopfingen
Norlingen
Caisham Cloyster
Ingolstadt
Neustat
Donauwert
Neuburg
Ratisbon
Kelheim
Straubingen
Pfriembs R.
Felden
Pegnitz R.
Wils R.
Dawbe R.
Vils R.
Mosbach
Frankendal
Ladenberg
Heidelberg
Guttenberg
Helmstat
Wimpfen
Spires
Sintzheim
Hailbron
Halle
Lauffen
Marbach
Neckar R.
Kocher R.
Jaxt R.
Murr R.
Rhein R.
Lutra R.
Gernsheim
Tippenheim
Oppenheim
Stockstadt
Darmstadt
Dieburg
Babenhausen
Sultzbach
Seligenstadt
Steinheim
Offenbach
Gustavusburg
Russelheim
Saxenhausen
Wisbaden
Hoechst
Hanau
Frankfort
Aschaffenburg
Idstein
Konigstein
Cronberg
Gelenhausen
Wertheim
Transfeldt
Mittenberg
Klingenberg
Proceldern
Karlstatt
Werntheim
Rotenfels
Tettelbach
Hilmelport
Mayn R.
Lohr
Rensaw R.
Proceldern
Gemund
Steinau
Diest
Longitude E. from Ferro
British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree.
5 10 15 20 25 30 35
German Miles 15 to a Degree.
1 2 3 4 5 6
T. Kitchin Sculp.
To front page 433. Vol. I.

he purposed to take a bed in his castle of Gunter, near Arnstadt, the en- 1631.
suing evening. The nobleman was very uneasy at this unexpected frankness, because one of his ancestors had done the Swedes great mischief in a former war. He was weak enough to make his apologies on that head: but Gustavus told him smilingly and composedly, *That he had nothing to fear, inasmuch as his predecessor had acted like a man of honour and fidelity; and that he only desired such a brave and affectionate set of officers under himself.* During this visit, a party, detached from the main army, took Gotha by surprize; and the king dispatched letters of accommodation to the two principal personages of the catholic league in Franconia; namely, the bishops of Wurtzburg * and Bamberg. He then, having refreshed his men a little at Ilmenau, traversed that dreary and unhospitable tract called the Duringer-Walt; and as the troops broke up their quarters early, and reached them late, the route proposed to be pursued was illuminated mornings and nights with matches affixed to trees, and lanterns erected on stationary posts at befitting distances. The difficulties of transporting the artillery through this forest (which occurred to me at the time I crossed it) were sufficient to have dismayed any general less enterprizing than Gustavus. Nevertheless, he surmounted the rocks and hills, steered his course dextrously along the precipices, and glided between the thick woods in so adroit and serpentine a manner, that he reached the south-west boundaries of this wild or walt on the third evening; having presented himself, as he passed along, before the strong castle of Masfelt (which being since dismantled, lies now in an heap of ruins,) whilst an advanced party of his light-horse had the good fortune to seize Dacosta, governor of the fortress, and commissary over the district round it, who at that time, like a vigilant warrior, was amusing himself in coursing a hare. In consequence of this unparalleled carelessness on the part of the commander, this important strong-hold surrendered to the conqueror upon easy terms. His majesty pursued his journey next morning to Koënigshofen; not the Koënigshofen, which stands on the Tauber, (for there are two towns of the name in the circle of Franconia) but that, which appertaineth to

* Francis Hatzfelt.

1631. the biſhop of Wurtzburg, and is the key to that dioceſe, and the dioceſe of Bamberg. As the numerous garriſons in the town and caſtle ſeemed to make preparations for no vulgar reſiſtance, the king thundred upon them by break of day from ſuch batteries, as he could erect the preceding night; for he wanted this town exceedingly (it being victualled for a twelve-month's reſiſtance, no uncomfortable allurement to an hungry army:) yet during this momentary ſiege, whilſt his mind was kept upon the ſtretch of impatience, he gave the public a very particular example of humanity; for having battered down one of the principal towers, he ſent word to the garriſon, *That his intention was to lay the whole city in aſhes; but if they would ſend out the women and children, he would give them a courteous and hoſpitable reception* *.

Struck with ſuch marks of benignity, joined to a valour and firmneſs, which they had thoroughly experienced, the beſieged capitulated immediately, with very ſlight degrees of ceremony; though few places of the ſame ſize with Koënigſhofen (it being the magazine and arſenal of the dioceſe of Wurtzburg, as well as the principal fortreſs) could be ſuppoſed to be better furniſhed with ammunition, proviſions, arms, and artillery: and in this ſuppoſed aſylum was depoſited great part of the wealth and rich moveables, that belonged to the nobility and gentry, who lived in the diſtrict, which lay round it. One good regiment was left in the town by way of garriſon, and Erneſt, another prince of the houſe of Sax-Weymar, and brother to William and Bernard, was appointed governor. It was during this ſiege, that the king gave an extraordinary proof not only of his intrepidity, but that he imagined no ſoldiers, even thoſe belonging to the enemy, could be guilty of a cowardly and illiberal action. For riding up within half a muſquet ſhot of the town-gate, after he had ſent a trumpeter to ſummon the garriſon to capitulate, he obſerved the guards blowing their matches to give fire againſt his perſon; *Sacrament* †! cried he, (the only time we ever obſerved him to ſwear)

* Soldat Suedois, p. 151. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 7.

† Though I cite this paſſage in the manner I find it, yet it's doubtful to me, whether the king made uſe of the ſort of oath (not uncommon in German mouths) which is here mentioned: for it

ſwear) if you diſcharge one piece, the king ſhall know it: and he hath made a vow, that in caſe ſuch an accident ſhould happen, that not a ſingle ſoul ſhall receive quarter; but if you treat fairly, your own conditions ſhall then be granted you *. 1631.

Next morning (for the ſiege and capitulation laſted only one day) his majeſty, willing to improve on the enemy's conſternation, and verify what was ſaid of him (partly out of pure deſpite to Tilly) by the partizans of Walſtein; *namely, that he conquered the firſt circle of the empire, before the expreſſes could carry the news of his irruption to the court of Vienna*; purſued his road to Sweinfurt with all imaginable alacrity; for he marched his army twenty-ſix miles in one day, at the diſtance of three weeks from the autumnal equinox, and that, maugre the hard ſervice of the day preceding, and the march the day anterior to that, from Schleüſſing to Koënigſhofen, which may be computed at twenty miles and one half.

In the ſpace of a ſingle hour, his majeſty inveſted Sweinfurt, and admitted the governor into a capitulation, allowing the garriſon to retire to Wurtzburg, and appointing Charles Harte to be commander of the town, at the head of a regiment well approved and thoroughly experienced. In the middle of the day's march to this place, an old Imperial captain with one eye, aſſiſted by ſuch reſolute peaſants as he could aſſemble together, took poſſeſſion of a wooden houſe, that projected into the ſtreet of a little village or dorp, called Lauringen, (through which place lay a narrow and difficult paſs) and ſtopped the whole van-guard of the Swediſh cavalry for a very conſiderable time, till at length the dragoons found themſelves obliged to diſmount, and cut this diminutive garriſon to pieces. When the king refreſhed himſelf at Lauringen ſome hours afterwards, and learnt what retardment

it was remarked of him [*Merc. Franc. Tom. XVI.*] that far from digreſſing into any raſh oath in the ordinary courſe of converſation, he was rarely or never known to be betrayed into a ſingle expreſſion of that kind, even under the influence of paſſion, or when any extraordinary event ſurprized him: and as a proof of this (ſince it is hardly probable he would have counterworked his own example) it was a fixt point of diſcipline with him, that whenever any ſoldier had been proved guilty either of curſing or ſwearing, he was condemned to ſtand for a conſiderable ſeaſon, with his hands tied up againſt a pike in ſuch manner, as if he implored the divine forgiveneſs.

* Appendix to the Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. 187.

1631. had been occaſioned to his progreſs by the inflexible obſtinacy of a ſingle man, he vowed (deſignedly, as it's thought, in order to acquire the knowledge of ſome ſecrets) to put the one eyed officer to death, for ſacrificing the poor peaſants, and making a reſiſtance, which ſavoured more of the madman than the ſoldier. In the tranſports therefore of this reſentment, he ſent for the provoſt-marſhal and the executioner; but neither one nor the other could be found *. Nevertheleſs, during the time, that was employed in theſe reſearches, the captain contrived to make his peace with his majeſty, by informing him of the ſtrength of Wurtzburg, and the approaches, that led to the fortifications: and thus the affair ended, not without reciprocal ſatisfaction on either ſide.

The amazing rapidity of the king's conqueſts, diſſolved immediately the catholic part of the aſſembly then convened at Francfort upon the Mayne, it being agreed both by papiſts and proteſtants, that the ſword might cut the difficulties of the edict of reſtitution, much ſooner than the nice hands of the Jus-publiciſts could pretend to unravel them. The firſt perſon, that fled, was the grand-maſter of the Teutonic order †, who ſate as preſident in this aſſembly, conſcious of an irreligious and imprudent ſpeech he had once made, namely, that the holy empire would never ſee a peaceable moment, till every proteſtant was maſſacred, who had arrived to the ſeventh year of his age. On this account he had no deſire to pay his compliments to a man of ſpirit like Guſtavus. Nor did the biſhop of Wurtzburg, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an uncommon zeal for the cauſe of the league, chuſe to receive a

* Chemnit. Tom. i. pag. i. This very circumſtance ſerves to confirm us, that the king's anger was only a paſſion aſſumed and perſonated; for there were four provoſts and an executioner at that time belonging to every regiment, that acted under him. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that he, who never committed one act of cruelty in all his campaigns, ſhould have put to death a brave old Walloon, who at that very inſtant was mortally wounded:—but knowing well, that the man deſpiſed ſimple death as much as himſelf, he therefore choſe to operate upon him by propoſing a ſort of exit, which carried with it an idea of diſgrace; and counterfeited anger for a few moments, in order to palliate and juſtify a reſolution (to the poor man's apprehenſion) which would otherwiſe have argued an inſenſibility in the heart, and an obliquity in the judgment of the Great Guſtavus.

† John Caſpar, prince of Anhalt: ſee the Court Regiſter of Vienna, Anno 1632. Hiſtor. or Authentic Relat. in Low Dutch, fol. Tom. i. 126. Hiſt. du Regne de Louïs XIII. par le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. P. 54.

Swediſh

Swediſh viſit in his own metropolis; but diſlodging thence juſt before the letter of ſummons reached the town, conſigned himſelf, boldly enough, into the army of the houſe of Auſtria, and for this reaſon, in the month of January following, was ſent ambaſſador into France in the name of all the catholic electors. 1631

The biſhop of Bamberg, who had parts inferior to this prelate, and leſs firmneſs, ſheltered himſelf, as perſons of little genius are apt to do, under the low arts of duplicity and evaſion: for having agreed by his deputies, (conformably to his own propoſals) not only to advance the king three tuns of gold*, and pay the ſame monthly contingent he paid the army of the league, but to recall his forces from the catholic ſervice, and deliver up the ſtrong fortreſſes of Torcheim and Cronach; he ſuddenly, upon the approach of Tilly, renounced all, that he had ſtipulated; which infamous violation of faith gave the king not only vexation, but a new ſcene of employment, and obliged him to detach Horne from the main army, in order to carry on a freſh war in the epiſcopal territories.

Guſtavus by this time was greatly pleaſed to find himſelf arrived within one day's march of the town of Wurtzburg: nevertheleſs, he had a previous work ſtill upon his hands, a point of nicety of the higheſt importance to him, an adopted favourite idea in one branch of his military ſyſtem; and that was, to ſecure to himſelf the free navigation of rivers, and the Mayne eſpecially, at the preſent conjuncture; for it was a doctrine with him, as war was then circumſtanced, (few towns being fortified ſo as to make more than a fortnight's reſiſtance) "That the general, who commanded the great rivers, commanded "more or leſs the countries adjacent; poſſeſſing himſelf of the moſt "fruitful tracts in corn and herbage, enabled to receive proviſions "from remote territories, and tranſport his heavy artillery with no "conſiderable difficulty." *I obſerve*, ſaid he, (and the obſervation at that time was true) *that countries are conquered upon the ſame principle they were firſt peopled; the method of war and the method of nature being in theſe caſes the ſame. Rivers are the great ducts and arteries in the mun-*

* About twenty ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling.

dane

1631. *dane ſyſtem: on the banks of rivers ſtand always the richeſt and moſt populous cities; nor can a general be compelled to fight, when one half of his entrenchments is the beſt natural foſſé in the world ready made to his hands; namely, a large and profound body of water* *. Upon this principle therefore his majeſty, (in conjunction with ſome other reaſons above aſſigned, not to mention, that he choſe to have the Mayne ſpread between him and Tilly) commanded Bauditzen to purſue a ſeparate route on the banks of the aforenamed river for the ſpace of thirty miles below Wurtzburg, himſelf directing his courſe the ſame number of miles on the banks of the ſaid river above the town, (for the Mayne here forms a ſort of an horſe-ſhoe) ſo that about one and the ſame time he and his lieutenant-general made themſelves maſters of Haſfurt, Gemund, Lohr, Volkach, Kitzing, Oxenfurt, Remlingen and Carlſtadt, all places of importance, which commanded the navigation of the Mayne. Nor was the taking theſe precautions unworthy of Guſtavus; for Tilly by this time being joined by Aldringer, Fugger, and the troops of Lorrain, advanced full ſpeed at the head of 50,000 men, in order to interrupt the ſiege of Wurtzburg. Nevertheleſs, the king, contented with poſſeſſing the bridges and paſſes, and not diſpleaſed with placing ſo deep a current as the Mayne between himſelf and his enemy, purſued his journey to Wurtzburg without diſmay, and having inveſted the city, and petarded one of its gates before nine in the morning, received a viſit from father Ogleby, abbot of the Scotch monaſtery, and a citizen, whom the magiſtracy had deputed to ſign terms of capitulation with him. Of courſe an interdiction was iſſued out againſt all hoſtilities, and articles were agreed upon without much ceremony, conformably to the model of thoſe, which had lately been concluded at Erfurt.

The rich and populous city of Wurtzburg lies in a ſemi-circle, and the river Mayne forms the diameter. The town, in point of ſtrength, was no great object, ſo that the magiſtrates ſent the keys thereof by Ogleby, after having made a very ſlight reſiſtance: during which, the Bohemian colonel Schevaliſki, an officer of great repute, was ſtruck in the ſide by an *arquébuſe à croc*, as he entertained Guſtavus with ſome re-

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part 2, p. 8.

marks.

marks. But the caſtle called Marienberg was really ſomething; it ſtands 1631.
to the weſtward of the city, and communicates with the town by means of a fair large bridge, conſiſting of ſix arches, and wide enough to admit threeſcore men to march in front. It is miſtreſs of the city beneath it, and is commanded by no adjacent hill. Being deemed inacceſſible, all the wealth of the country was heaped up in it. The only approach was on the ſide of the city, and that was hazardous beyond deſcription. The garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand men, abundantly ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions for a ſiege equal in duration to that of Oſtend. His majeſty ſent captain Keller, the commandant, the general compliment, which happens at the beginning of all ſieges; namely, a polite offer of decent terms, in caſe he thought fit to ſurrender. The brave German received the Swediſh deputies with great civility, and gave them an handſom ſupper at the beſt inn in the town: nevertheleſs, he perſiſted inflexible againſt all their propoſals, and during the courſe of the repaſt blew up one arch of the bridge. Next morning he tormented the aſſailants above meaſure by a perpetual diſcharge of his artillery, which, to render matters more diſagreeable, raked the bridge from one end to the other; ſo that, as the Swedes could only place one plank over the broken arch (and that plank was forty-eight feet above the ſurface of the water) it ſeemed to be a mixture of wantonneſs and raſhneſs to attempt to paſs over. Guſtavus ſeemed irreſolute for ſome moments what to do, for Tilly and the duke of Lorrain were in full march againſt him, at the diſtance of only three days journey from Wurtzburg: but after a ſlight pauſe he cut the dilemma ſhort, as Bauditzen and his army were expected to arrive the next day, by determining to take the caſtle at all hazards; and to this purpoſe employed one Ramſay (who talked excellent German) a Scots lieutenant in the regiment of Sir James Ramſay, to paſs over the plank in a habit of diſguiſe, and procure a boat or two from the neighbouring peaſants and fiſhermen: for the king ſaw plainly, that the watry ordeal of paſſing the plank would be extremely ſlow and hazardous, and that one company of Keller's men, poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the bridge, would overturn his ſingle ſoldiers as faſt as they arrived: he foreſaw too, that the uncommonly

dangerous

1631. dangerous and (to hardened veteran troops like his) ridiculous nature of the paſſage would engage the whole army's attention in a very barbarous and unprofitable ſort of pantomime. Be that as it may, the honeſt North-Briton undertook his commiſſion with great chearfulneſs and alacrity; but as he was endued with more courage than foreſight, he forgot to change a fine waiſtcoat, which the Imperialiſts ſoon diſcovered; nor did he regain his liberty till the caſtle of Marienberg was taken by ſtorm. Nevertheleſs, other expedients were found out, and a boat at length arrived, in which Guſtavus ſent over handfuls of men by little and little, who made a lodgment, and encreaſing imperceptibly, defended themſelves ſo well, that though Keller deſcended from his eminence to the foot of the rock, he found it impoſſible to force them. After a ſharp rencounter, the beſieged remounted to an half moon about mid-way up the precipice, and in that ſituation night came on. But before this, when the Swediſh ſoldiers in the town ſaw their comrades had croſſed the water, and began to entrench themſelves, they run over the plank like men poſſeſſed; ſo that no inconſiderable body of troops paſſed the river man by man in one afternoon *. At night care was taken to repair this paſſage in a better manner; but the king could not ſpare a moment's leiſure for that purpoſe the preceding day, waiting for the arrival of Bauditzen, and being in ſome ſuſpence about Tilly.

Having now fixt his footing on the ſouth ſide of the Mayne, he began to ſtudy the fortifications of Marienberg † with great attention, ſoon perceiving, that nature had done wonders, and art but little, if you except a deep graff or moat hewn out of the living rock, which environed the caſtle all round, of ſuch a depth and breadth, that there was no croſſing it, but in front of the main fortification by means of a narrow draw-bridge. If this foſſé, and the works, that protected the draw-bridge, had been out of the queſtion, the caſtle was nothing more than a magnificent Gothic palace, flanked at the angles with four principal towers in the antient taſte. Upon one of theſe towers, the king

* For the minute circumſtances of this ſiege ſee Chemnitz. Tom. i. 192. Monro, Part. ii. p. 78, &c. and Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 10—15.

† Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation in Low Dutch, Tom. i. fol. 145.

thundered

thundered all that night and two ſucceſſive days, excepting, not unrea- 1631.
ſonably, that the fall of this antique ſtructure might fill the ditch with rubbiſh and ruins. But the event, though the tower was at length levelled, did not anſwer the idea, which he had formed: ſo removing the intended attack from that quarter, he fixt his whole attention (the line of circumvallation being now finiſhed) firſt on the half moon abovementioned, and then on the caſtle gate and ſtone bridge over the ditch. In the firſt of theſe attacks, Sir James Ramſay (for the Scots, in conjunction with Axel Lily's regiment, had the honour of the action) had the misfortune to be ſhot through the left arm; but his camerade, Sir John Hamilton, carried on the aſſault with unparalleled bravery, and in two hours this important outwork was taken. The king ſurveyed all the action at a few paces diſtance, peeping through the ruins of an old gate-way between the bridge and the caſtle; but projecting his head and part of his body to iſſue out his orders with more diſtinctneſs, a cannon-ball flew directly towards him, and covered him with mortar and rubbiſh. He then ſtepped out to give ſome ſecond directions, and a muſquet-bullet ſtruck the top of his buff-leather-glove, and tore it off his hand: but Scheffer aſſures us, that at this ſiege, fighting in one attack at the head of his men, he received an ugly wound in the fleſhy part of his breaſt, and that the waiſtcoat ſtained with royal blood is ſtill preſerved in Sweden *.

Next morning he determined, at the head of his troops †, to make a ſecond general attack ſword in hand, at one hour before break of day, allotting this honour to Axel Lily's regiment, and the old blue brigade, ſupported afterwards by the whole body of Swediſh and German infantry, having firſt ſent a trumpeter to Keller with propoſals of ſuch a nature, as no ways miſbecame a brave commander and a reſolute garriſon; but the governor had no ears wherewith to liſten to an accommodation.—And here it may be worth obſerving, that chance very often produces wonderful events to the reſolute and determined; or, in other

* Memorabilia Suec. Gentis, p. 95. † Merc. Franc.

1631. words, in certain enterprizes of extreme peril, unforeſeen accidents preſent themſelves; but their paſſage is ſo ſwift, and their exiſtence ſo tranſitory, that only the intrepid man, or the ſagacious man can ſeize them flying.

In the midſt of the beſiegers preparations, and about half an hour before the general attack, a Swediſh lieutenant, born of Scottiſh parents*, with only ſeven followers †, (for what reaſons cannot be gueſſed) approached in the dark to the draw-bridge, which leads into the outward court of the caſtle, wherein were lodged near two hundred Imperialiſts. Being challenged, according to the word of the night, and aſked, who he and his party were, he replied abruptly and naturally, without any ſcheme or foreſight, *That they were Swedes*: from whence one may be induced to imagine, that he had never prepared himſelf to return an anſwer to ſuch ſort of queſtions; being an hero better calculated for blows than dialogue. Upon this the officer, who commanded the party within, attempted immediately to draw up the bridge, but the Lifelander jumped upon it with an extraordinary effort of activity, and his companions followed him: in conſequence whereof, the enemy took a ſudden panic, which darkneſs contributed to encreaſe, and recoiled with ſome confuſion, ſuppoſing great numbers to be ruſhing in. The lieutenant cried aloud to a large body of Swedes, which was ſtationed at no great diſtance from him; and thus the outward court of the caſtle was ſecured in an inſtant. Of courſe the fortreſs of Marienberg was now conquered: yet the king, who always had a great abhorrence to rude bloodſhed, and tumultuous murther, made freſh ſignals of accommodation to the garriſon; but Keller continued inflexible to the very laſt moment. Some hundreds of Imperialiſts threw away their lives with uncommon obſtinacy, till at length the Swedes cried out in a rage, *Magdeburg-quarter*, *Magdeburg-quarter*. Amongſt the dead, were found at leaſt twenty friars, who had occaſionally taken up the pike and the muſquet. The commander Keller was taken priſoner ſword in

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 14, &c.

† His majeſty hearing of this ſucceſs, entered the *ninth* man into the caſtle, Ibid.

hand,

hand, by colonel Torſtenſon *, who generouſly protected him: never- 1631.
theleſs, it was made a condition, that he ſhould diſcover a certain ſecret vault hewn into the rock, wherein ineſtimable treaſures, both in plate and money, were depoſited. Greater part of the wealth of the dioceſe was here concealed, as alſo the ſum, which the elector of Bavaria had ſent to Tilly in order to repair his ſhattered army after the unfortunate defeat at Leipſic. Corn and proviſions were found in abundance, and a very large quantity of wine †. An equerry belonging to the prelate made freſh diſcoveries, and amongſt other things, gave indications of a certain coffer, well filled with ducats, which Guſtavus conceived a thought of appropriating to the uſes of his own privy purſe; but its weight in the removal burſt the bottom; and as the ſoldiers caſt a longing eye on theſe glittering reliques, and began to pick them up for their maſter's uſe, with a private view to ſecrete here and there a few for themſelves, the king made a merit of neceſſity, and ſaid with a loud laugh, *I ſee plainly it muſt be ſo: let the rogues convert them to their own property* ‡.

Having allowed his ſoldiers to plunder with moderation for the ſpace of one hour, he reſerved nothing for his own uſe but the fine library of books (which was ſent to the univerſity of Upſal ‖, by way of repriſal upon Tilly, who had tranſported the Palatin collection to the Vatican,) as alſo the biſhop's magnificent ſervice of plate, and a ſtable of horſes, thought ſuperior to any in the empire: not to mention the artillery, which amounted to thirty large pieces, and all the ſmall arms,

* Leonard Torſtenſon, then general of artillery. He proved afterwards one of Guſtavus's moſt able ſucceſſors. The reader muſt be informed, that Monro by miſtake always calls him Richardſon.

† Honeſt Ferrand Spence, who worked in the bookſeller's manufactory of the laſt century, in tranſlating *Du Prade's life of* Guſtavus, having heard ſomething of the common random accounts of German hard-drinking, conceived a reſolution to ſtock the biſhop's cellars very copiouſly; for he ſays there were found in them ſome *millions of pipes of wine*, [*quelques milliers de tonneaux de vin.*]

The original of De Prade contains about 170 pages in duodecimo. It is not worthy of the name of an *epitome*, ſince I cannot perceive he has abridged any one author whomſoever. In a word, it is little more than an incorrect *index*, full of falſe dates, new and old ſtyle promiſcuouſly; juſt as he found them.

‡ Riccius de Bellis Germanicis.

‖ Schefferi Memorab. 149, 150.

1631. of which latter there was a quantity ſufficient to furniſh at leaſt 7000 men. It may be worth remarking, that amidſt all this ſcene of bloodſhed, confuſion, and plunder, not a nun was violated (though the nuns had refuged themſelves in this aſylum from all parts of the dioceſe *) not a matron affronted, nor a child terrified; for the royal orders were expreſſly calculated to the contrary: and what may alike merit our obſervation, is, that all the valuable effects in the vault, which belonged to the inhabitants of the city, were reſtored to them promptly and punctually. Free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was granted to all, that made profeſſion of it, and a new chamber of juſtice was erected, conſiſting of twelve members, half proteſtants and half papiſts, one moiety, gentlemen, and the other, civilians.

Nor muſt we omit two other circumſtances, which took their riſe from this ſiege: the firſt was, Hamilton was ſo offended, that the Scottiſh ſoldiers had not the honour of conducting the laſt aſſault, that he demanded his diſmiſſion from Guſtavus, which was immediately allowed him. The ſecond was, that when the king entered the caſtle, the very inſtant after it was ſtormed, he perceived, that the pavement of the court-yard was all covered with proſtrated bodies; but when he obſerved them more narrowly, diſcovered that ſome of the men (who did not care to be quite ſo much in earneſt as their commander) looked very florid in the countenance. Upon which, being by this time convinced, that part of the number only counterfeited death, he commanded them, with a chearful accent of voice, *to ariſe, for their lives were ſafe.* In conſequence of which, a part of the hundreds, whom my hiſtory killed in the preceding pages, ſtarted up from the ground, and returned his majeſty their beſt acknowledgments.

Upon taking Wurtzburg, and ſeveral other Roman catholic towns, ſome of the king's generals perſuaded him to lay heavy contributions on the citizens for making profeſſion of an erroneous, extravagant, and perſecuting religion. But his anſwer upon theſe occaſions was always to one effect; *It is now my city, and appertaineth no longer to the enemy: I came*

* Mercure François, ii Partie du Tome xvii. p. 78.

to unfetter the conſciences of my fellow creatures, and not enſlave them afreſh: 1631.
let free beings live as beſt pleaſeth them, conformably to their antient habitudes: I change no religious laws to thoſe, who act conſiſtently with ſuch laws as they have hitherto profeſſed;—a new, though a better ſhoe, may pinch too much at firſt. Adding ſometimes, *that the papiſts and proteſtants, ſuppoſing them ſincere in their ſearches after truth, and in its practice, were all God's workmanſhip.*—So that in effect, when he conquered a country, the Romaniſts loſt nothing but their prince, (which ſome did not greatly regret;) and the proteſtants regained the free exerciſe of their religion. Thus one party was tranſported with joy, and the other felt very little ſorrow.——Which humane and prudent deportment of Guſtavus recalls to my mind a ſimilar piece of conduct in one of his predeceſſors, and that no leſs perſon than Theodoric, king of the Goths, who ſhared the Roman empire with Juſtinian. A ſtrange and remote example, mankind may be apt to ſay! and yet not unworthy of being produced on this occaſion; for in one of his reſcripts he expreſſeth himſelf preciſely thus: *Aliorum forte regum prælia captarum civitatum prædas appetunt aut ruinas: nobis propoſitum eſt, Deo juvante, ſic vincere, ut ſubjecti ſe doleant noſtrum dominium tardius acquiſiſſe* *.

His Swediſh majeſty, if we conſider how zealouſly the biſhop of Wurtzburg † had appeared againſt him, ſent him terms upon the reduction of Marienberg, which were neither ſevere nor ungenerous, ſince it was only propoſed, that he ſhould pay the proteſtant army the ſame contingent, that he had ſubſcribed to the forces of the league, in the like proportions as he had contributed formerly, and at the ſame times of payment. In conſequence whereof he was likewiſe to diſclaim all connexions with the king's enemies, and redeem his territories from plunder at the expence of ſomething more or leſs than thirty-ſix thouſand pounds. Hatzfield, the then biſhop, made a ſemblance of entering into a fair and candid accommodation; but it was only a pretext to gain time, till Tilly, who was then only at nine miles diſtance, could take ſome opportunity to croſs the Mayne, and drive Guſtavus out of Franconia.

* Caſſiodor, lib iii. epiſt. 43.

† Philip Adolphus de Ehrenberg, elected December 29, 1622, died 1631, and then Francis Hatzfield was choſen.

But

1631. But before we leave Wurtzburg, it may not be improper to obſerve, that Sir Henry Vane was admitted to his firſt audience * with Guſtavus in this place, though the German, French, and Italian hiſtorians all ſuppoſe their firſt conference to have been held at Francfort. This new negotiator appeared to many but poorly qualified for the embaſſy he embarked in, inaſmuch as he was a perfect iſlander, and fulfilled to a tittle Barclay's obſervation upon us in the Euphormio, "*Angli ſua ſuoſque impensè mirantur, cæteras nationes deſpectui habent.*" Of courſe (which is a practice not uncommon to weak minds) he proceeded upon principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of his predeceſſor, Sir Thomas Roe, who was a man of a ſolid and enterprizing genius; himſelf on the other hand faſtidious and teaſing; *neſcivit, quod bene ceſſit, relinquere*; inſolent and national, narrow-minded, and prepoſſeſſed to the higheſt degree: and hence it was that Guſtavus *hated* him for his prejudices in home-affairs, and *deſpiſed* him for his weakneſſes in foreign ones. For he was a navigator, who ſailed by no general wind in the ocean of politics, but affected to lie becalmed in the briſkeſt gales; veering a little, or advancing a little, juſt as the breath blew from the court of Whitehall; and *that* (it is well known) never performed more than barely to diſturb the ſurface of the water; ſufficient to render objects indiſtinct and muddled, but not forcible enough to purify them, and make them conſpicuous. Roe, by the dint of judgment, and un-aſſiſted by the gift of divination, knew this politician to a tittle; and though ſome acrimony may be allowed him, as Vane ſupplanted him by mean court-artifices in the continuance of his embaſſy to Guſtavus, yet in his letter † to the queen of Bohemia he ſpeaks the words of good ſenſe, and manly reſentment; for he pronounces Vane *to be a bold undertaker*; by which animated expreſſion, he means no more than a ſervile and fooliſh one. "I know, ſays he, he cannot build upon my foundations.——This blow came from Vienna upon new pretences, that the "proſperity of the king of Sweden would make our treaty eaſy, (with

* November 7, 1631. See his letters in the Paper-Office. MSS.

† Dated London, November 20, 1631. MS.

reſpect

reſpect to the Palatinate) " if a man were employed, that would advance 1631.
" *peace*, to which I was eſteemed an enemy. I have honour enough in
" the ſincerity of my negotiations, and that God hath bleſſed me, and
" made me the inſtrument; though I boaſted not, untill another would
" take my honour of bringing the brave king into Germany *;——
" which I would rather have *inſcribed on my tomb*, than titles dearly
" bought with the loſs of honour."

To comprehend theſe two miniſters conduct and characters more diſtinctly, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Roe, who had ſerved an apprenticeſhip in the arts of foreign negotiation, and, conſiſtently with the intereſts of his own country, had contented the kings of Denmark and Sweden, (one the moſt experienced prince in Europe, and the other the ableſt) was a ſincere, ſolid, and ſenſible man, cool and compoſed in doubtful matters, but warm, fiery, enterprizing, and undiſmayed in affairs of importance. Such an ambaſſador was not born under an horoſcope congenial to the temperament of the Britannic king and miniſters, who, as they wanted courage to tread the open road, weakly and timorouſly purſued ſuch tracks as were clandeſtine and ſerpentine; hating the heroical parts of war ſo much, that it was common for them, by way of deriſion, to call Guſtavus the *dragoon-king* †.

Such was then the uniform language of the Engliſh court: for Sir Toby Matthew ‡, in a letter of March 25, from London to Sir

* He has ſaid more in other letters to this effect. " I have received the encloſed from the " chancellor of Sweden, wherein I have honour " enough done me, that I was the agent to " bring that brave king into Germany." *To lord Dorcheſter, Aug.* 16, 1631.

And in another to Mr. Dimly at the Hague, 1631-2, *Febr.* 24. That he had received from the king of Sweden a preſent worth 2500 l. with a letter from the chancellor of Sweden, wherein are inſerted theſe remarkable words; " Quæ " inter nos mutuis colloquiis & diſcurſibus acta " ſunt ratione belli a S. R. majeſtate, domino " meo clementiſſimo, in Germaniam transferendi, " cujus auctor & impulſor illuſtritas veſtra no- " mine ſereniſſimi regis ſui ſtrenuus extitit."

† Letter from the earl of Carliſle to Sir Henry Vane. *Paper-Office.*

‡ Sir John Suckling in his *Seſſion of the Poets* has characterized this infant politician to the life. He imbraced the religion of the church of Rome about the thirtieth year of his age, and was called from his travels in 1621, to aſſiſt James I. in matters of politics; was knighted for his zeal towards the Spaniſh match, and attended lord Strafford in Ireland as political director.

Henry

1631. Henry Vane, inſerts therein the following paſſage; "Yeſternight I "waited at ſupper on my good lord of Carliſle, your true friend; and "there we had Sir Jacob Aſhley at large. He ſeems a very worthy "gentleman, and a great lover of my lord marquis [of Hamil-"ton] and you: he ſpeaks highly well of the courage and other, "both intellectual and experimental, abilities of the king of Sweden: "*but I have heard no wiſe man ſay any ſuch thing yet of that prince, as "may totally exclude covetouſneſs, and arrogancy, and inordinate ambition "from him* *."

Vane therefore was a perſon formed expreſly by nature to ſuit the purpoſes of an adminiſtration, which relied wholly upon mean and temporary expedients. Roe was for giving Guſtavus conſiderable ſums of money, well knowing he would earn them nobly: Vane profeſſed to with-hold all pecuniary aſſiſtances, and propoſed the tranſportation of Britiſh troops, which the king of Sweden never expected to arrive. Roe, by Oxenſtiern's own acknowledgment, brought Guſtavus into the empire: Vane, by the uniform tendency of his actions, repined at his glory, and wiſhed him re-conveyed to his regions of the north. Roe was eſteemed by the king, and beloved by Oxenſtiern; the former of which deteſted Vane, and the latter ſhunned him.

This phenomenon of a miniſter, equipped, as himſelf owns, with inſtructions of *hearing* rather than *propoſing* †, landed at Hamburg in the month of October 1631; and there received the news of the famous victory at Leipſic. As he was comptroller of the king's houſhold, and a member of the privy-council, it was thought

* With reſpect to *covetouſneſs*, the king ſolemnly declared before all his officers (and they were judges of the truth of his aſſertion) that he had not ſecreted to himſelf a ſingle pound from the commencement of the war till the month of Auguſt 1632, but, on the contrary, had expended *de proprio* 360000 l. ſterling, a ſum no ways inconſiderable in thoſe days.—As to *arrogance* (except *that* be confounded with a right ſenſe of indignities from crowned heads, &c.) we have proved him in every part of his life to be more condeſcending and affable than any of his generals.—And, laſtly, as to *ambition*, poſterity muſt be left in total incertitude, ſince he never lived to realize *what* might be the ultimate object of all his views.

† The following narrative is extracted from his own diſpatches. Ibid.

proper to inveſt him with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary; 1631.
but by his own accounts, he had no title to the qualification of plenipotentiary. The occaſion of ſending him took its birth from the wonderful proſperity of Guſtavus, and from ſome letters of his to the king and marquis of Hamilton, relative to that nobleman's expedition.

Vane employed twenty five days in travelling from Hamburg to Wurtzburg; nor could he well perform the journey in leſs time, for the roads were difficult and dangerous, and flying parties of *meroders* * abounded ſo in every quarter, that it was neceſſary for him to provide a large retinue of horſemen, well mounted and completely armed; nor could he diſpatch an expreſs to Guſtavus or his generals, without manifeſt hazard to the undertaker's life or liberty. Which makes him complain in a ſubſequent letter the year enſuing, "that he could "not travel with a ſmaller retinue than fifty horſemen, nor expend leſs "on the road than twenty pounds each day."

On the ſeventh of November 1631, he had the honour to be admitted to his firſt private audience, in which the king told him, "That if "his maſter wiſhed to effectuate the recovery of the Palatinate ſincerely, "and with good faith, he muſt afford him ſuch aſſiſtances, as juſtly "merited the appellation of *royal ones*, and not only ſupply him with "four or five tuns of gold ‡, (ſums far from being very important to "a king of England ſo nearly concerned, if thoroughly in earneſt,) "but convey to him early in the enſuing ſpring a body of national "troops amounting at leaſt to 12000 men: and then Guſtavus "added, that he would engage never to ſheathe his ſword, till the

* Having ſpelt this word differently from the writers of my own country, it may be conſidered as a common piece of reſpect to aſſign ſome reaſon. The truth is, theſe partizans took their name from a count de Merodé, a brutal and licentious officer in theſe wars, who was killed in a drunken quarrel by John de Wert. From this man's practice a plunderer and raviſher was ſurnamed *Merodiſta* by the Spaniſh and Italian ſoldiers, who ſerved then under the emperor: from whence came the French word, *marauder*, which the maréchal de Luxemburg always ſpelt *merodeur*.

Reflexions Militaires & Politiques de Santa Cruz, Tom. iii.

‡ A tun of gold is about 9000 l. ſterling.

1631. " Palatinate ſhould be re-conquered, and delivered back to the hands " of its lawful poſſeſſor."

Having thus explained himſelf with reference to the reſtitution of Frederic to his patrimonial inheritances, " he made it his requeſt, " that the ſaid unfortunate prince ſhould repair immediately to the " Swediſh army, and march with it into his own dominions; in- " aſmuch as, according to the beſt informations then to be obtained, " his ſubjects ſtill preſerved an extraordinary zeal and affection for " him."

Vane ſtood thunderſtruck at theſe propoſals, and at length brought forth his excuſe and reply with no ſmall difficulty; namely, " That his " inſtructions were rather to hear what the king had to offer, than to " propoſe any thing himſelf: that he would not fail to advertiſe his " court, and procure an anſwer with all poſſible expedition."

Yet little as this man loved Guſtavus, and prepoſſeſſed as he was in his diſfavour, nevertheleſs, in his letters to England at or near this period, he finds himſelf obliged to do ſome juſtice to that prince's character in the capacity of a ſoldier; for having obſerved, that the Swediſh army conſiſted of 12000 foot, and 8000 horſe, he remarked afterwards, " That better men, and better cloathed, he never ſaw: and that there " was not a ſick man, nor boy amongſt them. Their king let them " live at diſcretion *: they ſpared neither friend nor foe; only " he did not ſuffer them to touch the churches, nor moleſt the catho- " lics in the exerciſe of their religion. That they were ſo obedient to " diſcipline, that the beat of a drum called them off at any time from " plunder;" which in truth carries no reſemblance to the conduct of troops, who lived at diſcretion, and allowed themſelves, or were allowed

* All hiſtory contradicts this report; for the Swediſh army in point of lenity made a contraſt againſt the Imperial troops, with reſpect to ravages. The military laws of Guſtavus are levelled with full force at rapine, extortions and plunder. He removed a favourite general ſome few days before this period for dealing a little too freely with contributions; and hanged two foot-ſoldiers ſome few days afterwards for entering an houſe in Francfort-ſtreets, though they took nothing. Nay, our whole ſtory, more or leſs, makes proof againſt Vane's aſſertion, which, to ſpeak honeſtly, *is a ſophiſticated truth with an allay of falſhood in it.*

by

by their maſter, to exerciſe all ſorts of outrage and violence without re- 1631.
ſtriction. Yet there remains ſtill an almoſt inconteſtable proof, that the king's ſoldiers rarely or never practiſed extortions and cruelties, ſince we rarely find, that even a ſingle ſtraggler was maſſacred by enraged peaſants; or that a town, or province, after their firſt reduction, ever revolted from him. But Sir Henry, on ſome other occaſion, delivers himſelf in a manner leſs liable to exception than many of the paſſages above cited; "That with regard to Guſtavus's actions and enterprizes, "all ſeaſons were alike to him, as well as the moſt difficult atchieve- "ments ſeemed to him eaſy, if he once took them in hand; and as "the courage of the ſoldiers under ſo daring a leader is great, ſo is "the fear of his enemies, who every day came to ſerve him: and "though other armies are diminiſhed by marching, his encreaſed; ſo "that he was able to ſupply the towns he took in with garriſons, and "obliged them to maintain the ſame *."

This remark is not the leſs valuable, though at that time it was common in the mouths of all the officers, that ſerved under Guſtavus. Monro makes the ſame obſervation, and ſays, that the king, after marches, aſſaults, and ſieges of forty days duration, found himſelf at the head of more ſoldiers when he came to Francfort, than he brought with him from Erfurt, though he croſſed the vaſt Duringer Walt, without loſing, as far as appears, a ſingle ſoldier by deſertion.

But to return to the negotiation; Vane contented himſelf to conclude his diſpatches with obſerving, "That he thought nothing was "to be expected from Guſtavus, but what was ſtipulated: and by no "means adviſed the putting of tuns of gold into his hands, but rather "the ſending over an Engliſh army to act in conjunction with the "Swediſh." He ſuggeſted afterwards, "that if Charles was reſolved "to put himſelf in action, the readieſt and cheapeſt way would be, to "ſend the king of Bohemia *up into Germany* (into Upper Germany) "ſpeedily, to make levies; for that he was expected by his ſubjects "with much zeal and devotion, and divers officers came to the am-

* See a ſubſequent MS. letter in the *Paper-Office*.

1631. " baſſadors (meaning the Palatin one as well as himſelf) to offer " their ſervices in his behalf." With this ſuggeſtion the Britannic miniſtry complied (as the king of Bohemia's miniſter was inveſted with no powers;) for it was a *ſlight expedient*, and coſt them nothing; and thus the negotiation continued both at Francfort and Mentz, diverſified with infinite changes, but attended with no one ſolid event: concerning which I ſhall ſpeak tranſiently hereafter, and in ſuch proportion, as the weakneſs and futility of the tranſaction may ſeem to merit; obſerving only (and for this remark I am indebted to the Swediſh and German hiſtorians) that the ſtateſmen of Whitehall judged extremely ill, in commanding Vane to impart his inſtructions to, and act in concert with the marquis of Hamilton: for though the king had an high value for that illuſtrious and enterprizing nobleman, and no ſmall obligations to him; yet he could not bear, that a ſubordinate officer ſhould have an inſight into the myſteries of the Swediſh cabinet.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

1200 cc 10

~~HQQ.c.13~~